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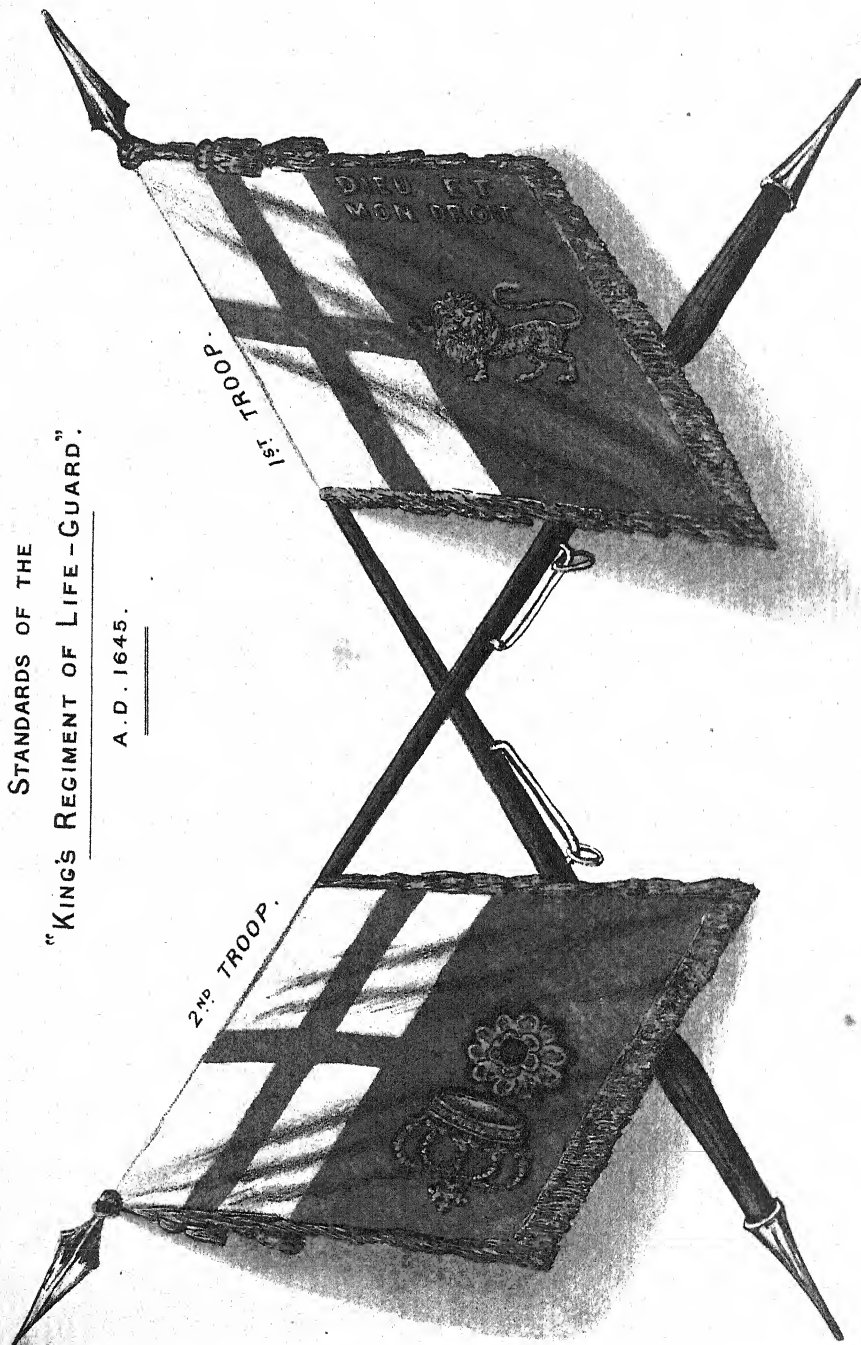
OF THE

BRITISH STANDING ARMY.

1660 TO 1700.

STANDARDS OF THE
"KING'S REGIMENT OF LIFE-GUARD".

A.D. 1645.

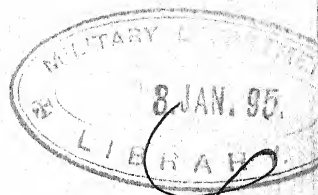


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(HISTORY

OF THE



BRITISH STANDING ARMY.

A.D. 1660 TO 1700.

BY

COLONEL CLIFFORD WALTON, C.B.,

ASSISTANT ADJUTANT-GENERAL.

LONDON :

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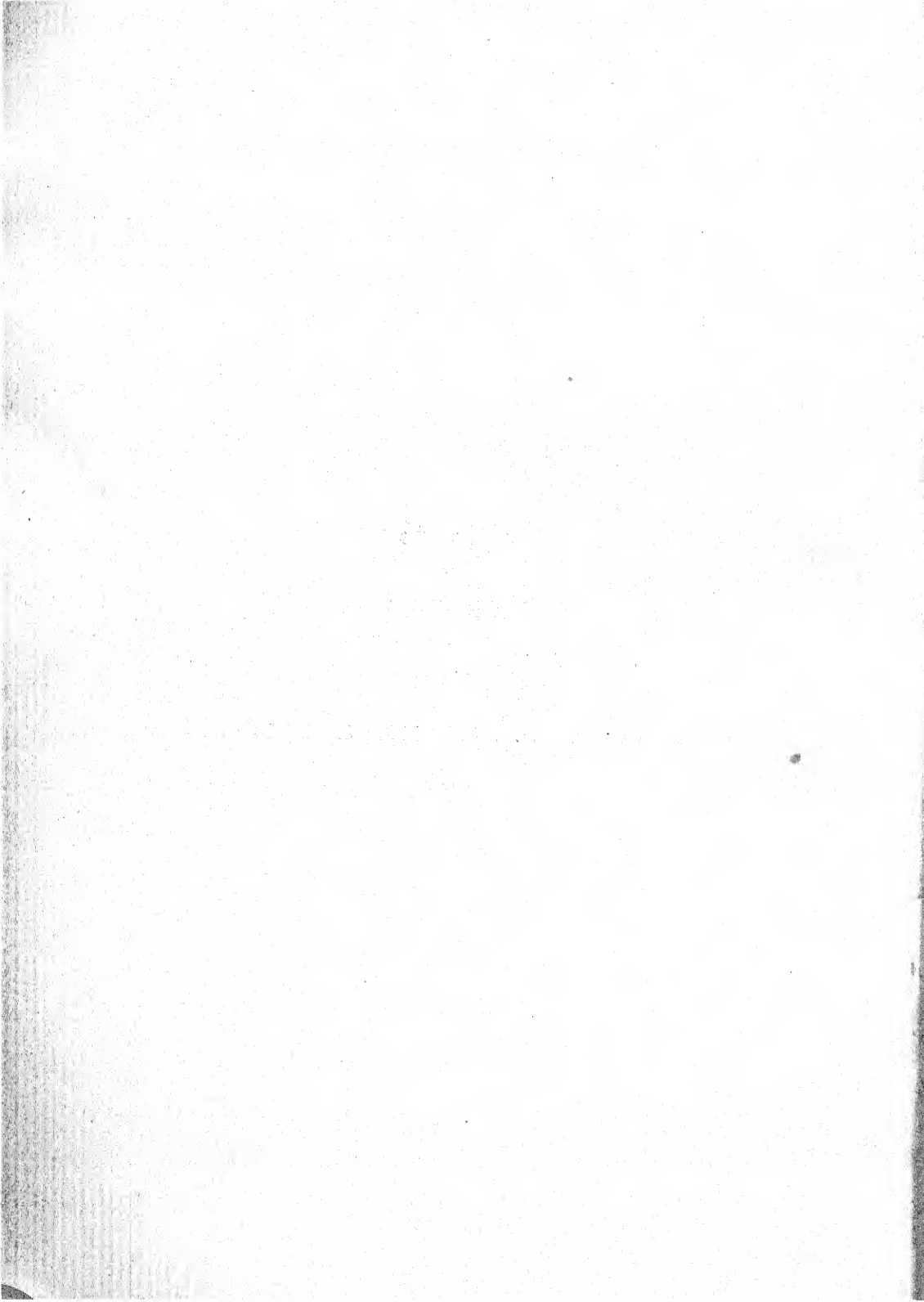
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TO

FIELD-MARSHAL H.R.H. THE DUKE OF CAMBRIDGE.



PREFATORY CHAPTER.



I PROPOSE to write the early history of the BRITISH STANDING ARMY. There have been innumerable military works published in England within the last thirty years, and yet this is still a new theme (*a*). Histories of battles and of campaigns there have been in abundance, but narrations of battles and sieges are no more the history of an army than is a record of the public acts of kings or emperors the history of a nation.

To too many the history of the gradual growth of the vast organisation (the active military organisation, as well as the mere paper system of a War Office), by which a million of armed men are moulded into that powerful and harmonious machine termed an Army, is absolutely unknown. But as no consecutive and exhaustive history of our Standing Army has yet been produced, it is the less surprising that so great ignorance prevails; it is the less surprising that we possess so comparatively few able military administrators, or that the army is confessedly (*b*) in danger of falling into ruinous chaos for lack of competent and thorough legislation. There is scarcely an error on the part of our political and military administrators which may not be immediately traced to inadequate historical knowledge; for which, however, there would be less excuse did

(*a*) I do not overlook the publication of even so valuable a work as that of Sir Sibbald Scott, who indeed did me the honour of proposing to amalgamate our histories. Excellent and reliable as his work is, however, it did not seem to me to be sufficiently inclusive and exhaustive.

(*b*) "Confessedly." This was written in 1867; and see the Blue-books of the Committee on the Supply and Transport services, 1858; of the Committee on Recruiting, 1867; of the Royal Commission on Transport and Army organisation, 1867. Since that time, and notably within the last four years (this note being added in 1890), much has happily been accomplished towards improvement, but still only in certain directions and seldom with completeness.

there exist a faithful and complete record from which the lessons of the past might be readily gleaned. An intelligent and unbiassed study of those lessons would undoubtedly conduce to greater continuity and finality in our organisative measures.

Should I be successful in filling a gap in our national literature—even if it be roughly and crudely, yet truthfully and effectually—I shall have attained my object in putting forth this volume. I shall feel amply rewarded for much toil should I live to see my labours in the smallest degree beneficial to that Army, to which (with all its failings) I am proud to belong.

I appear before my readers simply as a diligent compiler of bye-gone history, a faithful recorder of well-sifted facts. What was begun for my own amusement I have been induced to continue and to amplify for the use of others. Had my professional duties admitted of my remaining constantly in England this volume might doubtless have been rendered more perfect. And I trust readers will be the more indulgent when they learn that I am not only a self-taught artist (as will, I fear, be but too evident from the illustrations themselves), but that also, during the ten years in which this work was executed, I was quartered for only about eighteen months in England, and not at all in London; while I had to move to fourteen different stations, seven of those moves being across foreign seas.

To acquire material, to satisfy subsequent doubts, to write a book at all, even to preserve the multitude of papers that grow around an intending author, are tasks of no small difficulty to a man who has thus, as it were, to carry his house on his back. Nevertheless, I trust it may not be deemed presumptuous to offer the result to brother antiquarians and to those more fortunate students who may be able to improve upon it.

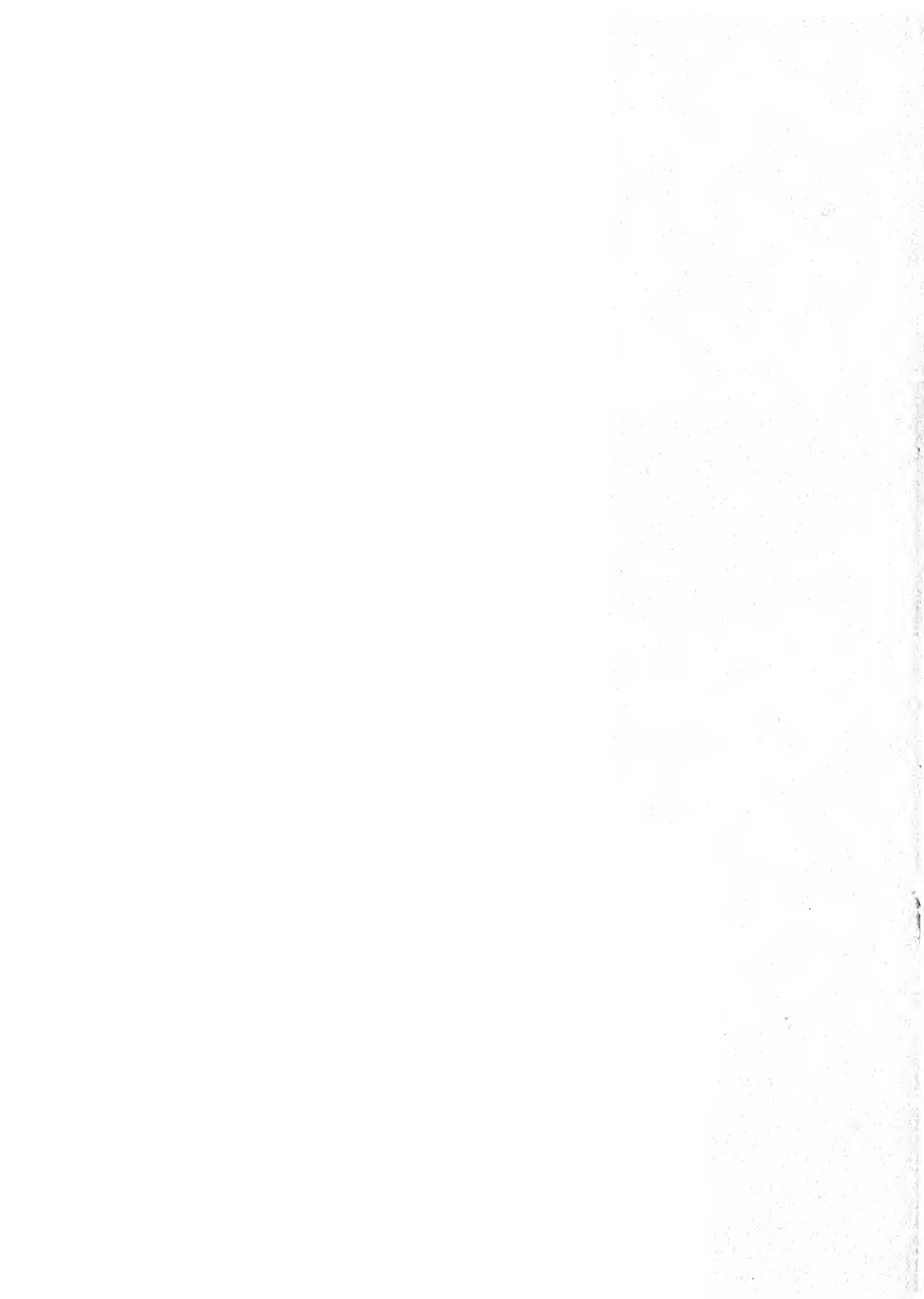
My endeavour has been to quote ORIGINAL AND CONTEMPORARY AUTHORITIES for every statement in the text (c),

(c) I cannot forbear impressing upon writers on subjects of military history, that works devoid of quotations of *original and contemporary* authorities (of which so many annually appear) serve only to perpetuate errors and misstatements, and are therefore worse than valueless.

however comparatively insignificant, and for every slightest detail in the illustrations.

The arrangement of the order of narration so as to avoid needless repetition, and yet render each branch of the subject complete in itself, has been a chief difficulty. In the arrangement ultimately adopted the first twenty chapters have been confined to continuous historical narrative, and separate chapters have been devoted to special subjects, in which each is chronologically treated and remains unmixed with extraneous topics.

For full information on any detail in text or illustrations, reference should be made to the Index as well as to the chapter which treats of that particular.



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NOTE.



The Illustrations enumerated below, and frequently referred to in the text, are not included in this volume, it having been found impossible, owing to the death of the author, to guarantee the expense of reproduction.

The originals are, however, in the possession of the Royal United Service Institution, Whitehall Yard, London, S.W., to which the complete work has been presented ; and where they may be seen.

In few parts of the work does their absence militate against a full understanding of the text, and it has been thought best to leave the references intact for the guidance of those readers who may visit the United Service Institution Library for the purpose of studying the Illustrations in connection with the text. Bound with the Illustrations are the Authorities from which the details are drawn.

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By CLIFFORD WALTON.



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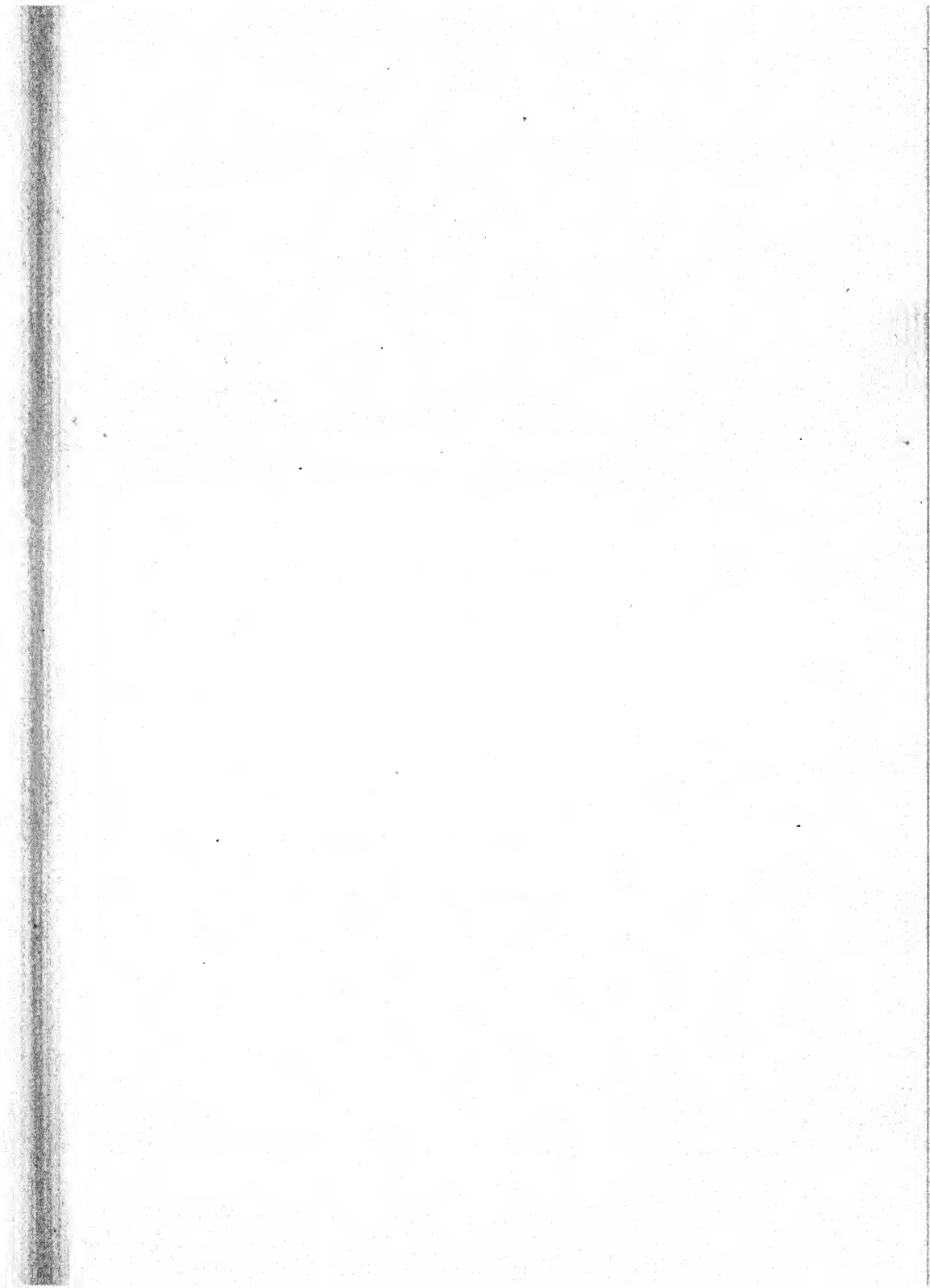
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HISTORY OF THE BRITISH STANDING ARMY.

1660 TO 1700.



CHAPTER I.

RISE OF THE STANDING ARMY.

A.D. 1660-65.

Introductory.—Origin of the Coldstream Guards; of the First Foot-Guards; of the Life-Guards; and of the Royal Horse-Guards.—The Yeomen of the Guard.—The Gentlemen-Pensioners.—Origin of the First Foot; of the Second Foot; of the First Dragoons; and of the Third Foot.

[For Illustrations, see Note on p. xiii.]

2 ABOUT ten o'clock on the morning of Saint Valentine's day in the year 1661, there was to be seen on Tower-Hill an ordinary London crowd collected around a small body of soldiers,—only some hundred and seventy troopers, and nine hundred or a thousand infantry. The spectacle was neither very extensive nor very imposing; yet to us who can look back upon it and upon the stream of results which has flowed from it down the long page of our country's history, it is an event of the highest military and historical interest.

That small body of men was, in its past and future, representative of two of the most patriotic and victorious armies known to history; it was the link betwixt the monarchical England of the middle ages and the constitutional England of modern times. It was, as it were, the Noah of the British Army: for it was the sole surviving remnant of that invincible host of Puritan republicans which had been swept away before the returning tide of loyalty; and it was at the same time the stock from which has sprung that BRITISH STANDING ARMY, which has for two centuries and more been so accustomed to victory as to regard it as its inalienable right, and which has

NOTICE.—In the Notes will be found many abbreviations; explanations of these are given in alphabetical order in the Index of Works quoted as authorities (Appendix B of this Work).

made its sovereign the ruler of near a quarter of the globe. That little band on Tower-Hill in 1661 was the seed whence has sprung England's magnificent Standing Army of 1891.

Very soon after ten o'clock¹ there arrived on the Hill one of the lumbering coaches of the time, and from it descended four Commissioners.² These gentlemen, having assembled the troops around them, proceeded to inform their respective groups that they were commissioned by King Charles the Second to congratulate the soldiers upon having been instrumental under General Monck in the King's restoration to the throne, to promise them all arrears of pay, and to enlist them into His Majesty's own service. The speeches being ended, the troops shouted "God save King Charles the Second"; the drums beat; the colours were unfurled and waved; and, in accordance with the then independent fashion of military rejoicing, the soldiers threw their hats into the air, and fired their muskets at random^{2a} until they were ordered to cease. The Commissaries present then took the muster, and the troops were disbanded, each man laying down his arms. Immediately afterwards they were re-enlisted; and, resuming their arms, they became—from the "Lord General's Regiment of Foot,"³ and the "Lord General's Life-Guard of Horse,"—the "Lord General's Regiment of Foot-Guards," and the "Lord General's Troop of Guards." Both these regiments were a portion of that army⁴ which had lately marched from Scotland under General Monck; and the King, in consideration of Monck's instrumentality in restoring him to the throne, and glad of any excuse to retain troops in his own

¹ Kingdom's Intelligencer, 18/25 February, 1661.

² Sir Wm. Doyle; Mr. W. Prynne; Col. Edward King; and Col. J. Birch.

^{2a} In London Gazette, 5 Sept., 1695, is an account of the rejoicings at Portsmouth for the taking of Namur, when the regiments in garrison were "drawn out on the parade, where they gave several volleys of *small shot*, the pikemen "burning wisps of straw on the spears of their pikes, which they set fire to one after another";—evidently the pikemen's mode of a *feu de joie*.

³ Gumble: "Many thought that the General would not willingly part with his "Coldstreamers . . . However, upon Venner's insurrection, then his own regt. "of Foot, with one other newly raised by H.M., were established the King's "Guards; besides his Guards of Horse."

James II, autobiography of.

Mercurius Publicus, 24/31 January, 1661.

Macpherson; original papers.

See also Kingdom's Intelligencer, 14 Janry., 1661.

See also Mackinnon's most valuable History of the Coldstream Guards.

⁴ Gumble: Life of Monck, 1671.

James II, Autobiography.

Kingdom's Intelligencer, 18 Feby., 1661.

Mercurius Publicus, 21 Feby., 1661.

pay, had thus complimented the Lord General by transferring his two personal regiments to the Royal Service, at the same time appointing Monck himself "Captain-General and Commander-in-Chief"⁵ (Ill. I).

When General Monck marched from Scotland he made his last halt at the border town of Coldstream, and from this circumstance his army⁶ during its progress southwards was known as the "Coldstreamers" (Ill. II). When Monck's regiment of Foot was received into the King's service, it monopolised this sobriquet, and to this day it preserves it in its appellation of the COLDSTREAM GUARDS.⁷

It has been generally stated that it was not until after the

⁵ The *Original Commission*, 3 Aug., 1660—Harl. MS. 3,319, App. I. Autobiog. James II.

⁶ Gumble: Life of Monck.

Chamberlayne, *Anglice Notitia*, 1679.

⁷ The following are notes of the appellations of this regt. :—

Est., 1660-63, Add. MSS. 28,082, "The General's Regt.," App. LXXXVII.

Gumble terms the whole of Monck's army "The Coldstreamers." He also speaks of Monck's own regiment as a portion of these "Coldstreamers."

In several official warrants and documents, 1661 to 1670, "The Lord General's regt. of Foot," or of "Foot-Guards."

London Gaz., 13 May, 1669, "The Lord General's regt. of Guards."

Chamberlayne, 1679, "The Coldstream."

Grant of arms, 1672; Harl. MSS. 1,172, to Serjt. Major (Major) Miller of "the late General Geo. Moncke, his regt. of Coldstreamers," and of "His Majesties Coldstreamer regt. of Foot-Guards."

London Gaz., 30 April, 1670, at Monck's funeral, "the regiment of Coldstreames."

Royal Warrants, 22 June, 1672, and 1 March, 1673, App. XLIV and LXI; "The Coldstream regt. of Our Foot-Guards."

Other Warrants subsequently to 1670 to like effect.

In W.O. records the usual appellation is "Coldstream," but the marginal *précis* to 24 Febr., 1674, is "The Regt. of Coldstreamers."

Nathan Brooks, 1684, "the Cole-stream or Cauldstream regt. of Foot-Guards."

Various Commissions in the Regt. up to 1685, "Coldstreamers"; Home office records.

Autobiog. James II; "Second regt. of Guards" (1670).

Sandford, 1685, "The 2nd Regt. of H.M.'s Foot-Guards called the Coldstreamers."

1685, List of the Regt. of H.M.'s Foot-Guards called "the Coldstreamers"; Home office records.

Est. List, 1680, "Coldstream Regt. of H.M.'s Foot-Guards."

Est. List, 1685, "Coldstream Regt. of Foot-Guards."

Harl. MSS. 7,018, &c., Est. Lists, 1687-90; generally, "The Coldstream regt."

Exact List 1692, Brit. Mus., 1880, d.; "Second Regt. of Guards."

So that, in brief, this regiment was termed indifferently "The Coldstreamers," "The Coldstreams," "the Coldstream Regt.," and "The Coldstream regt. of Foot-Guards." It may be taken, therefore, that while it is not correct to speak of the "Coldstreams," it is absolutely correct to speak of the regiment as "The Coldstream regiment," "The Coldstream-Guards," or "The Coldstream," or "The Coldstreamers."

death of the Duke of Albemarle (General Monck) in 1670 that the Coldstreamers were recognised as the Second or "Coldstream Regiment of *Foot-Guards*"⁸; but there is reason to doubt the accuracy of this statement, although there is some colour given to it by a memorandum of James the Second's. There are extant Commissions signed by Monck as early as 1663,^{8a} to "my own Regiment of His Majesty's *Foot-Guards*"; and there are commissions of about the same period signed by the Secretary of State on behalf of the King^{8b} to "the Lord-General's Regiment of *Foot-Guards*." At the same time in Monck's commissions^{8c} his regiment is more frequently styled "my own regiment of *Foot*." The probability is that there existed a certain natural jealousy between this old Republican corps and the Royalist regiment of *Foot-Guards*,^{8d} and that the latter disputed the rights of the Coldstreamers to the title which itself had acquired by its attendance on the King during the Civil war; so that upon Monck's death it became requisite to definitely settle the point. James the Second writes,^{8e} "But so "it was, that upon the General's death, his regiment of *Foot*, "called the Coldstream, was given to Lord Craven, and made "a second regiment of *Guards*."

Although the Coldstreamers were thus the first regiment of *Foot* enlisted into the Standing Army, there already existed another regiment possessing an unchallenged claim to priority. The number of Englishmen, who, urged by sentiments of loyalty, by necessity, or by love of adventure, had followed the Stuarts into exile, was considerable: and, a year or two before the Restoration, when Charles the Second and his brother James duke of York were in alliance with the Spaniards (then warring against the French in the Netherlands) these

⁸ Royal Warrant, 12 Sept., 1666, App. XLII.

Autobiog. James II.

Royal Warrant, 10 June, 1670; W.O. records.

Royal Warrant, 19 August, 1670, App. LXXVII.

See Mackinnon's Coldstream Guards.

^{8a} Commissions, 6 July, 1663, and 24 Decr., 1666, to Ensign Cox and Lieut. Stringer; W.O. Records.

^{8b} Commission, 21 July, 1665, to Lt.-Colonel James Smith; Charles Rex and countersigned Arlington; W.O. records.

^{8c} Various Commissions, 1665 upwards; W.O. records.

^{8d} See Royal Warrant, 12 Sept., 1666, App. XLII, "*The Regiment of Guards*" first, and "the General's regt." next.

After Monck's death the regt. is invariably officially styled "*Foot-Guards*," even in the Order for Monck's funeral, which took place three months after his death.

^{8e} Autobiog. James II.

refugees had been formed by the duke into six corps.⁹ On the return of Charles to England these several corps were amalgamated (III. III) and sent under Lord Wentworth to garrison Dunquerque. A sort of second battalion of the same regiment¹⁰ was raised in England after the Restoration, the one battalion being denominated Lord Russell's, and the other Lord Wentworth's regiment of Foot-Guards. In 1665 the two were fused into one strong regiment of twenty-four companies (III. IV). And thus, as the King's own Guards, or FIRST FOOT-GUARDS,^{10a} this regiment took precedence, as it still does, of the Lord General's or Coldstream regiment.

⁹ Gwynne, Capt. John; Mily. Memoirs of; Edinr. 1822.

James II, Autobiog.

¹⁰ James II, Autobiog. The account given by James of the origin of Lord Russell's battalion, which more truly represented the present First Foot-Guards than the other, is as follows: An insurrection by a small body of fanatics, under the leadership of one Venner, having taken place, James, then Duke of York, "proposed to the Council that they should write to His Majesty and desire him to stop the disbanding of the General's Troop of Horse Guards and the regiment of Foot which were to have been paid off that day, and that he would rather think of raising more men for the security of his person and government; which advice His Majesty followed, and immediately gave order for the raising a new regiment of Guards of twelve companies, to be commanded by Col. John Russell, and a regiment of horse of 8 troops, of which the Earl of Oxford was to be Colonel; also a troop of Horse-Guards, to be commanded by my Lord Gerard. He likewise sent for the Duke's troop of Guards which were then at Dunkirk."

Lord Wentworth's battalion landed in England from Dunquerque on the 16 Novr., 1662, and was then dispersed into garrisons. Est., 1663, Add. MSS. 28,082.

Abstract of His Majesty's Guards, 26 Janry., 1660, to 1 Janry., 1663; Brit. Mus., Add. MSS. 28,082, App. LXXXVII.

The first muster of the Regt. in England took place in Febr., 1660/1; Mercurius Publicus, 7 Febr., 1660/1.

Warrant, 28 Febr., 1665, for adding 1,200 men to Russell's Regt. of Guards to raise it to 2,400; Dom. State papers.

^{10a} The following are notes upon the designations of this regiment: Est., 1660-63, Col. Russell's and Lord Wentworth's "Regts. of Foot."

R. Warrt., June, 1661, App. II, "His Majesty's regt. of Foot."

Quarters of the Forces, 24 March, 1670 (preserved in Mackinnon), "His Majesty's regt. of Foot."

R. Warrt., 12 Sept., 1666, App. XLII, "The Regt. of Guards."

Cosmo's travels, 1669; "The King's Own regt. of infantry."

Lond. Gaz., 13 May, 1669, and 30 April, 1670, "H.M.'s regt. of Foot-Guards."

Lond. Gaz., 3 May, 1669, and 2 May, 1670, "The Foot-Guards of H.M.'s regiment."

Chamberlayne, 1679; "The King's regt. of Guards."

R. Warrt., 22 June, 1672, App. LXI, "Our regt. of Guards."

R. Warrt., 1 Mar., 1673, App. XLIV; "Our own regt. of Foot-Guards."

Other Warrants subsequently to like effect.

Nathan Brooks, 1684, "The Royal Regt. of Foot-Guards."

Estabt. List, 1692, Brit. Mus., d., "First Regt. of Guards."

Estabt. List, 1680, Harl. MSS. 6,425, "H.M.'s Own Regt. of Foot-Guards."

Est. Lists, 1685/89, "First Regt. of Foot-Guards," etc.

The Lord General's Troop of Guards had similarly to give way to another regiment. During the late civil war a number of royalist noblemen and gentlemen had voluntarily enrolled themselves as a body-guard to the King (III. V—*Frontispiece*),¹¹ their servants forming a second troop; and after the death of his father they followed Charles the Second to the Continent.¹² They were reformed in 1661, and became the King's Own, or First, troop, and the Duke of York's, or Second, troop of the regiments still famous as the LIFE-GUARDS (III. VI).

For upwards of a century¹³ the privates of this distinguished Corps continued to be gentlemen of birth and education, and most of them looked to obtain commissions¹⁴ after having served a period of cadetship in the ranks. Up to our own day the privates were still styled the "private gentlemen"¹⁵ of the Life-Guards; and at the time I write they are still mustered by the title of "Mr."¹⁶

¹¹ Clarendon.

Prince Rupert's Memoirs; Lond. 1683.

Draft of a speech by Marquis of Worcester in 1660; see Warburton's Prince Rupert.

Symonds, quoted in Notes to III. V.

¹² Chamberlayne.

James II, Autobiog. See Note ¹⁰ above.

The first muster of "H.M.'s Life-Guard of Horse" took place on 4 Febr., 1660/1; Mercurius Publicus, 7 Febr. and 21 Mar., 1660/1, and Kingdom's Intelligencer, 25 March, 1660/1.

The Regt. is also styled the "Life-Guard of Horse" in Order, April, 1661, quoted in Notes to III. VI.

Lond. Gaz., 13 May, 1669, "H.M.'s Horse-Guards."

Estab., 1680; Harl. MSS. 6,425, "H.M.'s Own Troop of Guards."

Chamberlayne, 1669; "The Horse-Guard." And, 1679, "The Guards of Horse."

Estab. Lists, 1687-8; Harl. MSS. 7,018; the 1st, 2nd, 3rd, and 4th "Troops of Guards"; and, 1685, Add. MSS. 15,897, "H.M.'s Horse-Guards."

Nathan Brooks, 1684; "Life-Guards."

D'Auvergne; "Life-Guards," etc.

¹³ Mercurius Publicus, 25 Sept. — 2 Oct., 1662.

Domestic State Papers, 1661-1665; various petitions from unemployed Officers and other gentlemen to be allowed to serve as troopers.

Cosmo's travels, 1669.

Chamberlayne, 1669-79; "Reformed officers and young gentlemen of very considerable families who are thus made fit for military commands."

¹⁴ Chamberlayne, 1679.

¹⁵ Establishment Lists, 1687-89; Harl. MSS. 7,018 and 7,436/7.

The Privates of the Irish troop of Life-Guards were also styled gentlemen as early as 1649. Accounts of soldiers stated singly, Dublin State Papers, 1649-53; "As Gentlemen in the Lord-Lieutenant's Life-Guard."

Various Warrts. W.O. records, 1665-1700, "Gentlemen of Our Horse-Guard."

¹⁶ Letter, 11 Novr., 1872. To the author from Paymaster 1st Life-Guards. The Privates of Horse in the French army used also to be styled "Maitres"; de Puysegur, &c., &c.

On the death of Monck in 1670, the Lord General's, which had been the Third troop of the Life-Guards,¹⁷ became the Second troop, and the Duke of York's became the Third ; for Monck's troop¹⁷ being then made the Queen's took precedence of the Duke's by right of her precedence of him.

In 1686 a fourth Troop^{17a} was added, and was evidently the troop up to that time borne on the Irish Establishment : Lord Dover commanded it, and Patrick Sarsfield was his Lieutenant. This troop appears to have followed its Officers in their adherence to James the Second, and it thus dropped out of the Army-list. Its place on the English Establishment was taken by the Scotch troop of Guards a few years later.^{17b}

Venner's fanatical outbreak, which had served as the excuse for the revival of the First Troop of Guards, as well as the re-formation of Russell's Foot-Guards, was also utilised for the retention of another cavalry regiment of the Puritan army.¹⁷ We learn from the newspapers of the period immediately after the Restoration, ¹⁸ "That the soldiers may see the affection that "His sacred Majesty hath for the Army, he hath been pleased "to do them so much honour as to take that regiment that was "lately Colonel Unton Crook's for his own, which is now styled "the Royal Regiment." But in December, 1660,¹⁹ this Royal regiment was disbanded at Bath. When the Earl of Oxford's Regiment of Horse was raised two months later, only twenty days²⁰ elapsed between the signature of the Warrant for its establishment and its first muster on the 16th of February, 1661. This expedition was doubtless owing to the ready enlistment of the scarcely broken Royal Regiment, whose late Colonel accepted the command of the King's Own Troop in the new corps. The

¹⁷ James II, Autobiog. See Note ¹⁰.

^{17a} R. Warrt., 22 May, 1686, constituting a fourth Troop of Horse Guards, Capt. Lord Dover, Lt. Patrick Sarsfield ; and with a troop of Granadeers attached ; Home Office records.

^{17b} List of Colonels of Regts., 1743. See also Egerton MSS. 2,616, List of Forces. The Colonels were as follows :—31 Decr., 1660, E. of Newburgh ; 28 Janry., 1670, Marquis of Athol ; 26 Oct., 1678, M. of Montrose ; 1 May, 1684, Lord Livingstone ; 31 Dec., 1688, D. of Queensberry ; 25 May, 1696, D. of Argyll.

Complete List of Land Forces in H.M.'s pay, 1696. Home Office records ; the "Troop of Scots Guards."

The "Troop of Scots Guards" appears also in a List of the English Army, 1 Apl., 1689, Home Office records.

¹⁸ Mercurius Publicus, 5 July, 1660.

¹⁹ The Intelligencer, 17 Decr., 1660.

²⁰ Establ. of the newly-raised forces, 26 Janry., 1660/1.

Mercurius Publicus, 21 Febr., 1660/1.

Kingdom's Intelligencer, 18 Febr., 1660/1.

title of the disbanded regiment was also revived in the new "Royal Regiment of Horse,"²¹ sometimes styled Horse-Guards. It was clothed in blue, a colour worn by no other cavalry corps: some years later when a Dutch regiment in blue was brought to this country by William the Third,²² Oxford's English regiment came to be distinguished from the Dutch Blues by the name of Oxford's Blues. I have myself often heard old people speak of the Horse-Guards as the "Oxford Blues," and until lately they were officially styled "The Blues." The Regiment still takes precedence next to the Life-Guards as the "ROYAL HORSE-GUARDS, Blue."

There existed in the YEOMEN OF THE GUARD a corps far older than any of those yet mentioned, for it had been formed by King Henry the Seventh in 1485.²³ They "were wont to "be two hundred and fifty men of the best quality under the "gentry, and of larger stature than ordinary (for every one of "them was to be six feet high)."

The Grand Duke of Tuscany who travelled through England in 1669 gives the following account of this Corps²⁴:—"In the Hall (of Whitehall) called the Guardroom is the Guard "of the Manica or sleeve yeomen consisting of two hundred and "fifty very handsome men, the tallest and strongest that can "be found in England. They are called in jest Beef-eaters, "that is Eaters of beef, of which a considerable portion is "allowed them by the Court every day. These carry an "halberd when they are in London, and in the country an half

²¹ See occasionally the Chronological List of Colonels of Regiments at the beginning of this volume.

²² See Capt. Packe's carefully-written historical record of the Horse Guards for further details.

Lond. Gaz., 13 May, 1669, styles the regt. "Oxford's regt. of Guards."

Chamberlayne, 1679 } "H.M.'s Regt. of Horse."

Estt. List, 1680 }

Brooks, 1684; "Royal Regt. of Horse-Guards."

Est. Lists, 1685-92, Harl. MSS. 4,847, 7,018; Add. MSS. 15, 897, "The Royal Regt. of Horse."

R. Warrt., 24 June, 1675, App. XLIII; "Our Regt. of Horse-Guards."

R. Warrt., 1 Sept., 1684, App. LXXVIII; "Our Royal Regt. of Horse-Guards," &c.

The W.O. records (Court-martial Bks. and Order books) style this regt. usually "Our regt. of Horse" or the "Royal regt. of Horse"; but in some instances it is called the "Regt. of Horse-Guards," commanded by the E. of Oxford, e.g., Order, 17 Octr., 1665, and others: in Order, 17 April, 1665, the expression is "Our Regt. of Guards commanded by" Aubrey E. of Oxford. In R. Warrt., 27 Feby., 1673-74, "Our Regt. of Horse-Guards," commanded by the E. of Oxford.

²³ Chamberlayne.

²⁴ Cosmo's travels.

"pike, with a broad sword by their sides, and before the King had his body-guard, they escorted his carriage. They are dressed in a livery of red cloth made according to the ancient fashion and faced with black velvet; they wear on their back the King's cypher in embroidery that is Charles Rex, and on their breast the white and red rose, the emblem of the royal family ever since the union of the two houses of York and Lancaster. . . . The duty of these Guards is, amongst other things, when the King eats in public (which he does three days a week) to fetch the meat from the kitchen and carry it to the table, where it is taken from them and placed before H.M. by the gentlemen in attendance. The captain of this Guard is my Lord Grandison, and the Lieutenant Thomas Howard." The Grand Duke's derivation of the sobriquet of Beef-eaters is not the correct one; and it is in his account of the Yeomen's duties that we find the real origin of the name, which is merely an Anglicised corruption of the word "Buffetiers," that is, cup-bearers or side-board-waiters ²³ (III. VII).

But the Yeomen of the Guard were employed, in Charles's reign as now, for court ceremonials only and no longer for warfare.²⁵

Another corps had been instituted by Henry the Eighth,²⁶ styled the band of GENTLEMEN-PENSIONERS, but this also was merely a ceremonial corps.

During Charles the Second's reign the number of Gentlemen-Pensioners was reduced from fifty to forty,²⁷ their pay being fixed at £100 a year; they are described at this period as "usually Knights or gentlemen of good quality," and the Duke of Tuscany²⁸ speaks thus of them, "The King has another Guard, formed of fifty gentlemen, called Pensioners,²⁴ the greater part persons of birth and quality, who carry a sort of pole-axe (*see* III. VII), in the form of a halberd, ornamented with gold, and are under the orders of a captain, who is my Lord Bellasyse, and a Lieutenant Sir John Bennet. They are obliged to attend the person of the King on all solemn occasions, such as receiving ambassadors and other public

²⁵ This nickname of Beef-eaters in 1685 was ironically applied to the Yeomen by a member in the House of Commons.—House of Commons Debates, 9 Novr., 1685.

See Grose for ancient details respecting this Corps.

²⁶ Original Warrant, not dated, but signed by Henry VIII, cir. 1509; Cotton MSS.

²⁷ Royal Warrant, 17 March, 1670.

²⁸ Chamberlayne, 1669.

For ancient details respecting this corps, *see* Grose.

"ceremonies ; to accompany him from the ante-chamber to the chapel and on his return from the chapel to the ante-chamber : "it is also their duty to serve H.M. as a body-guard whenever "he goes out into the city or into the country : on these "occasions a party of them, well-armed, follows H.M. ; and "the Captain of the body-guard is obliged by his office to keep "close to the King's person particularly at the moment when "he is mounting." The members of this corps must now be half-pay or retired officers, but a Warrant issued in 1685²⁹ conferred upon the members a right to commissions in the army "preferably to all other persons whatsoever," whence it would appear that at that time the band was composed of cadets.

Neither the Yeomen of the Guard nor the Gentlemen-Pensioners appear to have been, at any period, subject to martial law.

At the time of the Restoration there was in the French service a regiment of Scottish mercenaries renowned throughout Christendom, during four centuries past, for soldierly conduct, conspicuous bravery, and staunch fidelity. A year after his return to the throne, Charles the Second, using as a pretext the insurrection of some religious fanatics already mentioned, demanded of the French King that this Scotch regiment should return to the service of its own sovereign. Accordingly, the regiment, three thousand strong, was brought over to England.³⁰ In 1662 it returned to France, and continued to serve the French King for the next sixteen years (with the exception of two years, from 1666 to 1668). Notwithstanding this, it takes rank in the British army from the year 1661 as the FIRST, OR ROYAL, OR SCOTS REGIMENT OF FOOT.³¹

²⁹ Royal Warrant, 10 Febry., 1684-5 ; see Grose.

³⁰ Regimental records.

Also in the Est. for 1672 (Add. MSS. 28,082, Brit. Mus., under date 27 July) appears a fresh establishment for "the Scotch regt. "; and in the Est. for 1673 we find "the Scotch regt. going abroad again."

Privy Council records, Edinburgh, July, 1673, Royal Order to recruit "Lord George Douglas's Scotts Regiment in the service of the Most Christian King."

R. Warfts., 20 June and Aug., 1678, W.O. records ; respecting the return to England from the service of France.

³¹ Landed in England, at Rye, 11 June, 1666.

The regt. was said by tradition to have been the body-guard of the Scottish Kings prior to its transfer to the French service, and it was said that it was for this reason that it obtained the prefix of "Royal." In the publications and official documents of this period I find the regt. variously termed "H.M.'s Scotch Regt.," the "Scots Regt.," and the "Royal Regiment of Foot." See Lond. Gaz., June, 1666, Aug.,

Even at this early stage there ran high in the new army an *esprit-de-corps*, a mutual jealousy, and a struggle for precedence. The Royals asserted that their corps was far senior to the Guards or the Coldstreamers, and shewed that they were nettled at not having precedence of these; and the others retorted by bestowing upon the sticklers for antiquity, whose origin was indeed placed so far back as to become somewhat mythical, the nickname of "Pontius Pilate's Guards."

Charles the Second, from the moment of his Restoration, sought to secure his throne by the acquisition of a strong permanent force. He wrongly attributed his father's downfall to the absence of a standing army,—wrongly, as was afterwards evidenced, for when James the Second violated the Constitution, his army did not uphold him, but on the contrary openly though reluctantly forsook him.

Charles had proposed to retain the republican army in the mass;³² but Chancellor Hyde foreseeing that such a measure, at so delicate a juncture, would be calculated to irritate the nation, dissuaded the King from it: he argued that these were the troops that had executed Charles the First and overturned at their pleasure more than one government; that they too well knew their own power; and that, even if it were desirable to retain them, Parliament would never grant supplies for their maintenance. The King and the Parliament were indeed more than once,³³ during the next twenty years, on the verge of an open rupture on the subject of standing forces. Charles had thus been fain to content himself at first with the five regiments already mentioned, but he was not the less constantly on the watch for plausible pretexts for adding fresh ones.

Such pretexts were not long lacking. Towards the end of 1661 Tangier became the property of the Crown by cession from Portugal, and King Charles asserted the need of additional troops to garrison the newly-acquired fortress. Accordingly a

1672; Nathan Brooks; Chamberlayne; and Est. Lists 1672 to 1700. It used to beat "The Scotch March" (Dineley's Memoirs, 1679); it had a Piper as the peculiarity of the regiment (Est. Lists, Harl. MSS.); and it had the Scotch emblems for its colours (*see* III. CLXXXI). R. Letter, 12 Feby., 1683-4, Home Office Records; "Our Scotch Regt. of Foot" coming from Tangier. May, 1684, "The Royal Regt. of Foot."

The Regiment appears to have experienced a narrow escape from disbandment in 1678. In the Proceedings of the House of Lords, 16 Decr., 1678, upon a Bill for disbanding some of the Forces, there appears in the list the Regt. of Foot of George, E. of Dumbarton.

³² Treatise on the Standing Army of England; Lond. 1697.

³³ *See* Chapter XXIV, on Recruiting and Strength.

regiment of Foot³⁴ and a strong troop of Horse were raised by the Earl of Peterborough, the majority of the men being supplied from the superabundance of Lord Wentworth's garrison of Dunkerque. The new forces were forthwith transported to Tangier,³⁵ and the celerity with which this was accomplished practically exhibits the small amount of training deemed requisite at that time to turn the raw recruit into an available soldier.

The infantry was denominated the "Tangier Regiment." On its return from Tangier in 1684, it was styled^{35a} "Our Most Dear Consort the Queen's Regiment of Foot." It is now the Second or QUEEN'S REGIMENT OF FOOT, and it still retains the crest of a Paschal Lamb. This crest was a national emblem of Portugal, and appears to have been selected as a compliment to the Queen's nationality and as a suitable insignia for the regiment bearing her name.

In 1680 three more troops of Horse were raised for service at Tangier; and in 1684 these (with some additions) were formed into a regiment; ^{35b} the equipment was changed to that of Dragoons, and the corps was then entitled the "King's Own"³⁶ or "Royal" regiment of Dragoons; it still appears in the Army List as the FIRST ROYAL DRAGOONS.

³⁴ Mercurius Publicus, 24 Octr., 1661.

Kingdom's Intelligencer, 28 Octr., 1661.

Tangiers papers: State paper office; Establishment of the Morocco forces, 10 Octr., 1661.

³⁵ The first muster of the Horse took place in St. George's Fields, Southwark, on the 21st Octr., where they paraded one hundred strong; while the Foot numbered one thousand besides officers at its first muster at Putney Heath on the 14th October: Mercurius Publicus, 24 Octr., 1661.

^{35a} Home Office records; "List of Officers" of the Regiment, "the style of the "Regt., Our Most Dear Consort the Queen's Regt. of Foot," May, 1684.

It is styled "the Queen's Regt." by Nathan Brooks, 1684; but by Chamberlayne in the same year, "His Majesty's Tangier Regt." In Abstract of Forces, 1680, Add. MSS. 10,123, "The Tangier Regt." In Royal Warrant, 6 Febr., 1683-4, Appen. XVIII, the "Tanger Regt." It appears, therefore, to have obtained the title of "Queen's" only after return from Tangier. After the King's death it was called the "Queen Dowager's Regt."; Est. list, 1685, Add. MSS. 15,897; and Chamberlayne, 1687.

For very full particulars respecting this Regt., see the exhaustive History of the Second Queen's Regt., by Col. Davis, 1887.

^{35b} Royal Warrt., 15 July, 1680, W.O. records; Beating orders for six new troops of Horse for Tangier; of which six were disbanded on 9 Sept. of the same year.

³⁶ Commissions to "Our Royal Regt. of Dragoons," 19 Nov., 1683; W.O. records.

James II, Autobiog.

Abstract of Forces, 1680; B. M., Add. MSS. 10,123

No further pretext for augmenting the army presented itself until the year 1665, when war was declared against the Dutch.

Nearly a century before this time the Dutch government had enlisted into its service several independent companies of British subjects, a very large proportion of them being Scotchmen. From the battle of Reminant in 1578, where they fought "in their shirt-sleeves," down to the middle of the seventeenth century this corps had been engaged in all the wars waged in Holland in the cause of liberty. King Charles was not backward to perceive the advantage of obtaining in one complete body such a veteran regiment, and upon the rupture between England and the States he demanded the return home of all British subjects,³⁷ that they might not have to bear arms against their own people.

On the arrival of the corps in this country it was naturally designated the "Holland" regiment,^{37a} and it still ranks next to the Queen's. It was a question whether the Holland Regiment should rank above the Queen's and the Royal Scots, and indeed at one time its Colonel seems to have anticipated its being created a regiment of Guards. (*See* ^{37b}.) Lord Chesterfield (who had previously raised an Infantry regiment in 1667) was promised the command of a regiment of Foot-Guards, and on being commissioned to the Holland Regiment in 1682 he so fully expected his regiment to be entitled accordingly, that in 1684 he writes^{37b} of it as "His Majesty's Holland Regiment of Guards," and he states also that the Duke of York promised

The Tangier troops, Capt. Coy's	{	Troops of Horse at 40 each;
„ Langston's		"These were reduced into Dra-
„ Neatby's		goons when they came to Eng-
„ Mackenzie's		land" (in 1684)

Nathan Brooks, 1684, "King's Own R. Regt. of Drs."

Chamberlayne, 1684.

Est. Lists, 1685-92.

W.O. records; Court-Martial Books, &c.

³⁷ See *Historica Belgica*.

Churchyard's civil wars in the Netherlands.

The Actions in the Low Countries, by Sir Roger Williams (of this regt.).

Sir Francis de Vere's Commentaries.

^{37a} The Commission of the first Colonel on the English Est. is dated 31 May, 1665.

The Regt. is denominated "The Holland Regt." in all the Est. lists of the century, from that of 1668 (Brit. Mus., Add. MSS. 28,082) upwards; as well as Chamberlayne, Nathan Brooks, &c.; and in all the W.O. records (Court-Martial books, Commission, and Order books) from 1665 upwards.

^{37b} Chesterfield's Letters. For fuller particulars *see* his letter to the Earl of Arran, 30 Jan., 1684.

him that the Holland Regiment "should take place of the two "regiments coming from Tangier," namely, Kirke's (the Second Foot) and Dumbarton's (the First). But he was then given a commission omitting the word "Guards"; and, about a week later, was informed that Kirke's and Dumbarton's were to take precedence of the Holland Regiment. Thereupon he resigned his commission.

The colour of the livery or facings has never been materially changed (*see* Ill. LXII), and it is this colour that has obtained for the Third Foot the time-honoured name of THE BUFFS.

Thus then, King Charles the Second had already secured an army as strong in numbers as was that of the United States of America previous to their late civil war. Besides the three cavalry and five infantry regiments whose origin has been recorded, there were many independent or non-regimented companies and troops which were borne on the distinct establishments of England, Scotland, or Ireland. Several of these were at a later period amalgamated into the regular regiments on the English establishment; but until such amalgamation took place, they held no rank in the Standing Army, and could scarcely be reckoned as available beyond their own several intermediate localities.

CHAPTER II.

PROGRESS OF THE ARMY FROM 1666 TO 1684.

1666-84.

Institution of Adjutants.—Institution of Dragoons.—Origin of the Second Dragoons.
 —Institution of Granadeers.—Capture of Tobago.—War in North America.—
 War with Holland.—John Churchill, afterwards Duke of Marlborough.

[*For Illustrations, see Note on p. xiii.*]

THE Army was probably the only institution connected with the government of the country in which Charles the Second took any personal interest ; for, as has been already observed, upon the efficiency and fidelity of his forces he believed the security of his crown to depend. It may be owing to this, or it may be owing to the fact of the Army being so young and therefore so palpably open to improvement, that King Charles (as also his successor) displayed a promptitude in the adoption of improvements, which contrasts somewhat too favourably with the administrative procrastination of later times.

In 1661³⁸ Adjutants had been appointed as assistants to the Majors in their then onerous duties.

The next innovation was the raising of a regiment of DRAGOONS in 1672.³⁹

The origin of the word Dragoon is disputed. Some writers⁴⁰ have supposed that the French "*dragon*" from which or from the Spanish "*dragón*," we have our word, was a name first bestowed on this particular sort of troops on account of their rapidity of motion, and from the circumstance of the dragoon being specially employed for foraging or ravaging a country ; thus suggesting a comparison with the dragon, the ferocious

³⁸ Royal Warrt., June, 1661. See App. II.

Commission to G. March as Adjutant to the Life-Guards, Jany., 1661 ; Domestic State Papers.

³⁹ Royal Warrant, 2 Apr., 1672, App. III.

⁴⁰ Turner.

Daniel.

Grose.

monster that used to figure so conspicuously in the tales and traditions of the middle ages. But this derivation appears rather forced.

It would seem far more likely that "dragon,"⁴¹ as the word used to be spelt even in English, derived itself from the weapon⁴¹ peculiar to dragoons and which was called a dragon, being a sort of large-bore flint-lock carbine,⁴² very short in the barrel. This derivation seems natural, and it is supported, rather than upset, by the various ancient spellings of the word.⁴³ Thus Dragoon used to be more commonly used in English than Dragoon. Now dragoner is the German for dragoon, while drache is the German for dragon: this points to a foreign derivation in common with the English word, and to a derivation in no way associated with the idea of the fabulous animal. The name of the fire-arm from which the bearer of it thus took his appellation, is Spanish; for the Spaniards had not only the "dragón," but also the "dragoncillo." In the English official papers the weapon itself was frequently spelt "dragoon."⁴⁴

Dragoons used to be simply mounted foot-soldiers, able to act as either infantry or cavalry as occasion might require.

Although it was not until 1672 that dragoons were first added to the Standing Army, they had been seen in this

⁴¹ Instructions for Musters and Arms, &c., 1623; "The arms of a Hargobuzier (*sic*) or Dragon (*sic*) which hath succeeded in the place of light horsemen (and are indeed of singular use almost in all the actions of war) the arms are a good Hargobus (*sic*) or Dragon (*sic*) fitted with an iron work to be carried in a belt, a belt with a flask, priming-box, key, and bullet-bag, an open head-piece with cheeks, a good buff coat with deep skirts, sword, girdle and hangers, a saddle, bridle, bit, petrell, crooper, with straps for his sack of necessities, and a horse of ess price than a Cuirassier's."

Markham, 1643; "for offensive arms they have a fair dragon," &c.

In the Scotch Warrants (1678-83) dragoon is sometimes spelt "Dragonne," Scotch Try. Papers.

⁴² Markham.

⁴³ Accounts of Soldiers, 1654; Dublin State Papers. Clarendon.

Articles of War, 1673, Art. 52.

⁴⁴ Representation (10 Feby., 1641) of the Offrs. of the Ordnance; "The Pistols, Carbines, *Dragoones*, Long pikes, Swords," &c., &c. Harl. MSS. 4,250. States of Ordnance Stores; appear—

1669, "Snaphance Dragoones."

1675, Do. do. and "Match-" (*i.e.*, lock) "Dragoones."

1687, Do. do.

1688, Do. do.

1690, Do. do. transferred to the Unservicable column; and

in 1691 only two remaining in store at all. In each of these years these weapons are quite distinct from the *Snaphance Musquets for dragoones*, or from the *Snaphance musquets* generally.

country many years before that time,⁴⁵ and there were many regiments of dragoons in the armies engaged in the Civil War of the King and Parliament.

The Regiment raised in 1672 was disbanded two years later, and from that time until 1681 when the Scots Dragoons were brought on to the establishment, the Army was altogether without dragoons; for the present First Dragoons (the Tangier Horse) remained equipped as Horse until 1684, in which year, on its return from Tangier, it was (as already narrated) converted into a Dragoon regiment. (III. VIII.)

The regiment of Scotch Dragoons just mentioned still ranks next to the First Dragoons and is of world-wide reputation under its appellation of THE SCOTS GREYS. Two troops of 100 each had been raised in 1678,⁴⁶ and after various additions, the several troops were in 1681 amalgamated into a regiment, which in the Scotch Treasury records is often termed the "Royal Regiment of Dragoons" (of Scotland). Whether the Regiment only gained its present appellation when it came to be mounted on grey horses, does not seem certain; but it appears highly probable that the name was originally due to the colour of the uniform, which was of stone-grey cloth.⁴⁷ The Regiment had

⁴⁵ Proceedings of the House of Commons, 13 Apr., 1647.

Accounts of soldiers, 1654; Dublin State Papers. Clarendon.

See also authorities quoted in previous notes.

⁴⁶ Warrt., 7 May, 1678; Scotch State Papers.

Autobiog. James II.

Mackay's Memoirs.

List of Colonels, 1743, states the date of enbodiment to be 25 Novr., 1681.

⁴⁷ Scotch Try. papers, 22 Mar., 1683, order to import "2,436 elnes of grey cloth for use of the regt. of dragoons." In another Warrant, "stone-grey cloth."

Scotch Privy Council Register, 13 Sept., 1684, "stone-grey" cloth for Officers of Dalzell's Regt. of dragoons.

See also Ross's Old Scottish Colours, Edin. 1885.

Scotch Treasury Register, 27 Nov., 1678, regulating the Arms and belts.

Cannon's Regimental records state that the title of "The Royal Regiment of Scots Dragoons" was confirmed by royal warrant of 7 May, 1692. I have not seen this warrant. Letter, 27 June, 1689, Mackay to D. of Hamilton, styles the Regt. the "Scots Dragoons."

It is in every probability of this regiment that Evelyn thus writes in 1694, the year in which the regt. marched for Flanders: "Some regiments of Highland Dragoons were on their march through England; they were of large stature, well appointed and disciplined. One of them having reproached a Dutchman for cowardice in our late fight, was attacked by two Dutchmen, when with his sword he struck off the head of one, and cleft the skull of the other down to his chin."

This Regt. is often termed "The Royal Regt. of Dragoons" in Scotch Treasury Ests.; also so termed in Ests., 1680, in Hist. of Standing Armies.

also short muskets or firelocks, with buckles and belts for slinging them.

The "Scots Dragoons" was brought on to the English establishment in 1688, but was allowed to date from 1681.^{47a}

In 1678 an entirely new arm was introduced into the Service, new, that is to say, to our Service, for we did but copy the Continental armies;⁴⁸ this new arm was GRANADEERS, or soldiers armed with hand-granades, small bombs made for throwing with the hand. For duty as granadeers a certain number of men were at first selected from each Company,⁴⁸ but almost immediately afterwards the granadeers of each regiment were segregated into a company⁴⁸ by themselves. And it may be as well to remark here, that throughout the seventeenth century companies of infantry⁴⁸ other than granadeer or fusileer companies, were armed partly as musqueteers, partly as pikemen; and the granadeers, like the pikemen, were the tallest and finest men in the regiment.⁴⁸

At the same time that Granadeers were thus added to the eight eldest Regiments of Foot, a troop of mounted Granadeers was also attached to each of the three troops of Life-Guards.^{48a}

Owing to King Charles's subservience to the French interest, there were no wars of any national importance during his reign; nevertheless the Army was not altogether inactive, and the few incidents of active service of interest that did occur must not be wholly passed over.

In 1672⁴⁹ the capture of the Island of Tobago was effected by a body of troops which went from Barbadoes under the command of Sir Tobias Bridges.

In 1675 and 1676 troops were employed in a desultory warfare with the North American Indians in Virginia,⁴⁹ and eventually the most troublesome of the tribes were reduced to quietude. But we must turn from the bare mention of the actions of non-regimented troops to the narrative of the doings of the Regiments already incorporated into the Standing Army.

In 1672, an alliance having been formed with France against Holland, war was declared with this latter country. The

^{47a} R. Warrt., Jas. Rex, establishing the Regt. on the English establ., "from 1 Novr., in the 4th year of our reign," Harl. MSS. 4,847.

⁴⁸ See Chap. XXIII on Regimental Economy.

^{48a} R. Warrts., 4, 6, 13 April, 1678; W.O. records.

But in Home Office records is a Warrt., 11 July, 1683, for pouches for the use of the three troops of Granadeers *now raised* for our service.

⁴⁹ London Gazette.

traditional ceremony of PUBLIC DECLARATION OF WAR was observed on this occasion, and it is interesting to notice how closely it resembles that observed on the declaration of war with Russia in 1854. The London Gazette⁵⁰ thus briefly describes the ceremony in 1672 :

“ There met at the Court-Gate—

“ The Marshall's Men.

“ Ten Trumpets.

“ The Serjeant-Trumpeter.

“ Three Officers-of-Arms' Assistants.

“ Two Heralds to proclaim.

“ Three Serjeants at Arms.

“ A party of the King's Troop of Guards.

“ The proclamation being ended, they proceeded from thence “ in a very regular manner to Temple Bar, where having stayed “ some little time, they were met by the Lord Mayor and Aldermen of the City, and at the end of Chancery Lane they made “ the second proclamation ;” another proclamation was made at the end of Wood-street Cheapside, and a fourth at the Royal Exchange. All the party were afterwards entertained by the Corporation, the soldiers having a table to themselves in the same hall.

For this war a British Contingent of six thousand men was made up from the First Foot (which had returned to France in 1668), from the Foot-Guards, and from the Scotch and Irish establishments. One hundred and fifty of the Life-Guards also accompanied the Contingent, and many gentlemen-volunteers were attached to it. This service gave the English levies some notion of real and scientific warfare : to the officers the advantage of serving under such leaders as Condé and Turenne was invaluable, and several good soldiers were formed for us by the campaigns of this war.

Conspicuous among the number was John Churchill, Captain of the granadeer company of a newly-raised regiment commanded by the Duke of Monmouth. This Captain Churchill was already pointed out as a rising man. He did not disappoint the predictions of his admirers ; as the first DUKE OF MARLBOROUGH he became the greatest captain England had ever produced.

⁵⁰ London Gazette, 1 April, 1672 ; and 12 Feby., 1665, and 21 Oct., 1697.

Letter, Chelsea, 6/16 March, 1665, Ambassador Van Goch to States-General describes a similar ceremony at that time ; Dom. State Papers.

It has been asserted that the reasons for Churchill's rapid elevation⁵¹ are to be found in the passion with which he inspired one of the King's mistresses, or in his sister's influence with the Duke of York. However this may be, it is certain that Churchill was from the first noted throughout the Army, not so much for his Court interest, as for his skill and energy as an officer and for his coolness and pluck in action.

The son of a Devonshire country clergyman⁵² who had been impoverished through his loyalty, and whose reminiscences were all of the long Civil war, young Churchill's whole ambition tended towards the profession of arms, and he eagerly embraced the offer of a Commission in the Guards. That the influence of his Court friends was of use to him is to be reasonably presumed, but to every man come at some period of his life external aids, and the difference in men consists mainly in their degrees of fitness to take prompt advantage of such flood-tides in their affairs.

John Churchill was ambitious, and resolved that his apprenticeship should not be spent in idling. He volunteered for Tangier,⁵² and although but a short time with the garrison of that place, he did not leave before he had attracted the notice of his comrades.

Though he was yet only a youth of two-and-twenty⁵³ when he accompanied the Duke of Monmouth to Holland, the great Turenne remarked his conduct, and prophesied a splendid future for him. Captain Churchill possessed the advantage of a remarkably handsome person, and he received in the French camp the sobriquet of "le bel Anglais."⁵²

On one occasion a French Colonel abandoned a post which he had been ordered to maintain as one of extreme importance. Turenne, exasperated at the loss of the post, and desirous of at once recovering it and shaming the Colonel, offered to bet a supper and wine that "le bel Anglais" would retake the position with one-half the number of men that lost it. Churchill and

⁵¹ Churchill's Commissions ran thus: Ensign, 1666; Captain, 1672; Colonel, 3 Apr., 1674, and again 17 Feby., 1677/8; Brigr.-Genl., 1685; Major-General, 1 July, 1685; Lieutenant-General, 7 Novr., 1688. It will be observed that he was promoted from Ensign to Captain direct. The rapidity of some of the later promotions may be due to the great increase of the Army.

⁵² Lediard.

Coxe.

Rousset and Dumont.

⁵³ Born 24 June, 1650, at Ashe, in Devonshire.

his men justified the General's confidence and won his bet for him, but not without a sharp fight.

Another occasion on which the English troops gained much applause was at the siege of Maestricht in 1673,⁵² when young Churchill at the head of his granadeers accompanied the storming party led by the Duke of Monmouth on the twenty-fourth of June to the attack of the counterscarp; it was he who first planted the French flag at the top of the breach. A lodgment was effected, but during the night the Dutch, under cover of the explosion of a mine, recovered the work, driving out the Gardes Françaises and Gardes Suisses who were on duty. At this critical moment the Duke and Churchill, with only twelve "Gentlemen" Privates of the Life-Guards,⁵⁴ rushed to the front, passing, in order to come at the enemy, along a line of fire and within twenty yards of it; checked the enemy's further progress; and, having by their example rallied the flying troops, regained the work before the hour arrived for handing it over to the relieving guard.

The Duke of Monmouth informed his Sovereign that Churchill's bravery had been the saving of his life.⁵² The thanks of the French King were given to the young British granadeer at the head of the army; and he was strongly recommended for promotion by the French Generals. At the age of twenty-three he was promoted to a Colonelcy.

At this same period was being waged a war of quite a different kind; less scientific and on a smaller scale, but more trying because less civilised; not so fame-bringing, but far more harassing, and which is more intimately connected with this history than the war in Holland. On the Continent a comparative handful of Englishmen were fighting under foreign generalship, while at TANGIER British soldiers under British Generals were defending a British fortress against a most determined foe.

A detailed narrative of this defence is due to the valour of the distinguished regiments engaged in it.

⁵⁴ The London Gazette, 23 June, 1673, says only that they were 12 volunteers "all of them the King of Great Britain's subjects."

An account of the same action published by Thos. Newcomb, Lond. 1673, says "about a dozen English volunteers," "persons of quality."

R. Warre, 20 May, 1674, W.O. records, is for the issue of 12 carbines to 12 Gentlemen of the King's, or First, troop of the Life Guards, in lieu of 12 lost in the trenches at Maestricht, and gives the names.

See also Cannon; who, however, quotes no authorities

CHAPTER III.

THE DEFENCE OF TANGIER.

A.D. 1662-80.

Description of Tangier.—State of the defences.—Military system of the Moors.—The earlier attacks.—The later attacks.—Omar Ben Haddn.—Loss of Whitby forts.—A truce.—The truce broken.—The siege renewed.—The siege intermitted.—The siege re-opened.—Evacuation of Charles Fort.—Origin of the Fourth Foot.—Close of the Moorish War.

[*For Illustrations, see Note on p. xiii.*]

TANGIER, the scene of the earliest exploits of our Standing Army, is a sea-port town on the north coast of Marocco, and to a certain extent commands the western entrance to the Straits of Gibraltar. The Moorish sentry, as he stands or rather lolls, on his post upon the ramparts of Tangier, can take in at one glance the whole Strait. The Atlantic lies on his left; in front he can plainly distinguish the low white walls of Tarifa and all the southernmost coast of Spain; to his right rises the craggy mountain of Apes' Hill, and opposite this, and faintest of all, juts out the corpse-shaped rock of Gibraltar. Not a ship can enter the Strait at either end without being espied from Tangier.

The town (Ill. IX) is built on a slope which rises from the beach, the north-western and highest part of the acclivity being occupied by the Castle and the stronger works, the town itself being also walled about. A place of great antiquity,⁵⁵ it had passed through the hands of the Carthaginians, the Romans, the Goths, and the Moors, and had in the fifteenth century been taken by the Portuguese. The Portuguese, during their occupation of the place, were constantly annoyed by the Moors; and the marriage of their Infanta to Charles the Second in 1661 afforded a favourable opportunity of getting rid of so troublesome a property by making it over to an ally.

⁵⁵ The original founders of the city were the Canaanites; and Procopius tells us that there were still to be seen in his time two columns in the town whereon was an inscription in the Phœnician language as follows, "We fled from the robber Joshua "the son of Nun." Procopius wrote in the middle of the sixth century, two thousand years after the conquest of Canaan by the Israelites.

At the time of its cession to England, Tangier, although declining in prosperity, was still a place of some maritime importance as a harbour for Mediterranean-bound ships as well as for vessels passing from Europe towards the Cape of Good Hope and India. Probably no city in the world within the limits of civilisation has so little changed as Tangier, and the modern visitor may still see the guard-room where the men of the Second Queen's kept the Land-port gate; he may still walk along the ramparts once paced by the sentinels of Dumbarton's or the Foot-Guards; and the gate-way still stands by which the Royals used to gallop out to a skirmish with the horsemen of Omar Ben Haddn. The very streets are but little altered, and the imagination can in a moment people them with the red-coated soldiers of Charles's reign with their matchlocks and rattling bandoleers: the same mongrel crowd of Jews, Genoese, Moors, Spaniards, and Levanters filled the narrow streets and the bazaars then as now, and doubtless many a wrangle took place daily in the market-place betwixt the huckstering stall-keepers and the overbearing English soldiery.

Tangier (Ill. X) is in form quadrangular, the north-western angle being the highest ground; and from that angle and from the northern side there is a regular slope towards the south side (Ill. XI) and towards the sea on the north-eastern side.

The whole city was walled in. On the north-western height was Peterborough Tower, a work of no great strength (Ill. XII): the precipitous cliffs on which the tower stood overlooked the Atlantic, and down these cliffs a palisado was run from the city wall to the sea. At the top of the palisado and adjoining the angle of Peterborough Tower was a stout bastion from which the wall continued along the gradually-lowering heights down to the north-eastern angle, where was a landing-mole guarded by a tower and port. As the attacks of the Moors were confined to the land side of the city it is unnecessary to describe the defences on the side of the Straits.

The main defence on the land side consisted of a series of outworks so placed as to form a complete outer line of forts, within musquet shot of each other; and these were connected by ditches, and in some places by palisadoes, the whole being three miles in compass on the land side. The relative positions of these forts will be best learned from the accompanying plan and views (*see* Illus).

Improved as the art of war had recently become in the

middle of the 17th century, the defences of Tangier were not of a nature to have withstood a serious siege by a properly equipped army of Turks, Spaniards, or Frenchmen, but they were strong enough to offer a prolonged resistance to a people so backward in civilisation as were the Moors, and to an army whose chief dependence was upon its irregular cavalry.

The military system of Marocco was a sort of feudal militia.⁵⁶ Each tribe of Arabs or each division of the country was subject to a call from its district Chief or "Moukadem"; there was no Standing Army,⁵⁶ and there was no Field Administration, but each man repaired to the rendezvous, upon an alarm, with his own arms and his own supplies.⁵⁷ The consequence of this disjointed state of things was that the Sultan and his Generals experienced much difficulty in organising any simultaneous action among the many semi-independent chiefs and tribes; and that when an army had at length been assembled,⁵⁶ it was impossible to maintain it long in one spot.

Without a system of supply, without transport, without artillery, without drill, the mode of Moorish warfare was entirely irregular and was infinitely better calculated for a campaign on open plains, deserts, and jungles, than for a close siege. Excellent horsemen, the Moorish cavalry felt able to cope with any foe in the open, and the foot soldiers were apt at ambushes and concealed movements, but individual courage and individual intelligence could not compensate for the advantages conferred by the European system of drill. The Moors fought without order,⁵⁶ observing neither ranks nor files; when compelled to give a pitched battle the Horse led the van and covered the rear, while the Foot composed the main body. Some of the Foot carried lances and some fire-arms.

The new owners of Tangier were not long suffered to remain undisturbed. Parties of Moors, under various independent chiefs, kept up a desultory warfare, and intermittent annoyance rather than any systematic attack. On the third of May, 1662, the Tangier Horse had a party out foraging, when the Moors came⁵⁸ down upon them: thereupon Major Fines was dispatched

⁵⁶ The interest of Tangier; Lond. 1680. Harl. Misc.

⁵⁷ Let it be observed, *en passant*, that a return to a similar militia system in our own country is being at this moment (1872) advocated by many civilian members of the legislature.

⁵⁸ Thacker.

The English had been the aggressors from the first; Mercurius Pub., 12/19 June, 1662.

from the town with some six hundred men to bring in the Horse: the Major was in such haste to start that many of his men had no powder in their bandaleers, and the result was that the whole party was cut to pieces by the Moors close to where Kendal's Fort afterwards stood.

A year after this the Earl of Teviot succeeded the Earl of Peterborough as Governor; and his first act was to ratify a treaty⁵⁸ of boundary with the Moorish government. But unfortunately, before another twelvemonth had elapsed, the English broke the treaty by annexing about one thousand acres of land,⁵⁸ including the site of Charles Fort. The natural sequence was a fresh outbreak of hostilities; and in the Spring the Moors made a demonstration more threatening than any yet attempted since the British occupation. The Earl of Teviot, finding that the presence of so large a body of Moorish troops rendered Tangier a prison to its garrison and cut off the supplies from the neighbouring country, resolved to attempt its dispersal.

On the first of March the Moors were seen planting a standard on an eminence at no great distance, preparatory to breaking ground against some of the outlying forts. The Governor ordered out a troop of the Tangier Horse (Royal Dragoons) and, taking the captain of the troop aside, showed him the red flag of the Moors, and told him that he expected his men to bring it in. Captain Witham mounted, drew his sword, and placed himself at the head of his men. The gate was flung open, and whilst the men of the Royals and the Queen's flocked from the guard-room to the walls to view the coming fight, the Tangier Horse rode proudly out to the maiden battle of their since distinguished corps. On those sunny slopes in front of the walls of Tangier promise was given of the troopers that should capture French colours at Waterloo and ride through Russian masses at Balaklava. A most dashing onset, afterwards maintained with the greatest spirit, placed the standard in the hands of the English troopers and effectually routed the enemy.

The Moors esteemed themselves the most perfect horse-soldiers in the world; and, unwilling to confess themselves defeated by cavalry, on the thirteenth of the same month they made shew of a challenge. It was readily accepted, and again the impetuosity and determined courage of the Tangier Horse was found irresistible by these hitherto invincible centaurs. Again a few days afterwards some of the enemy surprised a

party of the Tangier cavalry, but the Englishmen were still too much for them, and they were beaten.

All this time the garrison was harrassed by being kept constantly on the alert, and on the fourth of May Lord Teviot planned a general sally with the view of breaking up the enemy's army. The battle was one of those hand to hand *mêlées* which have now long been unknown to civilised warfare: the struggle was fierce and protracted, and the loss to the garrison as well as to the Moors was very severe. The Earl of Teviot was killed in the action. However the Moors were thoroughly beaten and the object of the fight was gained; for they drew off, and, except at rare intervals, and then to no great extent, did not interfere with the English garrison for some time.⁵⁹

Principally owing to the difficulties that lay in the way of collecting and subsisting an army, it was fifteen years⁶⁰ ere the Moors assembled again in any force before Tangier.

There was however a man named Omar Ben Haddn, the Alcaid of Alcazar, distinguished alike for his qualities as a general and for the vehemence of his hatred to the English. Omar alone possessed the tact and resolution required to organise an united army, together with the shrewdness to plan, and the perseverance to execute, an effective siege. He was, nevertheless, in no way in advance of his countrymen in the matters of humanity and honour; being, on the contrary, more thoroughly Eastern than most Moors in his mingling of Eastern duplicity and barbarity with the courtesy of the Arab. He was already well known to the garrison of Tangier; and four years before this, in one of the desultory attacks on the garrison, when Buliph, an even more active and bitter enemy than himself, was slain, Omar Ben Haddn lost his hand by a bullet from an English musquet. Omar had, since Buliph's death, conducted the occasional raids against the English, and had been on the whole more successful than his predecessors. Encouraged by these occasional negative triumphs, he obtained authority from the Sultan to organise further operations on a

⁵⁹ At the time that I first wrote this chapter I had no intention of quoting my authorities as I have since done; and although I have disinterred many of them, some of those for the defence of Tangier are lost; most of the events are, however, recorded in the London Gazettes; and *see* also various authorities quoted throughout this chapter.

⁶⁰ Desultory attacks were however not unfrequent during this interval, especially in 1669, 1670 and 1671. London Gazette, 16/19 Aug., 1669; 14/18 July, 1670; July & Aug., 1671.

grander scale ; and in April, 1679, he appeared before the outlying forts of Tangier with at least five thousand foot and six hundred Horse.⁶¹

Less than half a mile in advance of Peterborough tower, but nearer to the sea, was Henrietta fort forming the extreme right of the English lines. A little in advance, again, of this, and close to the shore, was a building named Whitby fort supported by a wood-built redoubt. In Whitby fort were stationed eight and twenty men under a serjeant, while another serjeant and twelve men occupied the redoubt.

Omar Ben Haddn perceived that no success against the left of the English lines would give him entrance to the fortress ; whereas if he could once command it and thus effect an entrance into Peterborough Tower, the town and all that lay below the western height must eventually fall into his hands. He therefore wisely resolved to bend his strength against the English right, beginning with Whitby redoubts as the most advanced posts (Ill. XIII).

On the third of April the Alcaid made a demonstration against the whole line of forts, but he privately detached a strong body to attack at Whitby under cover of the diversion thus created. The English governor, the Earl of Inchiquin, fell into the snare. The points most threatened were re-inforced and no thought was given to Whitby. But the two serjeants (whose names were worthy of preservation⁶²) were equal to their commands. The larger building was a low house with a small tower at the end of it ; the other was merely a log hut.⁶³ Both were of course loop-holed, and from within the English soldiers kept up a constant fire on the thick groups of the enemy. At length the Moors made a rush on the house, crowding in hundreds up to the very loop-holes. The Englishmen continued to fire and could not fail to hit, so thick were the enemy. Some of the Moors, however, were pushed up by their comrades on to the roof, and soon fifty or sixty of them were knocking in the roofing and firing down. The serjeant had wisely prepared for this contingency ; and, withdrawing his party into the tower, he blew up the rest of the house with the

⁶¹ Second journal of the siege of Tangier, Lond. 1680.

⁶² Since writing the above, I have succeeded in discovering the name of the Serjeant who commanded in the Fort ; for his wife Mary Heathley, received £60 Royal bounty. See also Note (1744). Guy's Schedule of secret service payments 1679-88.

⁶³ London Gazette.

men upon it. The howls of pain were followed by yells of disappointed rage, and all the mass of the unhurt came on with fury against the tower. Bravely, nay, nobly did the little band and their spirited leader defend their weak citadel for a long hour. Man after man dropped ; hope of relief from the Lines gave place to certainty of death ; yet still did the serjeant encourage his men, still did the soldiers stand by their serjeant. Seven men only, besides the serjeant, were left when a corner of the building gave way before the sheer weight of the crowds of Moors, and the tired Englishmen saw themselves exposed to the open attack of those whom they had so long defied. They resolved to take no quarter, for death was preferable to slavery, and they made a rush for their lives. One or two escaped, but the gallant serjeant did not live to tell the tale of his own doings.

With not less pluck and determination was the wooden redoubt defended. Its sides were soon riddled and broken, and the enemy gathered so close to the walls that fire-arms could no longer be used. The men with their swords and half-pikes still kept at bay the Moors with their javelins and scimetars. Half of the dozen Englishmen were dead, the arms were nearly all broken to pieces, and the Moors had begun to swarm over the redoubt like bees. Then and not till then did the serjeant order his remaining comrades to try and fight their way to the Lines. He himself remained behind, determined not to abandon his post while there was yet work to do. Preparing a train he blew up the redoubt with himself and some forty of the enemy. Altogether the Moors lost some two hundred and fifty men.

The conduct of such men as these of the Royals and the Queen's (in days when there existed no such order as that of the Victoria Cross) proves that to the British soldier no incitement beyond that of duty and *esprit de corps* is required to evoke the most splendid deeds of valour.

The extraordinary bravery displayed by the two serjeants and their little following had such an effect on the Moors that the Alcaid found it necessary to enter into a truce, in order that he might draw off until the impression created by this action had in some degree faded.

This truce was afterwards renewed, although Omar Ben Haddn was again collecting an army in the neighbourhood of the British fortress. The excuse he made for this apparent inconsistency was that the Sultan had intelligence of an intended French landing on that coast ; indeed, he alleged that this was the only reason for the extension of the truce.

On the twenty-fifth of July the treacherous Moor deliberately broke the truce, attempting a general attack on the English lines in the middle of the night. The governor of Tangier was not so entirely inexperienced in the Eastern mode of dealing, nor so unwary, as not to have taken care to maintain the line of forts and outposts in the highest state of preparation; and the Moorish soldiers, deceived in their expectations of an easy victory, and many of them with a still keen recollection of the prowess of the redcoats at Whitby, could not be induced to make a sustained attack. Several times their chiefs led them on, but come to close quarters with the Englishmen they would not. For some days the Alcaid did his best to inspire his men with greater confidence, but the panic was too strong for him, and he had to retire.

On the third of November the crimson fez caps, the blood-red or green standards, and the white burnouses of the Moors were again espied moving towards the city. As soon as they had pitched their tents the Moors broke ground to make approaches; and on the fifth they attacked the most advanced forts, but without any success.

Omar had profited by his long experience of his enemy, and he now began to turn to account the lessons he had learned. He had noticed that in an assault, or in a hand to hand fight with even largely superior numbers, British soldiers could not be vanquished. For nearly twenty years the Moorish chiefs had trusted to overwhelming numbers and Moorish bravery, but in vain. English infantry had been found invincible in their quiet resolute firmness, whilst English troopers had again and again proved themselves more mettlesome than the vaunted Moorish cavalry. It was necessary to devise some different tactics for the subjugation of Tangier to those hitherto employed. Omar to his great delight had discovered these new means, and he now went to work methodically to form gradual approaches to the English lines. These approaches were not the trenches of modern warfare, but broad ditches ⁶⁴ some eighteen feet deep, with the earth dug out, forming a high embankment on either side, in fact covered ways. The obvious intention of the enemy was to surround with a trench each fort in succession, when it must fall into his hands, provided only that any sally from the town itself could be repulsed.

Now there could be no greater obstacle to a successful sally

⁶⁴ A second journal of the siege of Tangier.

than such deep trenches as the Moors were cutting. This mode of attack was quite new from the Moors, and surprised as well as alarmed the garrison. Lord Inchiquin foresaw that if the forts were left to themselves they must inevitably fall one by one, under this new plan of Omar's. The only way to avert such consequences would be to destroy the enemy's approaches by a succession of sallies, to throw into the forts fresh supplies as needed, and to adopt as far as possible an offensive in lieu of a defensive attitude.

The governor suffered no delay to endanger his small prospects of success, and granadeers were at once sent to the front to annoy the enemy's working parties with hand-granades. On the morning of the seventh Admiral Herbert landed with A NAVAL BRIGADE of three hundred and fifty men, and a considerable sally was made with great success.

The direction of the enemy's approaches was towards Charles fort; and already, notwithstanding a severe check from a sally on the eighth, he had carried mines under James and Kendal forts, the two redoubts farthest from the town. A day or two later two other redoubts had to be abandoned because they were in danger of isolation. Fortunately for the English interests the Alcaid was anxious to get to court to boast of his exploits. He had done more than any general before him; and he deemed it well to present himself to the Sultan before attempting more difficult tasks, and possibly failing. The English governor was not to be enticed into a truce this time, and so the Moors blew up the abandoned forts and disappeared. Omar went up to Fez with a suitable present for the Sultan, and with his mouth full of terrific assaults on redoubts, magnified by Eastern hyperbole into castles and fortresses. The Sultan was however better informed than the Alcaid supposed. He received his general graciously, and accepted his present; but in the middle of Omar's bragging narrative he interrupted him by asking if he had taken Charles fort, and upon receiving a reply in the negative, listened coldly to the rest. The crestfallen general made his obeisance and retired to arrange for a fresh attack.

On the twenty-fifth of March Omar Ben Haddn once more appeared before the white walls of Tangier with about seven thousand men.⁶⁵ He at once commenced to open

⁶⁵ An exact journal of the siege of Tangier, 1680.
A journal of the siege of Tangier, 1680.

trenches from Teviot Hill towards the English lines between Charles and Henrietta forts (Ill. XIV). Lord Inchiquin promptly took measures to place these forts in the best condition for defence. A whole company of the Queen's was sent to re-inforce Charles fort, and plenty of provisions and ammunition was sent out. Breaking ground on Teviot Hill the Moors made their approaches in such a way as to cut off Henrietta fort from Charles fort, completely intersecting the English lines (*see* Ill. IX). The garrison was too weak to prevent this; but re-inforcements were daily expected from home, and it was hoped that the two forts would be able to hold out until in a condition to compel the raising of the siege. The Moors were capital navvies, and the progress they made with their trenches was extraordinary. From their main trench they dug two large trenches cutting off Henrietta fort from Charles fort, and so rounding Charles fort as to sever the communication of the latter with the town. The depth of the trenches, generally as much as fifteen or eighteen feet, together with occasional blinds, rendered it extremely difficult for the men in Charles fort to do much execution, until they erected a cavalier of such a height that they could fire on the working parties at the bottom of the trenches. The annoyance was not, however, sufficient to cause any great delay in the works; and the Moors, rejoicing in the prospect of at length circumventing the Christian interlopers, exhibited their exultation by planting flags along their new trenches; the garrison of Charles fort, however, made such good artillery practice at these that they were reluctantly withdrawn.

A branch was now made on the Henrietta side going towards the sea to cut off Henrietta fort from the town. Having in this manner succeeded in preventing any relief from the town to the forts, Omar attempted to possess himself of the thus isolated works. He commenced a mine towards Charles fort from the south side of it. With Henrietta fort he tried more speedy means. On Easter Sunday, the eleventh of April, a great pent-house (Ill. XV), called a cat or tortoise, was wheeled up to the very wall,⁶⁶ and under its shelter the Moorish soldiers began to dig a deep hole: the hole being charged with powder and well filled in again, an explosion

⁶⁶ Exact journal.
Second journal.
London Gazette.
Thacker.

would blow in the wall of the fort. However, the men in the fort kept up so rapid a discharge of musketry and hand-granades that the enemy was repulsed with considerable loss before the mischief could be effected.⁶⁷ The Alcaid, foiled in this attack, ordered a mine to be opened towards the fort.

On the twenty-ninth a Moorish flag was sent to acquaint Charles fort that the mine was ready, and that if the English did not at once surrender it would be fired. The gallant Captain Trelawney replied that "he was placed there to maintain the fort and not to yield it, and that the enemy might do "his worst."⁶⁸ Omar sent again to say that two of the garrison might come and see the mine for themselves. Two men accordingly went out. Their report of the mine was so far reassuring to their expectant comrades that they testified their defiance of the Moors⁶⁷ by firing volleys and rigging a rope with English flags. Still it was a nervous moment for the two captains and their two hundred men; for so confident were the Moors of the success of their mine that they proceeded to fire it. With ill-disguised anxiety the movements of the enemy were watched by the men in the fort. At length it could be guessed that all was ready. The Moors were leaving the mine, and the barbarians in anticipation of their triumph displayed all the symbols of victory. Slavery or death stared in the face those gallant men of the Second Queen's. Even yet there was time to hail the enemy and surrender on terms: but no, they will be true to death to the colours they still defiantly wave. The last two or three quit the mine. The Moors themselves are silent. The man entrusted to light the train runs from the dangerous spot. British and barbarians are alike in suspense for a few moments longer, moments that must have seemed like ages to the devoted garrison.—A shake, a dull sound, a roar, and the mine has exploded. The exasperated Moors see the fort still standing unharmed, and, as the smoke clears off, the red cross of St. George still flying. The Alcaid was disappointed, but not discouraged. On the day following the failure of the mine he sent into Tangier to compliment Sir Palmes Fairborne on his arrival as Governor; and to say that his life might be a long or a short one,⁶⁷ but that he intended not to stir from the place until he had taken every fort and reduced Tangier to its old limits.

⁶⁷ Second journal.

⁶⁸ Second journal.

Exact journal.

Sir Palmes Fairborne had lately arrived from home to resume the command. He had been closely followed by four companies of old soldiers of the Royals,⁶⁹ and four companies from Ireland for the same regiment ; and two months later other reinforcements⁷⁰ also arrived consisting of five companies of the First and Second Foot Guards (Ills. XVI and XVII) and a fresh batch of the First Foot (Ill. XVIII): Lord Mulgrave, Colonel of the Third Foot, commanded the re-inforcements,⁷¹ and he was accompanied by Lord Mordaunt (afterwards the famous Earl of Peterborough), Lord Plymouth, Lord Lumley, and other noblemen as volunteers.

There were with the Moors several Europeans,—Frenchmen and Levanters. There were even one or two captives from the garrison of Tangier who had preferred to serve the Sultan against their late comrades (perhaps with the hope of escape) rather than be sent up country into hopeless slavery. These men, to the best of their low abilities, instructed the Moors in the arts of gunnery and mining, arts still in their infancy even among the most advanced nations. The practice of the Moors in the former was limited for want of guns, but their success in the latter elated them greatly. When they discovered that their newly-adopted plan of sapping the place they desired to reduce was regarded with anxiety if not alarm by these hitherto fearless Englishmen, their hopes rose, and they worked like galley slaves at their mines.⁷²

They now became possessed of some more guns, probably from some ship wrecked or captured down the coast ; for on the eighth of May they brought to bear on Henrietta fort two pieces,⁷³ the one a three, the other a six-pounder. The next day a breach appeared in the wall of the fort. Sir Palmes Fairborne signalled⁷⁴ to Omar Ben Haddn that the fort should be surrendered if the men were suffered to come into the town. "I want not stone walls but slaves,"⁷⁵ replied the Moor, well aware of the effect of every tangible trophy upon his master the Sultan.

⁶⁹ Lond. Gazette.

Royal Warrt., 4 June, 1680 (presd. in Mackinnon).

⁷⁰ Royal Warrt., 4 June, 1680, telling off the re-inforcements into battalions.

⁷¹ Lond. Gaz., 24/27 May, 1680.

⁷² Second journal.

⁷³ London Gazette.

Exact journal.

Second journal.

⁷⁴ London Gazette.

Exact journal.

Both Charles fort and Henrietta fort had become quite untenable. In the latter their gaped a breach, and against both mines were being approached from every side.⁷⁵ A council of war was called by the governor and it was resolved to cover by a sally the evacuation of Charles fort. It might perhaps have held out for a few days longer ; but so dangerous were by this time the mines under it that the soldiers declared they would abandon it after three days, whether their officers stayed or not.⁷⁶

On the morning of the fourteenth the guns in the fort were spiked, and all ammunition and material was piled together in readiness to be blown up. The men, at this time one hundred and seventy-six in number,⁷⁷ fell in to await the signal from the town.

The sallying party was divided into five bodies.⁷⁸ Captain

⁷⁵ London Gazette.

⁷⁶ Exact journal.
Thacker.

⁷⁷ A letter from Tangier Bay, 17 May, 1680.
Exact journal.
Thacker.

⁷⁸ Captain Hume, as well as Hacket and Hodge of the same regiment and probably also of the Granadeer company, has had his name handed down to posterity in a doggrel drinking song of the regiment which may be given here as a specimen of the military poetical taste of the period :—

1. Captain Hume is bound to sea,
Hey boys, ho boys ;
Captain Hume is bound to sea,
Ho :
Captain Hume is bound to sea,
And his brave companie ;
Hey the brave Granadeers,
Ho.
2. We'll drink no more Irish beer,
Hey boys, ho boys ;
We'll drink no more Irish beer
Ho :
We'll drink no more Irish beer,
For we're all bound to Tangeer
Hey the brave Granadeers,
Ho.
3. We'll drink the Spanish wine,
Hey boys, ho boys ;
We'll drink the Spanish wine
Ho :
We'll drink the Spanish wine,
And court their ladies fine,
Hey the brave Granadeers,
Ho.

Hume with a company of the First Royals was to advance straight on the enemy's trenches. Major Boynton was to command the main body of one hundred and forty men⁷⁹ to sustain Captain Hume ; and two parties of one hundred men

4. Now we're upon the Sound,
 Hey boys, ho boys ;
Now we're upon the Sound
 Ho :
Now we're upon the Sound,
Every man's health goes round,
 Hey the brave Granadeers,
 Ho.
5. When we came to C on shore,
 Hey boys, ho boys ;
When we came to C on shore
 Ho :
When we came to C on shore,
We made the guns to roar,
 Hey the brave Granadeers,
 Ho.
6. Now we drink the Spanish wine,
 Hey boys, ho boys ;
Now we drink the Spanish wine,
 Ho :
Now we drink the Spanish wine,
And kiss their ladies fine,
 Hey the brave Scottish boys,
 Ho.
7. When we do view Tangier,
 Hey boys, ho boys ;
When we do view Tangier
 Ho :
When we do view Tangier,
We'll make these proud Moors to fear,
 Hey the brave Granadeers,
 Ho.
8. When we came to Tangier shore,
 Hey boys, ho boys ;
When we came to Tangier shore,
 Ho :
When we came to Tangier shore,
We'll make our granadoes roar,
 Hey the brave Granadeers,
 Ho.
9. When we come upon the Mould,
 Hey boys, ho boys ;
When we come upon the Mould,
 Ho :
When we come upon the Mould,
We'll make these proud Moors to yield,
 Hey the brave Scottish boys,
 Ho.

and seventy men each acted as supports, one on either flank of the main body.

The naval brigade from the men-of-war in harbour furnished the reserve, which took post in the spur in front of Peterborough tower, Lieutenant Spragg in command.

Between Charles fort and the town lay three deep trenches.⁸⁰ The most formidable was that nearest the town, and this was twelve or fourteen feet in depth and twenty in width. A good deal of rain had fallen lately⁸¹ and the ditches were rendered worse by the quantity of mud and water at the bottom.

10. When we come upon the wall,
 Hey boys, ho boys ;
 When we come upon the wall,
 Ho :
 When we come upon the wall,
 We'll make these proud Moors to fall,
 Hey the brave Granadeers,
 Ho.

11. There's Hacket, Hume, and Hodge,
 Hey boys, ho boys ;
 There's Hacket, Hume, and Hodge,
 Ho :
 There's Hacket, Hume, and Hodge,
 In Charles's Fort shall lodge,
 Hey the brave Granadeers,
 Ho.

12. Hacket led on the Van,
 Hey boys, ho boys ;
 Hacket led on the Van,
 Ho :
 Hacket led on the Van,
 Where was killed many a man,
 Hey the brave Scottish boys,
 Ho.

13. Sixty brave Granadeers,
 Hey boys, ho boys ;
 Sixty brave Granadeers,
 Ho :
 Sixty brave Granadeers,
 Beat the Moors from Tangiers,
 Hey the brave Scottish boys,
 Ho.

A proper new Ballad entitled the Granadeers' Rant, to its own proper new tune
 Lond. 1681. Brit. Mus.

⁷⁹ Exact journal.

London Gazette.

⁸⁰ London Gazette.

Letter from Tangier.

Plans.

Thacker.

⁸¹ Letter from Tangier.

Unfortunately, the garrison of Charles fort acquainted Henrietta fort through a speaking-trumpet of the intended evacuation. Now the Moors had been in possession of Henrietta for a day or two, but had craftily retained everything in such a state (and without removing the garrison), as to keep the surrender a secret from the town and from Charles fort. Although, for better security, all communications were made in Irish at this time, yet the Moors managed to discover the purport of this one, and made ready to take advantage of their knowledge.

At about half-past seven o'clock Captain St. John led the men out of Charles fort,⁸² with his granadeers to the front. Captain Trelawney brought up the rear. Beside him trotted his little son,⁸¹ "*haud passibus equis.*" Ensign Roberts remained behind to blow up the guns and material.⁸³ The men advanced boldly and in good order to the first trench. It was full of Moors. After a short sharp struggle the enemy was beaten out, and the trench crossed. At the same moment Roberts fired his train.

At the second ditch great slaughter was made of the Moors, who stood thicker than before: they were forced back, and the party had now the worst part of their task before them. On pressed the granadeers, briskly using their firelocks. Close followed the musqueteers and pikemen. On every side pressed a crowd of turbaned enemies; in every direction the brilliant sunshine gleamed on hostile weapons, spears, scimetars, and daggers, while the way was obscured by the smoke of innumerable matchlocks and pistols. The press of the swarming enemy was at times so great that the imprisoned Englishmen seemed to make no progress at all. The men were dropping fast. But the third trench is quite close now, and on the other side can be distinguished the red coats and white facings of Hume's Granadeers.

Captain Hume and his party of the Royals were not standing idle all this time (Ill. XVIII). Through the gaps in the English lines which the enemy had cut, rode the Moorish cavalry, but Hume was ready for them. Then, as now, British infantry feared no cavalry in the world. With the pikemen

⁸² London Gazette.

Thacker.

For a full account of this day's affairs see also Letter from Tangier, 18 May, 1680, Dartmouth MSS.

⁸³ London Gazette.

forming the outside of the square, and the musqueteers firing over their protruded pikes, the men of the Royals stood charge after charge⁸² with the courage and steadiness for which they had long been famous.

Their work was, however, child's play compared with the terrible agony that had fallen to the lot of their brethren of the Second. Close nearing the last trench, on came St. John, Trelawney and their "lambs." The Moors, furious at seeing their prey escaping them, raged wildly round. The little band was already much reduced in number, but still on they pressed. To be captured was eternal slavery ; to lie down wounded was to await a death of barbarous torture. Liberty and home, and all that was dear to the breast of each one, lay on the other side of that black trench. A spurt for dear life, a thickening of the swarthy savage mob around, a desperate effort, and the ditch lies just in front. The tired men see that it is deeper than the others, and with slush enough in it to smother any wounded wretch that should fall. However it must be crossed. Captain St. John, cheering them on, made a rush and managed to get safely over.⁸³ Facing about at once, he assisted his men, notwithstanding a wound in the shoulder. The Moors, chagrined and half mad with rage, crowd on to the English. The soldiers in the rear, over-anxious to cross the ditch, forget to maintain their order, and, hindered by their own men in front, they are slaughtered easily by the infuriated Moors. Young Roberts who had overtaken the party got over safely,⁸³ so did Lieutenant Clause and thirty-nine men. Poor Trelawney⁸¹ reached the last ditch with his men, but stopping to help his little boy down he was killed.⁸⁴ The child was captured, as were fourteen of the soldiers.⁸⁴ The deep trench was turned into a huge grave, for of the one hundred and eighty persons that had marched out of Charles fort an hour before, more than one hundred and twenty were now headless corpses. The barbarous Moors vented their disappointed rage⁸⁵ on those who in life had defied them, by mutilating their dead bodies. Of Hume's company fifteen were killed,⁸⁶ and Captain Hume himself with three other officers and many of the men were wounded. Hume received his wound as the party retired on the supports covering the small remainder of the

⁸⁴ Letter from Tangier Bay.
London Gazette.

⁸⁵ Letter from Tangier Bay.
Second journal.

⁸⁶ London Gazette.

unfortunate garrison of Charles fort. Alcaid Garbuz,⁸⁷ one of the most distinguished of the enemy's generals, led a last charge on the retreating Englishmen. Making straight at Hume he rode over him and struck at him, but he struck his last blow, for his horse stumbled over his prostrate foe, the Moor came heavily to the ground and one of Hume's men dashed his brains out as he fell.⁸⁸

While this action was taking place, as well to seize the opportunity to evacuate another fort, as to create a diversion in favour of Charles fort, an attempt was being made to get off thirteen men from Giles fort ; Giles fort was a small redoubt on the beach close to Whitby. Admiral Herbert lay off with his ship, and the boats of the fleet were sent in to fire on the Moors and favour the escape of the party from the redoubt.⁸⁴ The boats lay as near as they could without running the risk of being boarded by the enemy. The Moors were as thick as bees, and surrounded the fort ⁸⁶ thirsting for the blood of its occupants with all the savage cruelty distinctive of their race and their religion. Had the boats touched the beach they would have swarmed over them in an instant. The sailors shouted to the soldiers to make a dash for it. The Moors were firing so thickly that it appeared certain death to leave the shelter of the redoubt.⁸⁶ The water was deep, and the soldiers feared to be drowned if they escaped the shot. The sailors were being picked off, and a Mr. Wray,⁸⁴ a young gentleman volunteer in the "Adventure's" boat was killed. In vain the officers urged the soldiers on the shore to hasten. Only one man ⁸⁴ had the nerve to face the double danger of shot and deep waters. He escaped ; the remaining twelve surrendered to the Moors.

Although the garrison had suffered a severe loss of men in this action, and although the enemy had now all the outposts in their power, the moral effect of the bravery displayed by the English troops was yet so great that five days later Omar Ben Haddn sent in an offer for a four months' truce. His conditions were that the garrison should withdraw themselves within the limits formerly occupied by the Portuguese. Several reasons combined to induce the governor to accede to the terms proposed. The Moors had now complete possession of a large part of the English lines : working from the forts they had lately acquired, nothing could prevent them from ultimately cutting off

⁸⁷ Second journal.
London Gazette.

all the other forts in like manner: they had gained a vast advantage for their future operations by the capture of the guns in Charles and Henrietta forts: any delay must be of advantage to the garrison, for a considerable reinforcement had been promised from home: the Moors had so improved in their engineering, their gunnery,⁸⁸ and their discipline, that without a large addition to the strength of the garrison there was grave reason to fear an attempt to take the town by storm, when their numbers would afford them a fair possibility of success; lastly, it would be of greater advantage to the English than to the Moors to obtain a rest through the hot season.

The truce being arranged, mutual visits of courtesy were made. The English were astonished to see how indefatigably their enemy had availed himself of every chance. It was known that the Moors had obtained a number of guns by their late successes, but it was wondered whence they would obtain cannon balls. But now a huge supply was exhibited to the English visitors to the Moorish camp. Omar had always anticipated the acquisition of artillery, and with commendable foresight he had for years past collected the cannon balls⁸⁸ fired from the garrison.

The interval of the truce was occupied by the English in repairing damages to the lines, and in bringing guns from the Straits side and mounting them on the land side of the town. Urgent solicitations for re-inforcements were sent to England. Lord Inchiquin,⁸⁹ whom Sir Palmes Fairborne came out to relieve, went home in June, and personally urged upon the authorities the necessity for complying with the demand for aid.

A regiment of Foot was raised and was known as the Second Tangier Regiment.⁹⁰ It was, however, not dispatched to Tangier in time to take a share in the fighting. It has since made itself a name as the **FOURTH REGIMENT OF FOOT (III. XIX)**.

During the period of the truce large re-inforcements were dispatched from England, and on its expiration embassies,

⁸⁸ Second journal.

⁸⁹ London Gazette.

⁹⁰ Order for raising the Regt., 13 July, 1680; W. O. records; and Home Office records.

Abstract of Forces 1680, Brit. Mus., Add. MSS. 10,123.

See Note (⁸⁸) also.

After return from Tangier in 1684, it received the title of The Duchess of York and Albany's Regt.; List of the Officers, &c., May, 1684, Home Office records. Nathan Brooks, &c.

messages, and illuminated letters⁹¹ took the place of hostilities. However, no long time had elapsed before the English reverted to their old trick of annexing plots of territory,⁹² and the war would probably have shortly broken out again had not the English government decided on abandoning Tangier altogether.⁹³ The troops thereupon returned home in 1684.^{93a}

⁹¹ Thacker.

London Gazette, &c.

Guy in his Secret Service payments for June quarter, 1682. "To Gideon Roger "for writing, flourishing and embellishing partly in gold, a letter sent to the Emperor "of Fez and Marocco by (hands of) Colonel Kirke, £10."

Among the reinforcements was a troop under Major Oglethorpe, formed of 80 Gentlemen from the three troops of Guards, and one troop of the Blues; R. Warfts., 2 June and 7 June, 1680, W. O. records.

⁹² Thacker.

⁹³ Abstract of Forces 1680, Brit. Mus., Add. MSS. 10,123, in this abstract the Forces paid as pertaining to the garrison of Tangier are Coy's, Langston's, Neatby's and Mackenzie's troops of Horse.

				Privates.
"These were reduced into Dragoons when				
"they came to England"	4 troops	...	...	= 160
"Royal Regt. of Foot"	(1st Foot) 21 compies.	...	...	= 1,050
"Tangier Regt."	(2nd Foot) 12	„	...	= 600
"Trelawney's"	(4th Foot) 16	„	...	= 1,200
				<hr/>
				3,010
				<hr/>

"This regiment was raised 14 July, 1680, and sent to Tangier; and when "returned to England in 1684, 5 Companies were sent to Ireland and 11 remained "here."

In Nathan Brooks's List, 1684, this Regt. is styled "The Duchess of York and Albany's Regt. of Foot"; in the Est. List, 1685, Add. MSS. 15,897, Brit. Mus., and in Chamberlayne, 1687, "Queen's Regt. of Foot," the Second Foot being then styled the "Queen Dowager's."

^{93a} In the 1st vol. of Colonel Davis's Hist. of the 2nd Queen's Regt., Lond. 1887, will be found an exhaustive account of the British occupation of Tangier, replete with curious details.

CHAPTER IV.

PROGRESS OF THE ARMY FROM THE DEATH OF CHARLES
THE SECOND IN 1685 TO THE REVOLUTION OF 1688.

A.D. 1685-88.

Origin of the First, Second, Third, Fourth, and Fifth Dragoon-Guards.—Origin of the Sixth Dragoon-Guards.—Origin of the Third Dragoons.—Origin of the Fourth Dragoons.—Origin of the Seventh Foot.—Origin of the Eighth, Ninth, Tenth, Eleventh, Twelfth, Thirteenth, Fourteenth, and Fifteenth Foot.—Origin of the Third Foot-Guards.—Institution of Periodical Inspections.—Connection with the Indian Army.—Origin of the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Foot.—Military aspect of the Revolution.

[For Illustrations, see Note on p. xiii.]

There are few national establishments which gain so largely by the personal attention, or which lose so much by the personal neglect, of the Sovereign as the Army: and it has generally happened that monarchs have either been too much engrossed with military affairs or else have altogether overlooked them. James the Second evinced the keenest interest in all that concerned the Army,⁹⁴ and his brief reign⁹⁵ was distinguished by several military progressive measures, but it was especially remarkable for the large additions made to the strength of the Standing Army in a time of profound external peace.

The lack of a due proportion of cavalry in our army had been badly felt at Tangier,⁹⁶ and one of James's first acts was to remedy this defect. In the first year of his reign were raised the six regiments of Horse⁹⁷ which are now numbered as the

⁹⁴ His Autobiography is sufficient evidence of this.

⁹⁵ Charles the Second died on 6 Feby., 1684/5.

⁹⁶ Letter from Tangier Bay, 17 May, 1680, Brit. Mus.

⁹⁷ Besides Major-Genl. Werden's regt., disbanded in 1690.

Lord Scarsdale's	"	"	1692.
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Lord Dover's	"	"	1686.
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Home Office records; Commissions for the following Regts., 1st Dragoon Guards (Lanier's), 6 June, 1685; 2nd Dragoon-Guards (Earl of Peterborough), 20 June; 3rd Dragoon-Guards (Earl of Plymouth), 15 July; 4th Dr.-Guards (Earl of Arran), 28 July; 5th D. Gds. (Earl of Shrewsbury), 29 July; 6th Dr. Gds. (Lord Lumley, "the Queen Dowager's"), 31 July, 1685; and the 4th Dragoons (J. Berkeley), 1 July, 1685.

Establishment Lists.

List of King James's Army on Hounslow Heath, 30 June, 1686.

FIRST TO THE SIXTH DRAGOON-GUARDS (Ill. XX). The First and Second of these regiments⁹⁸ were beat up in and about London, the Fourth (Ill. XXI)⁹⁸ was raised in the Midland Counties, and the Fifth⁹⁸ on the borders of Wales.

When the Duke of Monmouth raised the standard of rebellion in 1685, several independent troops of Horse were hastily levied, and when the rebellion had been quelled, they were regimented and formed the Corps called the "Queen Dowager's Horse,"⁹⁸ which is now known so well as the CARABINEERS OR SIXTH DRAGOON GUARDS. The corps was not styled Carabineers until some years later when William the Third made a Carabineer regiment of it. For a long time past there had been in every regiment of Horse in the French Service⁹⁹ a number of men per troop furnished with rifled carabines instead of the smooth-bore musketoon; these were embodied into separate troops, and eventually into regiments. King William seems to have intended to follow this precedent, but, if so, he did not pursue his intention beyond this one regiment.

At the same time as all these regiments of Horse, two additional regiments of Dragoons were raised.¹⁰⁰ One was recruited in and around Middlesex,⁹⁸ and it was honoured¹⁰¹ with the title of the "Queen's" Dragoons. It saw much active service in the first twenty years of its existence, and in modern

⁹⁸ Regimental Records.

The 1st Dragoon Guards was denominated "The Queen's Regt. of Horse"; and the 6th the "Queen Dowager's"; List of King James's Army, 1686; Home Office records quoted in last note; Chamberlayne, 1687: Est. Lists, London Gazettes, &c.

The Sixth was styled "Carabineers" in 1691.

Complete list of Land Forces in H.M.'s pay, 1696, Home Office records; "The Queen's Regt. of Horse."

Statement of Off-reckonings, 1697, ditto; "The Queen's Regt.," in both instances placed next after the Royal or King's Regt., *i.e.*, the Blues.

⁹⁹ Saint-Rémy.

De Feuquiére.

¹⁰⁰ Besides one which, under Col. Richard Hamilton, went to Ireland in 1685, adhered to King James at the Revolution, and after the treaty of Limerick entered the French Service.

¹⁰¹ Home Office records, List of Officers of the "Queen Consort's Regt. of Dragoons," 2 Aug., 1685.

Establishment Lists.

James II, Autobiog.

Chamberlayne, 1687.

List of K. James's Army on Hounslow Heath, 1686.

W.O. records, Court Martial Bks., &c., *e.g.*, 4 Decr., 1685, D. of Somerset's "Regiment of Dragoons of the Queen Consort"; the "Queen Consort's Regt.," &c.

times, in the Peninsula and in India, it has with even greater splendour vindicated its right to the proud title it now bears of the THIRD OR "KING'S OWN" DRAGOONS.

The other dragoon regiment was levied in Somersetshire and the West country,⁹⁷ and was entitled the "Princess Anne of Denmark's" regiment.¹⁰¹ It now ranks as the FOURTH DRAGOONS.

No fewer than nine regiments of infantry were also raised in the year 1685. Foremost among these was an Ordnance regiment formed in imitation of a similar corps in the French army. The peculiarities of this regiment were that it had no pikemen,¹⁰² all the men being armed with fusils and with plug-bayonets which were then beginning to come into use in the infantry (*See* Ill. LXXI); the subalterns were all lieutenants and the officers carried fusils instead of half-pikes and partisans; and there was a company of miners attached to it.^{102a} The especial duty of this regiment was to act as an escort to the Artillery on the march;¹⁰³ but in effect it appears from the first to have acted in capacities in no wise dissimilar to those of other infantry regiments.¹⁰⁴ From the circumstance of the whole battalion being furnished with fusils instead of only the granadeer company,¹⁰⁵ as was the case in other regiments, this corps obtained the name of "The Fusileers." There was also a regiment of Fusileers (Rew's) on the Scotch establishment, as early as 1680, and for the sake of distinction the English regiment was styled, sometimes the "English" and sometimes the "Royal" fusileers.¹⁰⁶ From the day of its first muster to

¹⁰² See Chapters on Arms; Regimental Economy, &c. Throughout this history the modern reader must be careful not to confound the "Ordnance" with all that is now left of that ancient Department of Artillery and Engineering—the Ordnance Store Dept.

^{102a} Home Office records; Authority for raising Compy. of Miners for Royal Regt. of Fusileers, 11 June, 1685.

Brit. Mus., Add. MSS. 15,897; Estimate, 1685, for 40 Miners to complete the Royal Fusileers.

War Office Commission Books, 1685.

¹⁰³ Military Dicty., 1702.

The Master-Genl. of the Ordnance was its Colonel on this account.

¹⁰⁴ Story.

D'Auvergne.

¹⁰⁵ The Fusileers had no Granadeer Company.

¹⁰⁶ W.O. Commission Books, 1685, to "Our Royal Regt. of Fuzileers."

Home Office records—Authority for raising "Our Royal Regt. of Fusileers," 11 June, 1685.

List of K. James's Army on Hounslow Heath, 1686

Chamberlayne, 1687.

the present hour the Seventh "ROYAL FUSILEERS" has been justly regarded as a *corps d'élite*.

The other additions to the infantry were the regiments which now rank from the EIGHTH TO THE FIFTEENTH OF THE LINE. The Eighth and Tenth were raised in the Midland Counties, the men of the Eighth (or "Princess Anne of Denmark's" Regt.)¹⁰⁷ being mostly from Leicestershire.¹⁰⁸ The Ninth recruited from Gloucestershire.¹⁰⁷ The Eleventh is still the North Devonshire regiment, as the Twelfth is the East Suffolk.¹⁰⁷ The Thirteenth was composed of the men of Buckinghamshire,¹⁰⁷ and the Fourteenth of the men of Kent,¹⁰⁷ while the Nottinghamshire¹⁰⁷ lads filled the ranks of the Fifteenth (III. XXII).

In the year following these numerous additions of new regiments, another old regiment was brought on to the English Establishment, namely the SCOTS FOOT-GUARDS,¹⁰⁹ which

Story.

D'Auvergne.

Parker.

Establishment Lists.

¹⁰⁷ W.O. Commission Books.

Home Office records; Authorities for raising the 8th Foot (Col. Lord Ferrers), "Princess Anne of Denmark's regt.," 19 June, 1685; 9th Foot (Cornwall's), 19 June, 1685; 10th (E. of Bath's), 20 June, 1685; 11th (D. of Beaufort's), 20 June; 12th (D. of Norfolk's), 20 June; 13th (E. of Huntingdon's), 20 June; 14th (Sir E. Hales's), 28 Novr., 1685.

It may interest the 14th Regiment to know that its first uniform included red coats and grey stockings and white-edged hats. Lond. Gazettes, 1685/8.

The regiment also wore white shirts and white neckcloths, and had metal swords; and had not only grey hose, but "Wor-gray Hose Jeans." The Wor presumably stands for Worsted, but I do not quite know whether or not Jeans means of jean, perhaps for officers or non-commissioned officers; they were 4s. a pair, as against 1s. 10d. a pair for the men. Bills of J. Gore, W. Hudson, R. Dorrell, and Hawgood, 1688; Treasury State Papers.

¹⁰⁸ Letter, Cork, 31 Jany., 1690/1, Col. Hastings (13th Foot) to Clarke; begs that Beaumont's (8th Foot) may be broke into his, "they being in the same livery" and most of them my country, Leicestershire"; Clarke MSS.

The eighth is styled "Princess Anne of Denmark's Regt. of Foot" in Chamberlayne and in Est. List, 1685, Add. MSS. 15,897, as well as in the Home Office and W.O. records.

N.B.—The reader should not fail to bear in mind that the use of numbers to designate regiments at this period is an anachronism. Unless they possessed some distinctive epithet such as "Coldstream Guards," "Royal Fusiliers," "Scots Dragoons," &c., they were until the middle of the 18th century designated by the names of their Colonels; the use of numbers in this volume is merely for convenience sake. And a chronological list of Colonels is prefixed to this volume for reference by abstracts of original authorities.

¹⁰⁹ Turner, Pallas Armata.

Privy Council Register, Edinboro', July, 1674, Royal letter to add 200 men to "our regt. of Guards," commanded by the Earl of Linlithgow.

marched southwards for the first time in March, 1686 (III. XXIII). Its second battalion following in October, 1688. This Regiment had been raised in Scotland at the Restoration, five companies being added to it in 1662.

In 1687 a kind of INSPECTOR-GENERAL was appointed to perform duties analogous to those of modern half-yearly inspections;¹¹⁰ he was "to exercise the forces and visit the garrisons."

Besides this measure many others were taken in this brief reign to render the British soldier more conversant with the art of war, and to instil into him some practical military knowledge beyond that of the parade-ground. CAMPS OF INSTRUCTION¹¹¹ were formed on a considerable scale; the Staff of the Army was largely increased; the troops were taught to mass in Divisions and Brigades; a compendious DRILL-BOOK was published;¹¹² and the ARTICLES OF WAR¹¹³ were rendered more distinct and more comprehensive.

In 1687 we meet with the earliest notice of any connection between the forces of the East India Company and the Royal army. In June in this year the ship *Cæsar* sailed for India having on board one hundred soldiers of the Eleventh Foot,¹¹³ to whom "His Majesty had been pleased to give leave to go "into the said EAST INDIA COMPANY'S SERVICE."

In the last year of King James's reign two fresh additions

Est. of H.M.'s Standing Forces in Scotland, 1678, "H.M.'s regt. of Foot-Guards."

H.M.'s Forces in Scotland, 1680, Hist. of Standing Armies, "The Royal Regt. of Foot-Guards."

Royal Warrant, James Rex, Harl. MSS. 4,847, establishing "The Regt. of Foot-Guards of our Scots Forces from 1 Novr. in the 4th year of our reign."

Royal Warrant, 27 March, 1686; "The battalion of Our Scots Guards upon "their arrival from Scotland are to be quartered in Greenwich"; W.O. records.

Ellis Correspondence; Ellis to Ellis, London, 27 Apr., 1686; "The Scots "regiment of Guards now quartering in Greenwich."

List of King James's Army on Hounslow Heath, 30 June, 1686, "The Scotch Guards," commanded by Sir James Douglas.

Est. 1688, Harl. MSS. 7,018; "Scots Foot-Guards."

Exact List of H.M.'s Forces, 1692; Brit. Mus., 1880, d; "The Regt. of Scotch Guards."

Warrt., 10 Novr., 1690, Home Office records, for Arms to the 2nd Battn.

¹¹⁰ Establishment List, 1687, Harl. MS. 7,018, "To a person appointed to exercise the forces and visit the garrisons, 16s. 5¹/₂d. per diem."

¹¹¹ For details and authorities on all these several points, see Chapters on Drill, Martial Law, General Staff, &c. It is sufficient to notice the facts here in their order of time.

¹¹² Abridgment of English Military Discipline; By Command, London, 1686.

¹¹³ London Gazette, 13/16 June, 1687.

were made to the regiments of infantry, namely the regiments now ranking as the SIXTEENTH (III. XXIV) and SEVENTEENTH, both of which were levied chiefly in or around Middlesex.¹¹⁴ The earliest experiences of this last regiment were not happy, for its first colonel, Solomon Richards, was casheered, together with Colonel Cunningham of the Ninth, for the failure of the attempted relief of Londonderry in 1689.

James the Second, like his predecessor, paid attention to military affairs chiefly in the expectation that his army would support him,¹¹⁵ should his politics bring him into collision with the nation at large. His hopes however of pitting the Army against the people were happily ill-grounded, and the very first attempt at coercion of the constitution was nobly met by passive resistance on the part of an army composed of volunteers who had never surrendered their privileges as citizens, and who, as soldiers of a free country, were bound to obey all *lawful* commands only.

In Ireland reviews were held of all the recently embodied regiments, and the Protestant officers and soldiers with few exceptions were dismissed,¹¹⁶ however deserving or of however long service. A similar course was pursued in England, though less openly, at intervals from the time of James's accession and especially at the close of the years 1685 and 1687.¹¹⁷

The regiment first selected in England for a trial of the temper of the soldiery was the Twelfth Foot (III. XXV), then in camp at Hounslow, of whom it was demanded that the officers and soldiers should engage themselves to aid in procuring the repeal of the Test Act¹¹⁸ and other laws having for

¹¹⁴ W.O. Commission Books.

Regimental Records.

Lond. Gaz., 1 Jany., 1694, advertisement for a deserter who had carried off Lieut. Desborde's buff-coloured cloth breeches; possibly therefore the facings were buff.

¹¹⁵ Autobiog. Jas. II.

¹¹⁶ Macarice Excidium.

Parker.

Clarendon Correspondence, 1686 to 1688.

¹¹⁷ Reresby.

Lonsdale.

Ellis Correspondence; Ellis to Ellis, 9 Jany., 1685/6, and 13 Octr., 1688.

Autobiog. James II.

Proceedings of House of Commons, 9 & 17 Novr., 1685.

¹¹⁸ The Test Act, passed in 1673, required all officers of the public service to take the Sacrament and make certain declarations as proof of their adherence to the Protestant religion, and to the "established" Church.

It is related of Colonel Kirk, of the Queen's, that when sounded about quitting

their object the assurance of Protestant ascendancy in this country. Those who were not willing to do this were ordered to lay down their arms. Instantly, as if with one mind, the whole regiment, excepting only two officers and a few Roman Catholic soldiers, laid down their arms. The King, who was himself present at the parade, paused in astonishment at the uncompromising demeanour of the troops; and then, ordering the regiment to resume its arms, he declared that for the future he should not do his soldiers the honour of inquiring their sentiments. But he made no further trial of the other regiments in camp.

Later in the year a number of Irish Roman Catholics¹¹⁹ were sent as recruits for the Eighth, or Duke of Berwick's, regiment of Foot (III. XXVI). Lieutenant-Colonel Beaumont and the four Captains whose companies were thus to be filled,¹¹⁹ offered to resign their Commissions rather than receive them, believing this to be part (as it undoubtedly was) of a systematic attempt to subvert the established laws and religion of the country, more especially as their companies were complete¹¹⁹ and men would have to be summarily discharged to make room for the new comers. The five officers were placed in arrest,¹¹⁹ and, having been brought under escort to Windsor for trial by Court-Martial, they were cashiered. Beaumont was subsequently re-instated by William the Third; and, being promoted, commanded his old regiment for some years.

These events, taken in conjunction with others then much talked about,¹²⁰ exhibited James's tendencies too strongly to leave any doubt on the minds of the soldiers that the individual wearer of the Crown, and the Crown itself as established by law, were at variance: and, when William of Orange accepted the invitation of a powerful party to come to England and fill the seat of the self-evicted James, the troops were ripe for the transfer of power, and followed the rest of the nation in holding to the Crown while rejecting the individual King who had broken the contract by which he had reigned. Indeed it may be reasonably asserted that to the conduct of King James's Standing Army as citizens we are indebted for the political

the Protestant Church, he replied that he "regretted to say he was pre-engaged, for "when at Tangier he had promised the Sultan of Marocco that if ever he changed "his religion he would turn Mohammedan."

¹¹⁹ Autobiog. Jas. II.

Reresby.

Lonsdale's Memoirs.

¹²⁰ See especially Clarendon's Correspondence.

and religious freedom enjoyed in so superlative a degree by our country at this present moment, and for the consummation of a necessary Revolution without bloodshed.

But although so happy a result was secured in England, it was unfortunately not so in Ireland, where a lengthy and bloody war was shortly waged between the Williamites and the Jacobites. There is, however, this to be said; that it was a quarrel which in any case must sooner or later have burst forth because of the very nature of the protestant and English ascendancy in that country: and it was well, not only that the embers of strife should smoulder no longer, but also that the war should break out at a moment when all the horrors of a purely religious war of extermination were avoided by the political phase lent to the struggle and by the intervention of outsiders in it.

CHAPTER V.

THE WAR IN IRELAND.—CAMPAIGN OF 1689.

1689.

Introductory.—King James's landing in Ireland.—The state of parties.—The Irish Foot-Guards.—The siege of Londonderry.—The Inniskilling troops.—Origin of the "Inniskilling Dragoons."—Origin of the Fifth "Royal Irish" Dragoons.—Origin of the Twenty-seventh "Inniskilling" Foot.—The skirmish near Lisnaskea.—The Rout of Newtown-Butler.—The English expeditionary army.—Frederic, duc de Schonberg.—The army lands in Ireland.—State of the Irish army.—Siege of Carrickfergus.—Description of the Inniskilling troops.—The march to Dundalk, and the enemy's movements.—The Battle of Boyle.—The Camp at Dundalk.—The Commissariat Transport.—State of the army at Dundalk.—The arrest of Commissary-General Shales.—Close of the campaign.—Losses of the English army.—List of the army.—Origin of the Eighteenth Foot.—Of the Nineteenth, Twentieth, Twenty-second, Twenty-third, and Twenty-fourth Foot.—Origin of the Seventh Dragoon-Guards.

[*For Illustrations, see Note on p. xiii.*]

THE war waged in Ireland between King James and King William differed materially in character from the rebellion of the Duke of Monmouth in 1685, or the Scottish troubles of 1679; all mention of these two has been omitted because they are to be regarded as purely civil wars, little better than local riots, and mostly void of instruction to the professional reader. But the contest in Ireland was no civil war, although it was in great measure a religious one. The Irishman against the Saxon, the subjugated race against the dominant race, the religion, the habits, and even the very language of the combatants differing, the one allied with Dutchmen and Danes, while a French contingent was arrayed on the side of the other;—such was no civil war.

The story of King James's ill-advised policy, the consequent invitation to William of Orange to cross the channel, James's flight to France in November, 1688, and William's installation in his stead under an amended constitution, are matters already mentioned, and too well known to need further repetition here. Had James now bided his time till he could meet the English Protestants half-way, he might perchance at once have regained his throne and obtained complete toleration for his co-religion-

ists ; but he chose rather, misguided by French advice, to attempt to subdue Great Britain by means of the Irish.

The policy of France after James's fall was to create a diversion in Ireland on a scale merely sufficient to detain King William from prosecuting in person a war on the Continent, and the interest displayed by Louis Quatorze in the cause of the Stuarts proceeded entirely from selfish motives, being prompted, not so much by love for James, as by hatred of William and the whole of the Orange faction. For this reason the French army in Ireland never exceeded a strength of about six thousand men.

When James landed at Kinsale in March, 1689, with some eighteen hundred followers from France, the state of affairs stood briefly thus :—

The Earl of Tyrconnel, James's lord-lieutenant, had been stirring to prevent the protestants from centralizing so as to become formidable, and he had occupied in King James's name as many stations as he could. The Protestants on the other hand were endeavouring to hold their own until support should arrive from England. Both parties were very determined, because neither expected consideration or even quarter from the other ; and both were very rancorous because their quarrel was religious as well as political and national.

The Irish had it quite their own way in the south, where Lieutenant-General McCarthy had possessed himself of Castle-Martyn and Bandon, the only places where the protestants had been able to make any opposition at all. In Connaught and Leinster also the Irish were entirely predominant. But in the Northern province, where the protestants were more numerous, they were banding themselves together for resistance. As yet the Irish possessed only Carrickfergus and Charlemont in all Ulster, but Tyrconnel had dispatched Lieutenant-General Hamilton¹²¹ with a force of two thousand five hundred men to prevent the protestants from attacking these two garrisons or making incursions southwards. The Irish gentry had not been idle ; they had raised more than fifty regiments of foot and a goodly proportion of horse.¹²¹ James could also count on his side several regiments of the regular troops on the Irish estab-

¹²¹ James II, Autobiog.

It may interest some readers to know that the uniform of "Lord Galmoy's regt. of Horse in Ireland," consisted of "light grey coats, brass buttons, and lined red," a black hat laced with galoon, and a buff shoulder-belt ; the arms, carbine, pistols, and sword. Some of the horses were grey.—*Lond. Gaz.*, 27 Apr., 1688.

lishment; ¹²¹ Tyrconnel's, Russell's, and Galmoy's Horse, a regiment of dragoons, besides Mac Carthy's, Clancarty's, and Newton's Foot regiments. Montjoy's regiment, ¹²¹ thirteen hundred strong, had split in half, the romanists clinging to James, while the protestants, under Colonel Lundy and Major Gustavus Hamilton, joined the garrison of Londonderry.

There was one other regiment that elected to continue in the service of King James. It has been a subject of wonder to many that, although we have English Guards and Scotch Guards, we have yet no Irish Guards. The reason is this:— There used to be an Irish regiment of Guards; it was raised in 1662 by beat of drum, *but in England*, ¹²² and was entitled by the King "Our Regiment of Guards in the Kingdom of Ireland," so that it originally consisted of Englishmen; but during James's reign Lord Tyrconnel had casheered the protestants ¹²³ and replaced them by romanists, a step of which James reaped the benefit when his days of adversity came upon him. The Irish and Scotch regiments of Guards were regarded as local and were not borne on the general establishment. The Scotch Foot-Guards came on to the English establishment at the Union in 1707 (having, however, been virtually so since the time that they quitted Scotland ¹²⁴ for England in 1686). Ere this, however, the Irish Guards had, as it were, committed suicide by joining James the Second in 1689, and by even volunteering into the French service when James's cause was finally given over in this country. More than once afterwards this Irish regiment ¹²⁵ crossed bayonets with English troops, and on one occasion with the Eighteenth Royal Irish. ¹²⁶ It is, nevertheless, to be regretted that a new regiment of Irish Guards ¹²⁷ has never been substituted for the corps which, from motives the reverse of disgraceful, suffered itself to lapse out of the army.

All the regular troops siding with James were well armed

¹²² Royal Warrt., Westminster, 23 Apr., 1662; Liber Munerum.

Mercurius Publicus, 9 May, 1662, and 28 May, 1662.

R. Warrt., 25 Feby., 1671, "Our Regt. of Guards in Our Kingdom of Ireland."

W. O. records.

¹²³ Clarendon Correspondence, 1686.

¹²⁴ See previous chapter.

¹²⁵ At Neerwinden, &c.

¹²⁶ At Malplaquet. Capt. Parker's Memoirs.

¹²⁷ Why should not the 18th, the oldest Irish regiment, be rewarded for its two centuries of loyalty and conspicuously gallant conduct by elevation to the rank of Guards, retaining the title of "Royal Irish"?

It is worth noting that it was evidently contemplated to raise a fourth regt. of Foot-Guards in Ireland in 1704; Brit. Mus., MS. 21,494.

and equipped ;¹²⁸ but of twenty thousand stand of arms issued to the new levies, it was alleged that scarce a thousand or so of the firearms were afterwards found to be serviceable.¹²⁸ As, however, this allegation was not made for some time after the issue of the arms, it is fair to regard it as a probable exaggeration, intended to excuse the habit, too common among the Irish levies, of throwing away their musquets¹²⁹ in order the better to escape the pursuit of an enemy. It is, nevertheless, certain that they were far from being perfectly equipped.¹³⁰ But James's principal drawback was a dearth of money, ammunition, cannon, and siege material.¹³¹ To compensate for these disadvantages he had with him a body of French troops,¹³² afterwards largely increased, and several good French officers, the Marquis de Rosen taking the chief command. He also brought from France a considerable sum of ready money,¹³² and a quantity of arms and material, but in no way commensurate with his requirements.

The main stronghold of the protestants was LONDONDERRY: but at this time there were no regular troops in the country on the protestant side except the six out of thirteen companies of Montjoy's regiment ; the defence of this city rested therefore

¹²⁸ James II, Autobiog.

¹²⁹ Story.

Autobiog. Jas. II.

Wars in Ireland.

Hamilton, Actions of the Inniskilling men, &c., &c.

¹³⁰ Dispatches, Londonderry, 5 July and 10 July, 1689, Rosen to James ; Macpherson.

Dispatch, Dublin, 16 July, 1689, James to Commissary-General the Earl of Dover ; ditto.

Relation of what most remarkably happened during the last campaign in Ireland (1689), &c.

True and impartial account of Their Majesties' army, &c. (1689/90), "several of "their horse being lancers for want of other arms."

¹³¹ Nairne Papers, D.N. Vol. I, Fol. 64, "An account of arms and other habilaments of war remaining in the several magazines in the Kingdom of Ireland, "1 Apr., 1689."

¹³² James II, Autobiog.

Macpherson.

Story.

Reresby's Memoirs ; King James brought with him from France £200,000, tents and equipage, eight experienced officers of standing, one hundred other officers, one hundred Swiss Guards, fifteen hundred British or Irish troops, a company of "skilful pioneers," arms for 4,000 men, cannon, and an abundance of ammunition.

Full and true account of the landing and reception of the late King James at Kinsale, Lond. 1689 ; there accompanied James twelve men of war, three fireships, and eight merchantmen, £100,000 in money, and fifteen thousand stand of arms, besides ammunition.

with its inhabitants ; and, from the noble manner in which they performed their duty under extreme difficulties, the 'Prentices of Derry of 1689, and the name of the Bishop of Derry are to this day remembered with honour and pride among the protestants of Ulster.

Naturally then the Irish army directed its first operations against Londonderry, which was summoned by James himself on the twenty-eighth of April, 1689. It is not within the province of this history to narrate the particulars of this siege, inasmuch as none of our standing regiments were engaged in it ; although three regiments of Foot were subsequently embodied out of the Derry men,¹³³ namely, Mitchelburne's, White's, and St. John's ; all of which were, however, disbanded later.

After three months of one of the bravest defences on record, the men of Derry saw their trials drawing to a close. And it was time. In the beleaguered city cats, mice, and rats, and even carrion horse-flesh were selling at high prices. Half of the garrison had died. Several gallant sallies had failed to raise the siege.¹³⁴ More than a hundred officers and eight thousand men had been lost to the enemy. Both besiegers and besieged were at their wits' end when some English men-of-war appeared in the Lough¹³⁵ with the Queen's, the Ninth, and the Eleventh Foot on board under Major-General Kirke. De Rosen a few weeks later raised the siege.

Now, at this time the French troops were notoriously addicted to pillage.¹³⁶ The Marquis de Rosen allowed the utmost license to his men notwithstanding the remonstrances of King James,¹³⁷ who perceived how greatly such practices must tend to still further exasperate the protestants against himself, and even to drive over to the enemy many of the Irish. The effect of the unchecked barbarity of the French soldiers,

¹³³ True and exact account of the regiments of Horse and Foot in the service of King William and Queen Mary, and also an account of the Irish forces under the late King James, &c. Lisburn, 26 May, 1690.

¹³⁴ Walker.

Tindal, &c.

Autobiog. Jas. II.

¹³⁵ Mackenzie.

Walker.

Acct. of Major-General Kirke's safe arrival at Londonderry ; Lond. 1689.

For their failure in the first attempt at a relief of the garrison, Colonels Cunningham and Richards of the 9th and 17th Foot were superseded.

¹³⁶ Hamilton.

Macarice Excidium.

¹³⁷ James II, autobiog.

whose example the Irish troops readily followed, was to chase all the inhabitants from the probable route of the army. The people, fleeing from their homes, flocked to Inniskilling.¹³⁸ Soon that town was filled to overflowing with men whose hearts were aflame with rage and longing for revenge. This one had seen his homestead burnt to the ground and his cattle driven off or slaughtered; another had seen his wife sister or daughter brutally mocked and outraged or even carried away by de Rosen's licentious troops. All hated the French, all thirsted for the blood of the (to them) despicable Irish. The highest as well as the most Satanic of human passions combined to render these men as fine material for determined soldiers as could be desired.

They met together, elected officers, and formed themselves into a strong body of Horse with an adjunct of Foot.¹³⁹ Gustavus Hamilton, lately of Montjoy's, became Colonel, and Thomas Lloyd, Lieutenant-Colonel.¹³⁹ Such was the origin of that still choice regiment the INNISKILLING DRAGOONS which was draughted from among these troops after the battle of Newtown-Butler,¹⁴⁰ and was then placed under the command of Sir Albert Cunningham. Captain Wynne of the Ninth Foot was sent down from Londonderry¹³⁹ to embody another regiment of Dragoons, and this, until (a century later¹⁴¹) it unhappily stained its reputation by disloyalty, was equally famous as the FIFTH ROYAL IRISH DRAGOONS.

The efforts of the spirited men of Inniskilling did not stop here. They presently organised three regiments of infantry,¹⁴²

¹³⁸ Hamilton.

Parker.

¹³⁹ Hamilton.

The majority of the men of the Sixth were originally from Donegal; Letter Sir A. Cunningham, Castlebar, 29 Aug., 1692, to Sir H. Bellasyse, "my regt., which "was raised in the Co. Donegal about 20 miles from Sligo"; Clarke MSS.

The Regt. was brought on to the Est. 1 Janry., 1690; R. Warrant, Harl. MSS. 7,439; App. LXXIV.

¹⁴⁰ Wolseley's Dispatch, Inniskilling, 4 Aug., 1689.

True and exact account, &c.; Owsley's regiment of Horse, the third of the cavalry regiments embodied at Inniskilling.

History of the wars in Ireland by an Officer of the Royal Army, London 1689.

¹⁴¹ In 1798.

¹⁴² Hamilton.

True and exact account, &c.

The three Inniskilling infantry regiments were Tiffin's, Gustavus Hamilton's, and Lord George Hamilton's (or Col. Lloyd's).

History of the Wars in Ireland.

Brought on Establishment from 1 Jany., 1690; R. Warrt., App. LXXIV.

of which a representative survived in Colonel Zacharias Tiffin's corps, now the TWENTY-SEVENTH "INNISKILLING" REGIMENT (III. XXVII).

To the Inniskillingers, (outside the walls of Londonderry,) King William was indebted for keeping the enemy in check while an army was being assembled in England. They even marched with the intention of raising the siege of Derry¹⁴³ but were forced to return by news of their own town being threatened. Shortly before the final relief of Derry, Colonel Wolseley,¹⁴⁴ accompanied by an officer named Berry, was sent by General Kirke to assume command of all the Inniskilling forces, and to regiment and brigade them.

At this time General McCarthy (who had been appointed a Major-General in 1686) was besieging the Castle of Crom¹⁴⁵ on Lough Erne (III. XXVIII); and another Irish force under Colonel Sarsfield, one of the most active and zealous of James's officers, was at the same time close to Ballyshannon, the design being to effect a junction¹⁴⁵ before Inniskilling, and to crush at once that stronghold of what was naturally regarded by James's party as rebellion. In order to prevent this junction and to force a separate action with one or other of these leaders, Colonel Wolseley detached Lieutenant-Colonel Berry with four troops of the Horse, one of the Dragoons,¹⁴⁶ and two companies of the Foot to turn McCarthy, Wolseley himself following by longer marches. Berry on the 31st of July came up with the Irish¹⁴⁷ about four miles beyond Lisnaskea, at which place Wolseley and he were to meet. Finding them to far outnumber his own detachment, he dispatched an orderly to Wolseley asking for instructions or assistance;¹⁴⁷ he meantime retreated past Lisnaskea so as to take up a position a mile from the town where he would have a bog to cover his front. The causeway over the bog was scarcely wide enough to allow of two horsemen¹⁴⁸

¹⁴³ Wars in Ireland between their Majesties' army and the forces of the late King James. Lond. 1690.

¹⁴⁴ Hamilton.

Wars in Ireland.

¹⁴⁵ Wolseley's Dispatch. Inniskilling, 4 Aug., 1689.

Hamilton.

¹⁴⁶ Wolseley's Dispatch.

Hamilton.

Wars in Ireland.

¹⁴⁷ Wars in Ireland.

Hist. of the wars.

¹⁴⁸ Wars in Ireland.

Hamilton.

riding abreast, and a thicket of shrubs close to the causeway afforded capital shelter to Berry's infantry and dismounted dragoons.

McCarthy sent off a body of men under an officer named Hamilton¹⁴⁷ to attack Berry at once. Colonel Hamilton, on arriving at the bog, ordered his dragoons to dismount,¹⁴⁸ and heading them himself on foot, he led them courageously along the causeway. Both parties opened fire so soon as they were within range of one another. The Inniskillingers were screened by the thicket, while the Irish soldiers were exposed to every shot as they moved along the narrow level road. Hamilton was almost immediately wounded¹⁴⁸ in the leg and obliged to hand over the command to another officer, who, however, was shot dead directly afterwards.¹⁴⁸ Deprived of their leaders, and with some of their comrades dropping every moment under this enfilading fire, the Irish began to waver. Instantly the Inniskillingers were up and shouting as if the victory were already theirs;¹⁴⁸ Berry ordered a general advance; the Horse took the causeway, the Foot and Dragoons flanking them on the bog. The enemy's retreat turned to a flight. The Horse charged in amongst the fugitives and pursued them through the streets of Lisnaskea¹⁴⁸ and as far beyond as could safely be done without the risk of meeting McCarthy's main body. Some two hundred of the Irish were left on the line of pursuit, and thirty were taken prisoners. In their flight the Irish threw away a large number of arms, which were gladly secured by the victors.¹⁴⁸

Berry returned to his ground and rested his men. It was still quite early, being scarcely ten o'clock, and about noon a trooper arrived with orders to march at once into Lisnaskea to meet Colonel Wolseley¹⁴⁸ and the expected reinforcement from Inniskilling.

On the junction of the two bodies Wolseley called the officers together and informed them that, in consequence of the troops having left home in such pressing haste,¹⁴⁹ they had brought barely sufficient rations with them, reminded them of the risk they ran of being caught in a trap between McCarthy and Sarsfield, and told them that it was therefore necessary to decide at once either to fight McCarthy or to return home. Not only the officers, but also the men (who were consulted),¹⁵⁰ were

¹⁴⁹ Wolseley's Dispatch.
Hamilton.

Wars in Ireland.

¹⁵⁰ Hamilton.

Wars in Ireland.

unanimous in giving the preference to fighting, although most of them had marched eighteen miles ¹⁴⁹ that morning and twenty miles the day before. Accordingly Wolseley marched towards McCarthy, who on his side had raised the siege of Crom ¹⁵¹ and was advancing with his main body in hope of falling upon Berry's detachment before it could either retreat or be reinforced. The two armies came in sight of each other ¹⁵⁰ between the villages of Donagh and Newtown-Butler. McCarthy retreated on Newtown-Butler and halted about half a mile from it on an eminence, ¹⁴⁹ with a bog at the foot of it. The Irish mustered three regiments of infantry, two of dragoons, ¹⁵² and some squadrons of Horse, in all about six thousand men. Wolseley could number only a little over two thousand. ¹⁵²

Most unwisely McCarthy suffered the van of the Inniskillingers to cross the bog ¹⁵⁰ before commencing firing. He immediately, however, perceived his error, and before the Inniskillingers could climb the hill, he drew off to another ground. ¹⁵⁰ It was with the greatest difficulty that the advancing party were withheld by their officers ¹⁵⁰ from breaking into pursuit, believing that the enemy was about to fly. McCarthy continued to retire in complete order through the town of Newtown-Butler ¹⁵³ (which the Irish had already set on fire) for about a mile, when he took up a fresh position ¹⁵⁰ very similar to the one he had just quitted.

The Irish army was again arrayed on an eminence with a bog covering their front. Bogs ¹⁵⁴ are a geological feature almost peculiar to Ireland, and they necessarily figure largely in the operations of this war. An Irish bog is a tract of land consisting of decayed vegetable soil, conjectured to be the product of submerged primeval forests; the soil, when drained and cut out in blocks (as it is for the purposes of fuel), offers much the appearance of a piece out of a very old dunghill in which bits of stick and other such substances have rotted. The bogs are of all shades of brown, from red to dark sepia, and of all dimen-

¹⁵¹ Hamilton.

¹⁵² Wolseley.

Autobiog. Jas. II.

Story, Impartial History.

Wars in Ireland.

Hamilton.

¹⁵³ Hamilton.

¹⁵⁴ There are bogs also in the North of England. In Kaffraria, near a place called Committees', are some curious "holes" which are apparently incipient bogs.

sions, from a few yards to many miles. When undrained they are like a morass, softer in some parts than others ; and one great advantage possessed by the Irish in this war was that, from their intimate acquaintance with the country, they had a knowledge of the safe and of the dangerous parts, and could therefore securely cross bogs where the ignorant would infallibly be swallowed up as in a quicksand ; this knowledge was especially serviceable to the Irish in their frequent flights. In this instance the bog was about half a mile across,¹⁵⁵ and was fairly firm to the foot, a fact fortunately well known to the Inniskillingers ; through the middle of the bog ran a causeway, and although the bog would support infantry when well guided, there was no way across for cavalry except by this causeway,¹⁵⁵ which was only wide enough for two troopers abreast. This time McCarthy took the precaution to post his guns so as to cover the causeway across the bog.¹⁵⁶ By this disposition he reaped a short-lived advantage in the repulse of the Inniskilling Horse,¹⁵⁶ who found it impossible to advance along a narrow road thus swept from end to end by cannon.

Colonel Wolseley, recalling Berry with the Horse, ordered an advance of his infantry and dismounted dragoons in more extended order across the bog itself. The Twenty-seventh, led by Colonel Tiffin, took the right, and Lloyd's Foot the left,¹⁵⁵ while the Fifth Dragoons (dismounted) supported either wing. Colonel Tiffin's courage, during this open movement¹⁵⁷ in the face of the enemy's artillery and musketry, was conspicuous, and gallantly was he seconded by the Inniskilling regiments in this their baptism of fire. The only loss suffered by the Inniskillingers was during this passage of the bog ; for, the end of the causeway gained,¹⁵⁸ they captured the guns, killing the gunners who had courageously maintained their fire to the last moment ; and they then advanced with less difficulty on the Irish main body. The Horse had only awaited the silencing of the guns to support the infantry.¹⁵⁸

The whole force of the onset of the Inniskillingers was borne

¹⁵⁵ Wolseley.

Hamilton.

¹⁵⁶ Hamilton.

Wars in Ireland.

¹⁵⁷ Wolseley.

¹⁵⁸ Wolseley.

Hamilton.

Wars in Ireland.

by the Irish right. McCarthy, perceiving this, sent orders to a regiment on the left to move to the right. Either the officer made a mistake in giving the word of command, or the men in obeying it,¹⁵⁹ for the whole regiment, instead of facing to the right, went to the right-about. The troops in rear of this regiment, knowing that the enemy had crossed the bog, and seeing their own men suddenly facing them and stepping off, imagined that they were about to retreat. The Irish cavalry, without more ado, turned, clapped spurs to their horses and galloped off,¹⁶⁰ deserting the infantry at the very time that it needed protection. The panic thus acted and reacted ; for the regiment that had faced about, seeing the cavalry go off, ran too, and thereupon the troops on the right threw down their arms and fled also.

By this time the Inniskilling Horse had reached the front, and there ensued a most bloody rout. Unfortunately for the Irish, the greater number of them made towards Crom,¹⁵⁶ instead of in a contrary direction where the country was more open and easy. The neighbourhood of Crom Castle was an alternation of wood, water, and bog. The fugitives crossed first an extensive bog which lay just beyond the battlefield, and took refuge in a wood near Crom.¹⁵⁶ The Inniskilling Horse occupied every road and lane, and the Foot surrounded the wood. The panic-stricken Irish had cast away their arms, thus rendering themselves incapable of making the defence that might otherwise have still been organised. The Inniskillingers gave no quarter¹⁵⁶ except to officers, and every soldier found in the wood was killed on the spot. Rendered desperate by this remorseless butchery, some five hundred of the hunted wretches took to the waters of the wide Lough Erne¹⁵⁶ which lies just below the castle, and only one escaped with his life.¹⁶¹

McCarthy had striven in vain to rally his fear-stricken troops. In vain he represented to them that the enemy were

¹⁵⁹ History of the most material occurrences in the Kingdom of Ireland during the last two years ; By an eye-witness ; Lond. 1691.

Story.

¹⁶⁰ Hamilton.

Wars in Ireland.

Macarice Excidium ; "shamefully ran away without striking a blow."

¹⁶¹ Hamilton records an extraordinary sword-stroke made during this engagement :

"In this action there was a remarkable stroke given by Capt. Wm. Smith, who, "at one blow, cut off the upper part of a man's head just under the hat, as much "of the skull as was within the hat with all the brains being struck quite away from "the other part of the skull that stuck with the body, and not so much as a bit of "skin to keep them together but what was cut quite thro'."

but a third of their own number; in vain he called for a few volunteers to return to the charge while there was yet time. At length, resolved not to outlive the disgrace of such a defeat, this brave man amongst so many pusillanimous, turned towards the pursuing enemy to sell his own life as dearly as he might.¹⁵⁶ Half a dozen other Irish gentlemen charged with him, and were of course slain or captured. A soldier shot McCarthy down, and was clubbing his musket¹⁵⁶ to knock out his brains, when an officer stayed the man's hand and made the Irish General his prisoner.

All the Irish guns, ammunition, and colours were taken,¹⁵⁸ and of the six thousand men that marched in McCarthy's army that morning, four hundred had been captured and between two and three thousand killed or drowned.¹⁵⁸ The killed and wounded among the Inniskillingers did not amount to a hundred.¹⁵⁸

The fame of this day's two battles clave to the Inniskillingers throughout the war, and contributed greatly to those frequent panics which gained for the Irish, even among their allies and their own people, the contumelious epithet of cowards. Such was the immediate terror excited among the Irish by this defeat, that Colonel Sarsfield who held the country about Sligo found himself driven to abandon that post,¹⁶² never resting until he reached Athlone, thus leaving the north of Connaught quite exposed.

For a long time past the military authorities in England had been busy assembling an army for active service in Ireland. There were good reasons for the delay which, had it not been for the loyalty and conduct of the men of Derry and Inniskilling, might have proved fatal to the Protestant cause in Ireland. One was the necessity for exercising discrimination in the selection of officers, so as to exclude any of Jacobite tendencies. Another was that, although there were regiments of men, there was no army. There was no organisation, no field-administration, in fact none of that fitness for immediate active service to be found even at that time in continental armies. There was no transport train,¹⁶³ indeed scarcely any Commissariat of any sort; the artillery was all stored away in the arsenals at Portsmouth or London, and was without horses or

¹⁶² Macarice Excidium.

¹⁶³ Schonberg's Dispatches, 1689.

It may be desirable to inform some readers that the technical term Commissariat includes the Finance, the Transport, and the Supplies of an army in the Field. The term has now been entirely abolished (1890).

harness ; and the paucity of arms in the Tower stores was such that King William had to send to Holland for a supply before the troops could be equipped.¹⁶⁴ Many of the regiments consisted of recruits so raw¹⁶⁵ that they were not even in uniform, while some had not yet been furnished with their arms.

The general selected for the command was one whose history at once pointed him out as the fittest man to head an army about to fight as much for Protestantism and for political liberty as for national supremacy.

Frederic, duc de SCHONBERG, by birth a German and of good family, had studied the art of war from his boyhood, under the tutorship of Condé and Turenne. As a military adventurer he had entered the French army, and had attained to the highest honours that Service could offer. When Louis Quatorze commenced his exterminating persecution of the Protestants, Schonberg, rather than be thought to countenance the ill-treatment of his co-religionists,¹⁶⁶ relinquished all the hard-earned results of so many years of service and entered the army of the States. He was now eighty-one years of age,¹⁶⁷ but still hale, active, and soldier-like. In person (*see* Ill. XXXIV) he was of average height and well made, of fair complexion, and particularly neat in his dress.¹⁶⁸ His seat on horseback was the envy of every cavalry officer. Wonderfully well-informed and with so many years of personal experience, the old man could not fail to prove a most agreeable companion at the table or on the march.¹⁶⁸ He was remarkably courteous and affable in his demeanour to inferiors as well as to equals and superiors, but those under him knew full well that he was not to be trifled with, and all men respected him. Upright, religious, a kind man yet a strict disciplinarian,¹⁶⁶ shrewd, and cautious almost to

¹⁶⁴ Story.

Schonberg's Dispatch, 3 Mar., 1690.

History of the most material occurrences, &c.

The writer tells us, "I was in the armouries at the Tower when the arms were to be delivered out to the new levies (in 1688/9)," and that there were not half enough, and that more had to be got from Holland.

Royal Warrt., 2 Decr., 1691 : Ordnce. papers : for £19,183 for arms, tents, and pontoons from Holland.

¹⁶⁵ Reresby.

¹⁶⁶ Villars, *Memoires du duc de*.

¹⁶⁷ Story.

Parker ; *Memoirs of the most memorable military transactions from 1683 to 1718*. Lond. 1747.

Kane's *Memoirs*.

His own signature is Schonberg, not Schomberg.

¹⁶⁸ Story.

a fault, Schonberg was just the general to teach the first principles of warfare to a new and untried army like that of England.

On the thirteenth of August the expeditionary force under Schonberg's command disembarked near Bangor.^{168a} Brigadier Maxwell, who commanded the Irish in the locality, retired at once without offering the slightest opposition to the landing; and no sooner had he disappeared than the Protestants swarmed down to the beach,^{168b} weeping for joy, falling on their knees to thank God for their safety, and regarding every red-coat as an angel of deliverance: the provisions and the carts and horses they brought eagerly down proved welcome to an army whose supplies were administered in the most slipshod manner.

The troops encamped close to the beach, pending the reports of the reconnoitring parties. The Twelfth Foot¹⁶⁹ was sent forward to reconnoitre and, if possible, occupy Belfast, and three hundred men were pushed on to Antrim. On the seventeenth the whole army moved to Belfast.¹⁷⁰

The state of the Irish army at this time was very unpropitious: it had indeed been well nigh disabled by the length of its unsuccessful siege of Derry. The numerous sallies of the garrison had not cut off more men than the diseases engendered by the circumstances of the siege.¹⁷⁰ Fever, ague, and dysentery had invalidated thousands. Add to this that a whole *corps d'armée* had been literally cut to pieces, and their arms lost, at Newtown-Butler. By all that had hitherto occurred, the confidence of the Irish in themselves, their leaders, and their allies, had been greatly shaken. Under such circumstances Colonel Maxwell, who commanded in County Antrim, had abandoned Belfast;¹⁷¹ fearing to be deprived of the possibility of retreat he had retired on Newry, leaving two regiments of foot under McCarthy More to garrison Carrickfergus.¹⁷² The only other Irish garrison in the province of Ulster was at Charlemont. The Duke of Berwick was on the road from Dublin to Newry with

^{168a} Wars in Ireland.
Story.

^{168b} Great News from the Army under the command of Duke Schonberg. Letter, Liverpool, 20 Aug., 1689.

¹⁶⁹ Story.

¹⁷⁰ Autobiog. Jas. II.

¹⁷¹ Story.

Jas. II, autobiog.

¹⁷² Mac Carthy More's and O'Neil's regiments; Relation of what most remarkably happened, &c.; Nihell.

sixteen hundred men,¹⁷³ having orders to do his utmost to prevent or retard any advance of the English on Dublin. Four regiments were in garrison at Drogheda,¹⁷⁰ on which place Berwick could retire if pressed : and King James and de Rosen were assembling at Dublin¹⁷⁰ an army which shortly marched also to Drogheda.

Schonberg's first step was to invest Carrickfergus, for which service twelve regiments were detached.¹⁶⁹ For a whole week the garrison held out, making a very fair defence ; it might however have been prolonged by surrendering the town and defending only the castle, which stands high and with very steep approaches. The course of the siege was in no way remarkable. By the terms of surrender the garrison was permitted to march to Newry.¹⁷⁴

The spirit in which Schonberg and the English regiments regarded the Irish differed widely from the opinions entertained by the Inniskillingers. These saw no necessity for accepting any but an unconditional surrender. Knowing, as they would know, every detail of the past excesses committed by the men of these very regiments that were in Carrickfergus, and fearing further outrages to Protestants if they were now let go, they were enraged at the very notion of treating with Irishmen, from whom they never sought or expected quarter, and to whom they themselves never extended it. They argued that it was not only impolitic but even sinful to turn loose some three thousand such men as those now in their power. They said among themselves that not alone retaliation for the past, but even the commonest principle of self-defence required that these troops should be disabled from doing further mischief. Such men, they declared, were not belligerents, but rebels, thieves, and murderers. When the troops marched out, the Protestant country-people of the vicinity were present in large numbers to witness this earliest triumph over their late terrorists. The garrison was preceded¹⁷⁵ and followed by a small escort of ceremony ;

¹⁷³ Berwick.

¹⁷⁴ Wars in Ireland.

Story.

¹⁷⁵ Story.

True and impartial acct., &c. Thorpe.

Letter, Chester, 4 Sept., 1689. Thorpe.

Great news from Duke Schonberg's Army, Chester, 31 Aug., 1689 (evidently by an eye-witness), Lond. 1689. Thorpe.

Relation of what most remarkably happened, &c. Nihell's Journal ; Mr. Nihell asserts that the soldiers stripped the townspeople, and forced "even women to run

and it was unfortunate that it was no stronger, for before the soldiers of the vanquished garrison with their families had proceeded far, cries arose of "there is my Sunday gown"; "look at that woman in my best smock";¹⁷⁵ "zounds, but that's my grey pony again"; and so on: very shortly the more excitable of the country-folk rushed into the ranks¹⁷⁵ to seize by force what their untutored sense of justice told them was their own; they were followed by others, and soon an over-whelming crowd of enraged peasants and farmers had stripped the Irish¹⁷⁶ of nearly all they possessed. By the time the garrison was four miles out of the town it had been relieved of most of its baggage. The allegation that the regular troops generally took any part in this proceeding, rests upon very slight evidence, or upon none at all; although it is highly probable that the recruits taken up by Schonberg after his landing, of whom there were a large number and who were of the same family-interests and ideas as the other country-people, did join in the row and take some sort of revenge upon those who had so lately had the upper hand. Schonberg¹⁷⁵ and the English officers were greatly annoyed at so gross a breach of the terms of capitulation; had it not been for their active interference the people would not only have disarmed and beaten the Irish but possibly even massacred them.¹⁷⁵

On the surrender of Carrickfergus the English army¹⁷⁴ marched to Belfast; and on the second of September, the whole of the forces having come up, the army marched on Newry¹⁶⁹ by Lisburn, Dromore, and Loughbrickland. The Inniskilling Horse,¹⁶⁹ with the Fifth and Sixth Inniskilling Dragoons, formed the advance-guard. These troops, whose exploits had been often talked over by the English soldiers as the occasional news-letter went round, were the subject of great curiosity when they first joined Schonberg's force.¹⁶⁹ Every one expected to see a perfectly equipped and admirably drilled body of men. Instead of this, there rode into camp¹⁷⁶ three regiments of

the gantlet naked"; but Nihell was not an eye-witness. Moreover, his expression "stripped" may mean only took away much of their baggage and clothing, as the running the gantlet may possibly mean only, not that the women were subjected to whipping, but that being deprived of much of their thus claimed clothing, they had to pass through the crowd without it. There is no evidence of the slightest weight as to ill-treatment of women.

¹⁷⁶ Story.

Journal of what has passed in the North of Ireland, &c., from an eye-witness; Lond. 1689.

Another eye-witness writes as follows: "The Inniskilling Dragoons came there

volunteer irregulars, some on big horses, some on small, some furnished out with a very fair imitation of a regular trooper's equipments, others with nothing military but their arms ; some had holsters, while others carried their pistols stuck into their belts ; and the majority of the privates had their servants riding behind them on small country ponies called "garrons." A chaplain of Lord Drogheda's regiment relates an anecdote very characteristic of such volunteer troops.¹⁶⁹ The chaplain asked the Inniskillingers why they did not go forward to beat off the enemy's outposts, at sight of whom they had halted. "So we would with all our hearts," they replied, "but our orders are "to halt directly we sight the enemy's scouts, and," added several of them in dissatisfied tones, "we shall never prosper so long as we are under orders." Schonberg, however, had formed a high opinion of these troops¹⁷⁷ and reposed more confidence in them than in the freshly raised English regulars. Clothing for the Inniskilling regiments had been ordered to be sent speedily from England,¹⁷⁷ for Schonberg was fully aware that to the vulgar mind, military or non-military, the coat makes the soldier. The Twenty-seventh Inniskilling Foot apparently shared this opinion, for when they had reduced a body of James's troops to submission at Belturbet in June they made it an especial condition that the enemy should surrender all the "red coats"¹⁷⁸ they had ; and they obtained on that occasion enough red coats to clothe two companies : but when they got their new uniform from England it turned out to be grey.¹⁷⁹

On the approach of the English army the Duke of Berwick

"(Newry, 1690) to us. They are but middle-sized men, but they are, nevertheless, "brave fellows. I have seen 'em like masty (mastiff) dogs run against bullets" ; Bonivert, Journey to Ireland, Sloane MSS. 1,033.

¹⁷⁷ Schonberg's Dispatch, 20 Sept., 1689.

Mackay, 1691, says that the Inniskilling and Derry troops were especially apt at expeditions requiring promptitude and rapidity of execution.

¹⁷⁸ Hamilton.

The uniform of the Inniskilling Dragoons was probably also grey in 1691 ; it was at all events apparently peculiar, for Sir Albert Conyngham, asking for the clothing lying at Belfast, writes, "for I think no-one else will desire them being the livery of "my regiment" ; Conyngham to Clarke, 16 Mar., 1691, Clarke MSS.

¹⁷⁹ True and impartial account, &c. ; when at Dundalk in September/October, 1689, there was a skirmish between the Irish outposts and an English outpost, consisting of 300 of the Twenty-seventh Foot, when "every man of them (the 27th) "stripped off his coat so that instead of a *grey regiment* they appeared in white, "being their usual way of fighting, to enable them for better action in the service."

An exact account of Major-General Kirke's safe arrival, &c., London 1689 ; Thorpe.

abandoned Newry bridge,¹⁸⁰ and, after setting fire to the town and breaking up the high-roads, retired on Drogheda. Schonberg, before leaving Newry, sent a trumpeter to the Irish army¹⁸⁰ to give notice, that if any more towns were thus wantonly burnt, the English would give no quarter for the future; and by this timely threat much barbarity was prevented.

After two days' rest at Newry the British army proceeded to Dundalk. The aspect of the country through which the road lay was most dismal. The protestant inhabitants had all been driven in the spring to Inniskilling or Derry, while the Irish had fled southwards on the first news of Schonberg's landing. Not a peasant was to be seen;¹⁸¹ the corn lay rotting on the ground for lack of reapers, and the gutted houses with a dumb eloquence bore witness to the miseries of war. On arriving at Dundalk the army encamped about a mile north-west of the town.

The camp was pitched in two lines on low and somewhat marshy ground¹⁸² at the foot of the hills, the river covering the front, and an arm of the sea the left; the right flank was secured by intrenchments and by garrisoning Bellew Castle; the entrances to the town were also intrenched.

Meantime King James had collected an army at Drogheda,¹⁸³ but he was in considerable perplexity as to the most advisable course for him to pursue. De Rosen's counsel was to retire at once on Athlone and to defend the line of the Shannon until the winter set in,¹⁸⁴ thus gaining time to train the troops and to obtain proper supplies. But James feared with some reason that any retrograde movement,¹⁸⁴ however prudent, would tend to dishearten such raw soldiers as those which filled his ranks: the men would probably slink off to their homes intending to return when fighting should be meant, and before James could arrive at the Shannon his army would have melted away. But if James intended to dispute the road to Dublin his vacillation

¹⁸⁰ Wars in Ireland.

Story.

Parker.

Relation of what most remarkably happened, &c.

¹⁸¹ Story.

¹⁸² Story.

A relation, &c., Dublin, 1689.

¹⁸³ Story.

Autobiog. Jas. II.

Wars in Ireland.

¹⁸⁴ Autobiog. Jas. II.

had already deprived him of half his chances. Not only might Newry have been defended longer, but also an effort might have been made to stop the enemy's progress at Four-mile-house ; this was a pass with mountains on either side and a bog between ; in the middle of the bog the causeway was rendered still more defensible by a deep ditch bridged over. As it was, nothing lay between the English and Dublin except the river Boyne and the Pass of Duleek. A well-sustained distraction in the west might even now have forced Schonberg to retreat, and if skilfully used, have ensured to James ultimate victory at least for this year's campaign : but just at this very time Colonel Lloyd with some five hundred of the men of Inniskilling¹⁸⁵ succeeded in utterly routing a considerable Irish force under a Colonel O'Kelly.

O'Kelly, with a column of about four thousand men, was marching north with a view to surprise Sligo, and he halted at Boyle¹⁸⁶ for the night, posting pickets on the top of Courlaes mountain.

The same night Lloyd left Sligo, and, marching under cover of the mountain, surprised the outposts in the dawn of a foggy autumnal morning. These, however, managed to give an alarm and O'Kelly got his forces under arms as rapidly as possible ; he advanced about nine hundred of them up the mountain, keeping the Horse in a well-flanked lane near the bottom, and pushing the foot to the front in such a way that his cavalry could not be got at except by first repulsing the infantry and afterwards passing a deer-park wall also lined with infantry. However, about sunrise, Lloyd got Sir Albert Cunningham's Inniskilling dragoons within the park wall where they beat off the men lying there, and thus enabled Lloyd to attack the Irish infantry, and, having repulsed it, to march down upon the cavalry. The Irish gave way altogether. But this was not all. Lloyd, perceiving how the fight would go in the lane, rode off rapidly with his cavalry, and, making a detour, came into Boyle by its further end. The Irish, defeated in the lane, and ignorant of the numbers of their pursuers, retreated hurriedly back to

¹⁸⁵ Lloyd's Dispatch, September, 1689, contained in an Account of the Royal Army under the command of the Duke of Schonberg, &c. ; Lond., 1689.

Lloyd states his own numbers at 200 Horse, 100 Dragoons, and 150 Foot, and those of the enemy engaged at 300 Horse and 500 or 600 Foot.

¹⁸⁶ Lloyd's Dispatch.

Wars in Ireland.

Story.

Boyle, and as they came confusedly marching into the town they met with Lloyd and his cavalry. With the surprise of seeing the enemy appear so unexpectedly on all sides, charged in front and rear at once, the Irish did as older soldiers might have done in such a trap ; they ran. At least two hundred and fifty of them were slain, three hundred were captured with Colonel O'Kelly and many other officers ; and the Inniskillingers returned home, having lost only fourteen men and driving in eight thousand head of cattle. Schonberg was so delighted with the news of this action that he paraded all the Inniskillingers at Dundalk, and after complimenting them on the conduct of their comrades, he rode along the whole line with his hat off.¹⁸¹

Schonberg had indeed reason to be pleased ; for this action, happening at this particular juncture, was the turning-point of the campaign. The news of the defeat was the one excuse required by James for retreating ; and the English general was now free to march on Dublin, if only his army had been fit for such an expedition. But it was not fit, and he wisely resolved to remain on the defensive for the remainder of the season. The troops were employed in intrenching the camp at Dundalk.

And now commenced one of those dismal periods of official muddle and official murder which characterise with greater or less distinctness the opening campaigns of our every war. Fifteen thousand men had been landed in a hostile country without an organised Commissariat.¹⁸⁷ A Commissary-General with his staff had been dispatched to the seat of war. The Commissary-General had collected at Belfast plenty of bread, provisions, and munitions, but he had been set down in an enemy's country, in a place actually in the occupation of the enemy when the troops landed, without even a pretence at a Commissariat Field Train.¹⁸⁸

A depôt had been properly established at Belfast but there was no transport to carry supplies to the front. Before the army was three days' march from Belfast "provisions were very scarce",¹⁸⁹ there were flour and bread in plenty at the depôt but there were neither horses nor wagons to bring on the supplies

¹⁸⁷ See Note 163.

¹⁸⁸ Schonberg's Dispatches, 20 Sept., 3 Oct., 6 Oct., 8 Oct., 1689; Home Office records.

Story.

¹⁸⁹ Story.

with the troops for whose sustenance they were provided. And so the flour, and the beef, and the bread, and the brandy, lay useless or rotting at Belfast, even as they did at Balaklava the other day. Orders had to be given that no bread should be issued to officers,¹⁸⁰ because there was not enough for the men who were less able to buy it for themselves at the exorbitant prices charged by the sutlers. Men became faint on the march for lack of food.¹⁸⁰ Officers who did not wish to starve had to take a spade, when a halt was cried, and dig for chance potatoes, or forage for chance herbs and vegetables.¹⁸⁹

When the army arrived at Dundalk actual starvation was imminent. The corn, it is true, lay half rotten in the fields; but everything else had been burnt, devoured, or carried away. The officers of the Commissariat did all in their power, but that was little. They offered a good price for all threshed corn¹⁸⁹ brought in from the front, thus at once benefiting themselves and depriving the enemy. Yet even in this plight the petty jealousies which still ruin our army were found rampant. A short time after the army had encamped at Dundalk the Artillery train joined from England. Commissary-General Shales, who had also arrived in camp, desired that the Artillery horses might be handed over to him pending the formation of his own transport. The artillery officer in charge of the horses of the train, styled the Commissary of the Train, objected to his horses being used for any but artillery purposes,¹⁸⁹ notwithstanding that there could be little employment for them in a stationary camp at a distance from the enemy. His horses, in fact, "did n't list" to draw wagons. It is most likely that his objection would have been allowed by an English general, and the troops might have starved; but Schonberg was too real a soldier for such paltry notions to have weight with him, and the Commissariat was enabled to obtain supplies some days sooner than could otherwise have been possible.

It would serve little purpose at this distance of time to inquire whose was the fault of this absence of a transport Train. A calm revision of the facts as exhibited in their different aspects by the General, the Commissary-General, and the historians, tends to the conclusion that the fault lay with the absence of timely military organisation, and not with individuals. The lack of organisation was especially perceptible in this instance, because not only was there no Train landed with the army, but the want of a land-transport would have been less felt had there been (as doubtless there should always be) a proper "rapport"

between the Commissary-General's department and the Naval authorities, or had the Commissariat possessed a sea-transport of its own ; for the supplies could then readily have been at Dundalk as soon as the army, and the difficulties that occurred about the arrangements for unloading the ships would have been obviated.¹⁹⁰ It is true that the store-ships were at the Commissary-General's disposal, but they nevertheless belonged to a separate department ;¹⁹⁰ and it is this separation of departments, and consequent multiplication of chiefs and of routine, that destroys promptitude and creates those delays and obstructions whose result is Failure.

The situation of the camp at Dundalk, secured as it was by the town and the river in front, by the sea on the left, by the mountains in rear, as well as by an intrenchment from the river to the mountains, and approachable only by high roads with frequent passes, enabled Schonberg to remain there without fear of attack.

James did indeed advance from Ardee to within three miles of the camp seeking a battle, but Schonberg declined to play his opponent's game, for in this movement he discerned James's fears lest inactivity, hardship, sickness, and discipline¹⁹¹ should cause his Irish soldiers to drop away secretly or desert in bodies. The English commander determined upon camping for the rest of the season at Dundalk, unless he should shortly find himself in better condition to advance. His plan was that, while his own army was being made fit to take the field,¹⁹² another body should be landed in the west, when both should advance simultaneously, the one along the Shannon, the other on Dublin. King William wrote several letters to Schonberg pressing him to move forthwith on Dublin, but Schonberg alleged many good reasons for not doing so.¹⁹³ If his Commissariat was such that he could not march to Dundalk, how should he reach Dublin through a country eaten up by the enemy? Already the forage was so scarce in camp¹⁹³ that the cavalry had been sent into County Down. The officers and men of the English regiments were either new and raw soldiers

¹⁹⁰ Mr. Shales's answers to the two inquiries of the Committee of Parliament for accounts, &c., respecting the provisions of the Army in Ireland when he was Commissary-General, 25 Novr., 1690 ; Treasury State Papers.

¹⁹¹ Schonberg's Dispatch, 27 Sept.
Autobiog. Jas. II.

¹⁹² Story.

¹⁹³ Schonberg's Dispatches, 3 Octr. and 8 Octr.

or else fit for little beyond a parade. The cavalry could perform their exercises,¹⁹⁴ but knew nothing of the mode of foraging or of hutting and caring for their horses, nor would they perceive the importance of such knowledge. The infantry consisted for the most part of recruits who hardly knew how to load a musquet. While in camp they were put to ball-practice, but scarcely twenty men in a company could fix their matches so as to fire the piece at all;¹⁹⁵ and it was thought quite a sufficient feat to let off the musquet without attempting to hit the mark. The arms and munitions were bad; the musquets were old and of such poor construction¹⁹⁶ that the recruits broke them in learning their drill; the bomb-shells were badly or insufficiently charged,¹⁹⁷ the cannon were few and faultily cast. The officers of the Administrative Corps, appointed in haste for the emergency, and the officers of the Artillery, destitute of professional education,¹⁹⁸ were naturally ignorant; and unfortunately their very ignorance made them idle and devoid of energy. To crown all, the army was without shoes for men or horses,¹⁹⁹ and was even insufficiently clothed. The enemy on the other hand were not only very much stronger²⁰⁰ in numbers than the English, but a large proportion of James's army were well-armed and well-trained troops;²⁰¹ while the continental experience of the French officers rendered them invaluable.

But if Schonberg's army was unfit to advance, it shewed itself equally unfit for camp life. The weather was and had been for some time very bad.²⁰¹ The season was unusually rainy. Schonberg ordered the troops to erect huts in place of their tents. The foreign regiments willingly obeyed. The English soldiers, too inexperienced to comprehend²⁰¹ the neces-

¹⁹⁴ Schonberg's Dispatches, 3 Octr., 8 Octr., 26 Decr., 1689.

¹⁹⁵ Schonberg's Dispatches, 9 Aug. and 16 Novr., 1689, and 3 Mar., 1690.

¹⁹⁶ Schonberg's Dispatch, 27 August, 1689.

¹⁹⁷ Schonberg's Dispatches, 27 Aug., 6 and 26 Decr., 1689, and 10 Febr., 1690.

¹⁹⁸ Schonberg's Dispatches, 20 Septr., 27 Septr., 6 Octr., and 8 Octr., 1689.

Even when shoes had been purchased and forwarded, they had not reached the army two months later; such were the effects of the absence of an organized administrative corps; Schonberg's Dispatches, 8 Octr., 1689.

¹⁹⁹ Schonberg's Dispatch, 8 Octr., 1689.

Story.

Berwick.

²⁰⁰ Schonberg's Dispatch, 8 Octr., 1689.

²⁰¹ Story.

Wars in Ireland.

Parker.

Kane.

sity for the order and too lazy to do anything for themselves, with officers as ignorant and indolent as their men,²⁰² deferred commencing the huts until it was too late to procure dry timber for the walls or dry straw for thatch: they would not even exert themselves to drain their camping ground,¹⁹⁹ or to get clean fern occasionally for bedding; an officer's party had to be sent out daily to cut fern for compulsory distribution. Fevers of course broke out. Starvation, exposure, and dirt, did their usual work. In less than one month after the arrival of the army at Dundalk²⁰³ there were one thousand sick out of a force of fourteen thousand. The soldiers died at first by scores,²⁰⁴ afterwards by hundreds. Death became so familiar as to engender the most horrible heartlessness. The men, it is true, appeared sorry when their comrades were carried away for burial, but only because their dead bodies had served to stop up the chinks¹⁹² in the hut or had been useful as mattresses.

Officers cared nothing for the comfort of their men or horses.²⁰⁵ On the contrary they did their best to rob the privates: ²⁰⁶ they had enough to do to keep themselves alive; and the more casualties there were²⁰⁷ the more vacant pay could be pocketed before next muster-day. An order had even to be issued to the effect that officers neglecting their men or robbing them of their pay would be summarily broke.²⁰⁸

The medical preparations for the campaign had been on a par with the other arrangements. Not only was there a great scarcity of doctors consequent on the rapid spread of disease, but their chests²⁰⁸ were furnished with medicines and appliances intended only for the cure of wounds.

The General did all that lay in his power. Coal was issued for fires to save the soldiers the trouble of searching for wood; ²⁰⁸ a French prize, with a cargo of wines and brandies, on its way

²⁰² Schonberg's dispatches, 20 Sept., 27 Sept., 3 Oct., 8 Oct., 12 Oct., and 4 Novr., 1689.

Proceedings of House of Commons, 26 Novr., 1689.

²⁰³ Schonberg's Dispatch, 3 Oct., 1689.

²⁰⁴ Macarice Excidium.

²⁰⁵ Schonberg's Dispatches, 20 Sept., 3 Oct., 8 Oct., 12 Oct., 4 Novr., &c., 1689.

²⁰⁶ Schonberg's Dispatches, 20 Sept. and 12 Oct., 1689.

Story.

²⁰⁷ The like avarice had been observed at Tangier some years earlier; The interest of Tangier, Harl. Misc.

See also Chaps. XXII, XXIV, and XXIX.

²⁰⁸ Story.

Proceedings of House of Commons, 26 Novr., 1689.

to England, was detained by Schonberg's order,²⁰⁹ and the stimulants were served out to the troops ; the camp was moved to higher ground ; the sick were sent on board ship ; but all in vain. The incorrigible ignorance and helplessness of the English officer²¹⁰ and the English soldier frustrated every measure put forth for their benefit : what was not done for them was not done at all. The continental regiments, on the other hand, lost but very few men, not more indeed than might be expected in any campaign ;²¹¹ one regiment of Dutch infantry lost only eleven men.

But of course the House of Commons and the people of England demanded a scape-goat ; and the unfortunate Commissary-General Shales was selected for a sacrifice. Why did he not conjure up a transport train with a magic wand ? Why was he not at Chester, at Belfast, and at Dundalk all at the same time ? Such, in effect, were the silly questions asked by the representatives of the clamouring mob. Some horses at all events had been purchased and sent up into Cheshire ; why were they not embarked ? In vain did Shales reply that the supplies also must first be embarked at Chester before they could be disembarked at Belfast,²¹² and that these horses were consequently required at Chester, for he could not hire horses enough to do the work there without them. There were plenty of King's ships at Belfast ; why had not Shales made use of them to carry supplies down the coast to Dundalk ? Why, indeed, unless for the same reasons that cause the Commissariat of to-day to cry aloud for an independent sea-transport of its own ? What captain of a man-of-war would have consented, without an absolute order from the Admiralty, to turn his trim vessel into a store-ship ? Apparently there was no complaint against the Commissariat when once the transport was provided ; and it appears to have been overlooked that, long after the beef and the brandy and the bread and even coal for the

²⁰⁹ Representation ; Treasy. State papers, minuted 19 Febry., 1693.

Letter, Dundalk, 27 Octr., 1689, J. Reade to Master-Genl. of Ordnance ; R. U. S. I. ; " Brandy hath been the only thing to preserve men's lives " ; R. U. S. I.

²¹⁰ Schonberg's Dispatches.

Story.

Parker.

²¹¹ Story.

Parker.

Kane.

Proceedings of House of Commons, 26 Novr., 1689.

²¹² Schonberg's Dispatch, 6 Octr., 1689.

fires had been provided in plenty,²¹³ the sickness not only continued but grew worse, and amongst the English troops only—those troops which could not be induced, either by example or by precept, to take any thought or use any exertion for themselves. Shales was, on the close of the campaign placed in arrest, and carried to London²¹⁴ on a charge of mismanagement and malversation.²¹⁵ He did not himself appear conscious of any fault,²¹³ and asserted that he had done his duty throughout, but he said that he knew who was really to blame and that when he got to London “he would set the saddle on the right horse.”²¹³ The right horse was most probably some influential member of the government, whose carelessness, ignorance, or avarice, had been the means of hampering the operations of the Commissariat. Commissary-General Shales was in all likelihood no better than other officials were in those times of almost universal, and indeed open, corruption. Every colonel sweated an income out of the off-reckonings; every captain pocketed the vacant pay of casualties; the whole system of fees was bribery in a chronic form; the open sale of such places as quarter-master-ships and regimental agencies was proof of peculation; and it is not to be supposed that Commissariat officers were the only clean-handed officers under government. Nevertheless, an impartial review of this sad campaign, and the significant fact that it was found inconvenient to satisfy the popular outcry by bringing Shales to trial, lead to the conclusion that the disasters of the campaign were not attributable to any dishonesty or incapacity on his part. They were clearly attributable to the absence of an organised Commissariat Transport Train and to the unsoldierly helplessness and improvidence which too often characterise the English soldier on service.

While Schonberg's men were dying at Dundalk, King James's soldiers were being carried off equally rapidly between

²¹³ Story.

Shales's letters to Duke Schonberg while under arrest at Belfast, Leeds MSS.

Proceedings of Ho. of Commons, 26, 27, and 30 Novr., 2 Decr., &c., 1689. Mr. Waller's report of his visit to the Army. Sir H. Goodrich pertinently remarked during the debate, that if Schonberg had thought that Shales was to blame, and that the army would be benefited by removing him, he could and would have removed him.

²¹⁴ Shales had been Commissary-General in King James's time; Report, May, 1693, on petition for monies due by Captain Shales when Commissary General, in the years 1687/8; Treasury State Papers.

Est. List, Decr., 1686, Harl. MSS. 4, 161.

²¹⁵ Full and true account, &c., London 1689.

Story.

Ardee and Drogheda,²¹⁶ where, out of forty thousand men, nearly fifteen thousand died.

In the beginning of November the Irish army went into quarters, and Schonberg lost no time in following their example.²¹⁷ On the morning of Sunday the third all the sick in camp were ordered to be carried to the coast to be shipped. A more heart-rending scene was never witnessed. Many of the unfortunates were so prostrated that they died between their huts and the wagons. The rest, groaning with pain, or helplessly feeble, were driven off towards Newry and Carlingford;²¹⁸ at every rut in the rough cut-up roads, some poor wretch gave his last gasp with the jolt, and was at once thrown out²¹⁸ to make more room: the roads were covered with corpses.

On the fifth the camp was broken up. When the order came out, the soldiers at first thought that the enemy was approaching, and they instantaneously recovered their spirits; they gladly pulled down their tents and cleared out of their huts, while some began to prepare for action, crying out to one another that "the enemy should be made to pay smartly for "making them lie so long in the cold."²¹⁸ Many a poor fellow died on the march to winter quarters,²¹⁸ and the same callousness as before was displayed by their comrades. Some men of Gower's regiment lodged one night in a stable; in the morning two of the number were dead. The chaplain looked in, hoping to be in time to soothe their last moments²¹⁸ and the survivors begged him to use his influence to procure some fuel for them: on the chaplain's return with the fuel, he found that they had arranged the scarce-cold bodies of their late mess-mates so as to serve as seats around the expected fire.

The loss of life at Dundalk camp is sickening to contemplate. The account of mortality caused by the hollowness of our military system, in this, the first lesson of our standing army in real campaigning, stood thus in round numbers:—

²¹⁶ Autobiog. James II.
Wars in Ireland.

²¹⁷ Story.
Wars in Ireland.

²¹⁸ Story.

Total of the Army in camp	...	...	14,000
Loss ²¹⁹ —Died at Dundalk	...	...	1,700
Died on board ship in course of removal from Dundalk to Belfast	...	...	800
Died in Hospital at Belfast	...	...	3,800
			———— 6,300
Survived	...	...	———— 7,700

Some regiments had not above sixty men left effective.²²⁰ Death had become so common that no man regarded it. Some of the ships that were bringing up the sick arrived at Carrickfergus actually without a soul on board besides the crew.²¹⁹ Before the army quitted the camp all ceremony²¹⁹ had ceased at funerals; they were forbidden as tending both to depress the spirits of the sick, and to acquaint the enemy with the rate of mortality. Thus half of this army of fine lusty English youths perished miserably. And besides all these deaths there were many hundreds disabled for life; with some mortification set in,²¹⁹ and their feet and toes dropped off, literally rotted from the limbs.

Such were the awful and disastrous consequences of sending into the field an army that had not been organised, trained, and prepared for war in time of peace.

This unfortunate force was composed of the following regiments :—

*List of the Army in Ireland, 1689.*²²¹

HORSE.

	Troops.		Troops.
*1st Dragoon Gds. (Lanier)	... 6	Lord Delamere's...	... 6
2nd " " (Villiers)	... 6	*Col. Langston's ...	... 6
5th " " (Coy)...	... 6	Inniskillingers (Wolseley)	... 12
6th " " (Hewett)	... 6	Schonberg's French Regt.	... 9
7th " " (Devonshire)...	6	Miscellaneous ..	... 3

²¹⁹ Story.

Kane.

²²⁰ Parker.

²²¹ Authorities quoted throughout this chapter.

Drogheda's; Roscommon's; Zanchy's; Ingoldsby's; and Hamilton's were shortly broken up. See Note ²³⁷.

DRAGOONS.

	Troops.		Troops.
*1st Dragoons (Hayford)	... 9	5th Dragoons (Wynne)	... 6
3rd " (Levison)	... 6	6th " (Cunningham)	... 6

FOOT.

2nd Foot (Kirke).	Lord Lisburne's.
8th " (Behumont).	Col. Zanchy's.
9th " (Stuart).	Sir H. Ingoldsbys.
11th " (Hanmer).	Sir Thos. Gower's.
12th " (Wharton).	Col. Erle's.
*13th " (Hastings).	The Blue Dutch.
18th " (Meath).	The White do.
*20th " (Hamilton).	La Melonière's French.
22nd " (Bellasis).	Du Cambon's do.
23rd " (Herbert).	La Caillemote's do.
24th " (Deering).	*Col. Lloyd's.
27th " (Tiffin).	* " Hamilton's.
Lord Kingston's.	* " White's.
" Drogheda's.	" Mitchelburne's.
" Roscommon's.	* " St. John's.

Composed of
Inniskilling and
Derry men.

N.B.—Those marked with (*) were not in camp at Dundalk, being in garrison.

The Dutch regiments that appear in this list had been brought over by William from his own country. The French regiments were composed of men who, like Schonberg, had quitted France because of religious persecution, and who outdid even the hereditary champion of Protestantism, William of Orange himself, in detestation of popery, and rancorous hatred of their Romanist fellow-countrymen and persecuting King. The English regiments, however, did not pull at all well with the Frenchmen, and frequent were the quarrels between them.²¹⁸

But there are other regiments in the above list of which some account is due on this their first appearance.

In the last year of the reign of Charles the Second the independent companies²²² with which Ireland was at that time garrisoned were regimented. All the regiments then formed either clung to King James on the Revolution, or else (with a single exception) were disbanded by William. This exception, six years later, won for itself at the sword's point the distinguished title of "The Royal Regiment of Ireland";²²² it still displays the motto then inscribed on its colours, and it still has a world-wide fame as the "EIGHTEENTH ROYAL IRISH."

The other four regiments, namely the TWENTIETH, TWENTY-

SECOND, TWENTY-THIRD, and TWENTY-FOURTH (as well as the NINETEENTH), had all been raised since the arrival of William in England. The Twentieth indeed had been instrumental in his accession to the throne, for on the advance of the Prince of Orange from Torbay in 1688, his adherents at Exeter raised this regiment and it is to this day denominated the "EAST DEVONSHIRE" regiment. THE NINETEENTH FOOT had been similarly formed of Volunteers joining the Prince's standard immediately after his landing; and the first Commissions of the Colonels of the Nineteenth and Twentieth were both dated the 20th November, 1688.

The Twenty Third "ROYAL WELSH" derives its title from the fact of the regiment having been raised in the Principality²²³ and its bordering counties.

The ranks of the Twenty Fourth were filled with Shropshire men.²²³ Their uniform was blue.

THE SEVENTH DRAGOON GUARDS (then termed "Horse") was another corps which, like the Twentieth Foot, was formed from Volunteers in the cause of William of Orange on the news of his landing: it had been raised by the Earl of Devonshire from among his tenantry in Derbyshire,^{223a} and appears to have been, for its first year of existence, clothed in blue.

Of the regiments subsequently disbanded, Drogheda's was also a Welsh regiment, and its uniform was the same as that of the Twenty-third;²²⁴ Lisburne's men were principally from Herefordshire,²²⁵ and wore blue coats and orange or dark buff facings: Lord Kingston's were from Warwickshire,²²⁴ and red: Ingoldsby's were from Staffordshire²²⁴ and wore blue coats and red stockings. Roscommon's were from Wiltshire,²²⁵ and wore red coats; while the Duke of Bolton's wore blue.

Some light is thrown on the disasters of this campaign by the confidential Inspection-reports made after the review at Dundalk on 28 Oct., 1689, reports which may also be of interest to the regiments specified:

²²³ News from Chester, 5 Aug., 1689; Thorpe.

I have met with no mention of the Regt. as the "Royal Welsh" prior to 1700. At least as early as 1713 it was styled the "Royal Welsh Fusiliers." List of all H.M.'s Forces, Eg. MSS. 2,618.

Life and actions of Tyrconnel.

^{223a} Coke MSS., and see Notes to Ill. LXIV.

²²⁴ News from Chester, 5 Aug., 1689; Thorpe.

²²⁵ News from Chester, 5 Aug., 1689.

Great news from the camp at Chester, Lond. 1689; Thorpe.
London Gazette, 13/17 June and 9/13 May, 1689.

Kirke's (2nd Foot), men pretty fine, but very badly clothed, many sick ; Lieutenant-Colonel, Major, and some of the Captains "assez bons officiers, mais les subalternes ne sont pas des messieurs, et beaucoup de jeunes gens."

Beaumont's (8th Foot), Major very assiduous, but the Lt.-Col. neglects the regiment ; pretty well clothed.

Stewart's (9th Foot), Colonel good, but his officers not of the best.

Hanmer's (11th Foot), very badly clothed.

Wharton's (12th Foot), good Colonel, well clothed, has sent into Scotland for surtouts : but much bad company, and debauchery, and drinking.

Meath's (18th Foot), best regiment in all the army, both as regards clothing and good order, and the officers generally good. The soldiers being all of this province, the campaign is not so hard on them as on others.

Bellasyse's (22nd Foot), hardly any good Officers, and an entire absence of good order, clothing not good ; but Brigr. Bellasyse expected to work reforms.

Herbert's (23rd Foot), Colonel very assiduous, but too easy to the Officers, who are the most negligent that can be imagined. Often he is the only Officer present with the regiment, which he never quits ; yet the regiment is in a bad condition ; clothing good, but arms almost useless.

Dering's (24th Foot), regiment has fine men and fairly clothed : but, except the Major (Ramsay) the rest of the Officers "n'est pas grand chose," and know nothing of their Companies, which is the case in many other regiments : the Colonel dead and his brother, next in command, always absent from the regiment.

Lloyd's Inniskillingers, and

Tiffin's (27th ditto), men fine, but not clothed, and without swords, as are the great part of the English regiments : officers good fellows, but with no experience.

Ingoldsby's, Colonel ill, and as incapable as are almost all the other Officers, who are usually absent and are so greedy of money that the soldiers can scarce get paid ; very badly clothed, and without shirts ; as bad a regiment as possible, except Drogheda's which is worse.^{225a}

The regiments are not complete, and yet the Commissary passed them as complete only five days ago.

^{225a} List of Infantry reviewed Dundalk, 28 Oct., 1689 ; Home Office records.

CHAPTER VI.

THE WAR IN IRELAND. CAMPAIGN OF 1690. FROM THE CLOSE OF THE CAMPAIGN OF 1689 TO THE BATTLE OF THE BOYNE.

Operations during the winter.—Belturbet surprised.—The Action at Cavan.—State of the two armies.—Capture of Charlemont.—Opening of the campaign.—List of the English Army.—Origin of the Fifth and Sixth Foot.—Strength of the enemy.—Plans of the enemy.—The ambush at Half-way bridge.—Movements of the two armies.—Description of the Field of the battle of the Boyne.

[*For Illustrations, see Note on p. xiii.*]

BEFORE entering on the history of the campaign of 1690 it is necessary to relate one or two events which occurred during the winter. The English frontier, while the troops were in winter quarters, was formed by Lough Erne and by garrisoned posts stretching from it to Newry and Belfast.²²⁶ The further southwards this frontier could be pushed during the winter months, the less work would remain to be accomplished when the campaign should open.

Colonel Wolseley therefore commenced to encroach on the enemy by surprising Belturbet in County Cavan. Colonel O'Reilly who commanded the Irish garrison in the town of Cavan thereupon represented to his head-quarters the desirability of dislodging the Inniskillingers from Belturbet lest they should make further encroachments. Accordingly the Duke of Berwick was sent down to direct the contemplated attack,²²⁷ bringing with him a reinforcement of seventeen hundred men. Colonel Wolseley got scent of the enemy's project, and, as the best means of foiling it, determined to take the initiative and engage O'Reilly before the Duke could arrive. Wolseley could muster only seven hundred infantry and three hundred cavalry²²⁸ from detachments of the Inniskillingers, the Queen's

²²⁶ Story.

²²⁷ Berwick.

Wolseley's Dispatch to Schonberg; Lond. Gazette, 27 Feby./3 Mar., 1689/90.

²²⁸ Wolseley's Dispatch.

Foot, and the Twelfth, whereas the garrison of Cavan reckoned nearly two thousand men²²⁸ before the arrival of Berwick's seventeen hundred. Belturbet is seven miles from Cavan. Wolseley, whose hopes of success rested greatly on the chance of surprising the enemy, made a *détour* so as to cross the river Annalee about two miles above Ballyhaise,²²⁹ entailing a fourteen mile march; and at the same time he detached Major Price with two hundred and fifty men²³⁰ to force the intrenched pass of Butler's Bridge lower down the river, a service most successfully performed by that officer. On the very night that the party started from Belturbet Berwick marched into Cavan.²³¹ The weather was bad, the roads were heavy, and on the route taken by Wolseley there was the stream to be crossed, over which the horsemen had to carry the infantry. All this prevented the Inniskillingers from nearing Cavan before day-break.²³¹ Their approach was perceived, the alarm was given, and Wolseley was sadly disappointed at hearing the drums of the garrison beat the "general" while he was still at a distance. Berwick pushed forward a number of men to line the hedges at the entrance to the town²³¹ while his main body formed up on an eminence to the right surmounted by an earthwork, this being the point most threatened by the attacking force.

Wolseley was marching with the three hundred Inniskilling Horse as an advance-guard. As these neared the place, riding through a narrow lane, the Irish cavalry charged down upon them in front while the infantry opened a cross fire upon their flanks. The Inniskillingers were thrown into confusion and they turned about,²²⁶ the Irishmen pursuing them and driving them amongst their own infantry. So furious were these latter at the idea of running from Irishmen, that some of the men of

Wars in Ireland.

Story.

Harris, Life and reign of William Henry Prince of Nassau and Orange, &c.; Dublin 1749. As this work is a compilation and not a contemporary and original authority, I shall refrain from quoting it further.

Letter, Mar., 1690. From an officer at Belturbet: Account of the taking of the Pass at Butler's Bridge; Lond. 1690.

As an instance of how men, not wilfully untruthful, may deceive themselves, or accept that version which is most grateful to them, and of how they may record exaggerations or gross errors, it may be observed that Berwick states Wolseley's numbers at 3,000 Foot besides the 300 Horse.

²²⁹ Wolseley's Dispatch.

²³⁰ Letter, Mar., 1690, from an officer at Belturbet.

²³¹ Wolseley.

Berwick.

the Twelfth and the Queen's fired upon the fugitives and killed several of them.²²⁶

Wolseley now brought forward his Foot, and the Irish retired upon their main body. When the English emerged on to more open ground, they deployed into lines before moving up the hill. As the line advanced the enemy, with too great impatience, fired a volley, at the same time uttering shouts of victory²²⁶ as if expecting to see the English run; but the volley was delivered without making sufficient allowance for the slope of the ground, and the balls flew harmlessly over-head. Before the Irish could re-load, the English poured into them a heavy fire²³² at a short distance, and they fled forthwith. The English pursued without entering the earthen fort, and, following the enemy into the town, began to loot.²³³ Some of the Irish officers took advantage of this to organise a sally from the fort; Wolseley and his officers strove to get their men together, but in vain, until they hit on the idea of firing the town²³⁴ and thus compelling them to quit the burning houses; fortunately there was a reserve of about three hundred men who managed to keep the enemy at bay²³⁴ until the plunderers rejoined their ranks, when the Irish infantry were driven like sheep back into the fort,²³¹ while their cavalry disappeared altogether.

The work of destruction was then completed, the enemy's magazines were blown up, their stores destroyed, and Wolseley returned to Belturbet unmolested; his men, who had been afoot ever since four o'clock on the previous afternoon, being too fatigued to attempt the fort.²³⁴

The enemy lost ten officers and some three hundred men, besides two hundred taken prisoners.²³⁵ Of Wolseley's party only about thirty were left on the field. The Second Foot especially distinguished itself by its forwardness throughout the action, and its conduct was particularly brought to the notice of the General in Chief in Wolseley's dispatch.

This enterprise, by demoralising Berwick's forces for the time and destroying his material, put an effectual stop to the

²²² Berwick.

Story.

²²³ Wolseley.

Story.

²³⁴ Wolseley.

²³⁵ Wolseley.

Berwick.

Wars in Ireland.

Story.

attack upon Belturbet which was to have taken place on that very day.²³⁶

There were many occasions during this war on which the Irish infantry manifested what, in more seasoned troops, would be unhesitatingly designated cowardice; but this is (besides Newtown-Butler) almost the only instance of their cavalry shewing a similar pusillanimity: they were in so great a hurry to get safely off, that, in place of protecting the infantry from pursuit, they rode some miles before they drew rein²³⁶ so much as to see whether they themselves were followed or not.

Schonberg had spent the winter in restoring health and discipline to his shattered forces. Five regiments were broken up to recruit the rest.²³⁷ Regulations were promulgated tending to bring both officers and men to a better sense of discipline. The apathy and despair engendered by the mortality at Dundalk had had the too common effect of rendering the survivors licentious, irreligious, and blasphemous to a degree; and among the orders issued by Schonberg was one against profanity, which, for the caustic common sense of its preamble, deserves to be quoted at length. It runs thus: ²³⁸

“ A Proclamation by Frederick Duke of Schonberg, Lord General of all Their Majesties’ forces, &c. :

“ Whereas the horrid and detestable crimes of profane cursing, swearing, and taking God’s Holy Name in vain, being sins of much guilt and little temptation, have, by all nations and people, and that in all ages, been punished with sharp and severe penalties, as great and grievous sins: And we, to our great grief and trouble, taking notice of the too frequent practice of these sins by several under our command; and that some have arrived to that height of impiety that they are heard more frequently to invoke God to Damn them than to Save them; and this notwithstanding the heavy and dreadful judgments of God upon us at this very time for

²³⁶ Berwick.

²³⁷ Drogheda; Ingoldsby’s; Zauchy’s; Roscommon’s; and Hamilton’s:—Story. But Drogheda’s and Hamilton’s can have been only partly so as they shared in the subsequent campaign.

²³⁸ Lond. Gaz., 20/23 Janry., 1689/90.

Wars in Ireland.

Story.

English soldiers were generally notorious at this period for swearing. “ Our soldiers swore horribly in Flanders,” Sterne makes Uncle Toby to say.

A declaration against swearing was also issued by William III, Lembeck, 25 Augt., 1693; W.O. records.

“ these and our other sins, and notwithstanding the penalties
“ enjoined by Their Majesties’ Articles of War on these
“ offenders ; and we, justly fearing that Their Majesties’ Army
“ may be more prejudiced by these sins than advantaged by the
“ conduct and courage of those guilty of them, do think fit
“ strictly to charge and command all officers and soldiers under
“ our command, That they and every one of them from hence-
“ forward do forbear all vain cursing swearing and taking God’s
“ Holy Name in vain, under the penalties enjoined by the afore-
“ said Articles, and our further displeasure ; and that all officers
“ take particular care to put the said Articles of War in execu-
“ tion on all under their respective commands guilty of the said
“ offences, as they will answer the contrary at their utmost
“ peril.

“ Given at our Head Quarters at Lisburn the Eighteenth
“ of January, 1689/90, in the First year of Their Majesties’
“ reign.

“ SCHONBERG.”

Throughout the winter constant incursions were made by either party on the other. On the Irish side these predatory expeditions were mostly carried on by Rapparees. The Rapparees were guerrillas (or, as it should properly be termed, guerrilleros), bodies of armed peasantry independent of the army, and deriving their designation²⁹⁹ from the Irish word for the sort of stick they carried which was a staff something like a half-pike. The Irish aggressions were not confined to the desultory raids of the Rapparees. Several futile attempts, one however being very nearly successful, had been made to dislodge the English from Newry and thus to penetrate within their lines.

Schonberg’s chief endeavour was to fill his supply depôts along the English frontier ; and with this view parties were frequently sent across the enemy’s lines to forage. One of these parties, a thousand strong, under Sir John Lanier, Colonel of the First Dragoon Guards, penetrated as far as Dundalk, and after some skirmishes and the capture of Bedloe Castle, returned with a booty of fifteen hundred cattle.

The Irish were very busy on their part training their men, strengthening their fortresses, and raising new regiments. The spirit of partisanship had been thoroughly excited and was pro-

ductive of considerable accessions to James's army. But the protestants were not less ready to come forward on the other side: whole families abandoned their farms or business to shoulder the musket:²⁴⁰ in the several Inniskilling regiments there were twenty-one brothers of the name of Hamilton, all of whom were present at the battle of the Boyne.

Both armies promised to muster well for the approaching campaign. But the fallen King met with far greater obstacles in his preparations than did his opponent, besides the sickness and mortality which he could not succeed in eradicating from his army.²⁴¹

William, backed by all the power and wealth of England and Holland, poured over into Ireland, men, horses, arms, clothing, and provisions as fast as transport could be found for them. Regiment after regiment arrived from England or from the Continent. Scarcely a day passed without some vessel coming into Belfast harbour laden with stores.²⁴² The harsh lesson taught by last year's disasters had not been in vain, and engagements had been entered into with responsible contractors²⁴³ to furnish the Commissariat with any transport or provisions that might be demanded. Nothing was wanting that money and energy could procure.

James, on the contrary, experienced many difficulties, Ireland itself was destitute of large manufactories; and, while it was to foreign dealers alone that recourse could be had, James had adopted effective means for keeping them at a distance for he published his bankruptcy in the most telling manner by instituting a brass currency, which naturally put a complete stop to the importation of foreign goods. No French or Spanish merchant would sell arms and munitions to people who paid for them in coins of no intrinsic worth,

When the romanists were expelled by the protestants from the province of Ulster they had driven southwards with them vast herds of cattle:²⁴⁴ every man carried off all he could lay hands upon: soon the southern counties were stripped of grass

²⁴⁰ This I had from the lineal descendant of one of these patriots, who lives at Drogheda, where his ancestor settled, probably after being disabled in the battle fought in the vicinity.

²⁴¹ Lond. Gaz., Decr., 1689, and Janry., 1690.

²⁴² Story.

Wars in Ireland.

²⁴³ Schonberg's Dispatch, 10 Feby., 1690.

²⁴⁴ James II, Autobiog.

and even corn by this sudden inroad of cattle and men, occurring in conjunction with the maintenance of the Irish army in the field and in garrison. At the same time the counties adjoining the northern province had been devastated by the incursions of either army: the people were unsettled, and agriculture was more neglected than ever. With no internal resources, and cut off from foreign trade, James could look to France alone for assistance.

The French King, as has been before remarked, was by no means the man to forget that the expenditure of money calls for a corresponding return. Louis Quatorze regarded James as only one of the many pieces on the board in his own game of ambition. William of Orange was the chief opponent of the French and the Romanist interests; and James would make a fine stalking-horse to allure William to Ireland and thus leave the French more at liberty on the Continent. Had the French King and his ministers been of opinion that the chance of restoring James permanently to his throne was a good chance, they would have backed him to the utmost of their power, because William would be less formidable as William of Orange than as William the Third of England. But to merely enable James to beat the English out of Ireland, to enable him to set up a petty and uncertain kingdom in that country, while William should still reign in England, awaiting only greater leisure to recover the lost island, would not to any extent assist Louis's own schemes of French aggrandisement, and was therefore not worth any material outlay. A small expenditure would suffice, by keeping William and the bulk of the English army from taking active part in continental affairs.

But the unfavourable accounts from Ireland prevented even the contingent²⁴⁴ that was furnished from being as large as it otherwise might have been. The French Generals were of opinion that no army composed of Irishmen could prosper: de Rosen (whose recall was solicited by James) had been superseded by the duc de Lauzun,²⁴⁵ a man inferior to de Rosen in every soldierly quality; and, when de Lauzun arrived, the Comte d'Avaux favoured him with his opinion of the people he had come to command. "You are come, said he, to be a sacrifice to a poor-spirited and cowardly people²⁴⁶ whose

²⁴⁵ Berwick.

²⁴⁶ Transactions of the late King James in Ireland. A tract, 1690.

It was commonly observed even at this time that the Irish made far better soldiers abroad than in their own country: D'Auvergne.

"soldiers will never fight, and whose officers will never observe "orders."²⁴⁷

With difficulty did James obtain from France a contingent of seven thousand three hundred men thoroughly armed and equipped, and even for these he had to send back in exchange an equal number of Irishmen.

But fighting men alone do not constitute an army. Lord Dover, James's Commissary-General, had taken no steps to form magazines and depôts, and even Dublin itself had to get much of its bread-stuff from abroad.²⁴⁴ The various Staff-officers of the Irish army quarrelled with each other,²⁴⁸ with the General, and with the civil government. Officials cared only to make their fortunes out of the fallen King ere it should be too late,²⁴⁴ and paper soldiers were shown to James in order that pay might be drawn for them. One most valuable contribution had been made by the French government: a field-train with a quantity of ammunition accompanied the French troops to Cork; but at Cork it remained for lack of transport to draw it to Dublin. The officers on landing seized horses without offering any payment, and the consequence was that the natives drove their cattle into the mountains and nothing could induce them to furnish a single horse or ox to the French artillery.

The only fortress in the whole of Ulster still remaining in the hands of the Irish was Charlemont. Charlemont is four miles and a half south-east of Dungannon. Situate on an angle of ground formed by the confluence of two rivers, the fort and little town were not easily accessible. The place was defended by a ditch with its rampart and palisadoes; within this was a stone fortress from the centre of which rose a large square tower. The garrison numbered between three and four hundred men. In April Schonberg prefaced the campaign by investing Charlemont. An amusing repartee is reported to have been made by a Drummer²⁴⁹ of the Second Queen's Regiment who carried the summons to surrender to the Governor. The Governor was an old officer named Tighe O'Regan; he regaled the drummer with a plentiful variety of food and drink and excused the absence of meat from the table by saying it was

²⁴⁷ James also says that "the Irish officers were almost all natives, differing little "from the soldiers." Jas. II, autobiog.

²⁴⁸ Jas. II, autobiog.

Lausun's Dispatches.

²⁴⁹ Great news from Ireland. A letter from Lisnegarvy, 20 Mar., 1690; Lond. 1690. Thorpe.

fast-day: the drummer replied that if those were fasts he rather liked them than otherwise; upon this the old fellow entered into conversation with him, and, perhaps hoping to gain him over, asked him what reason he could give for deserting King James and transferring his services to William. "Oh you are "misinformed," replied the drummer, "it was King James that "ran away from me, not I from him." "Why," retorted the old Governor, "that is one of King James's coats that you have on you at this moment:" "There you are wrong again" answered the ready drummer, "for it is one of the *Queen's*."

La Caillemotte and the French protestants were entrusted with the investment,²⁵⁰ and so well did they perform their work that the garrison was soon at the point of starvation. At this crisis Colonel McMahon arrived from Castle Blaney with a supply of provisions escorted by five hundred men. La Caillemotte was instructed to permit the escort to enter the place after a feint of obstruction, but he was not to let them out again. The governor of Charlemont was of course very glad to see the relief brought by McMahon, but he became enraged when he understood the trap that had been set for him. More troops came up to strengthen the blockade;²⁵⁰ the Sixth Foot, Cutts's and other regiments. Two attempts made by McMahon to break through failed,²⁵¹ and the supplies that would have supported three hundred men for weeks were fast disappearing with eight hundred. O'Regan, rendered savage by the ill success of McMahon's people in their attempts to get out, swore that at all events they should not come in, and he compelled them to hut in the ditch.

A trumpet was sent to summon the place to surrender. "Tell your gineral" shouted O'Regan, "that he is an owld "knave,"²⁵² an' by Sin Patrick he shall not have the town at all "at all."

Very soon there was left no edible thing in Charlemont; and O'Regan, after as protracted a defence as could be made was obliged to surrender,²⁵³ which however he did on very good terms, obtaining permission to march out with the honours of war.

The English soldiers, and their foreign allies flocked to

²⁵⁰ Wars in Ireland.

²⁵¹ Wars in Ireland.

²⁵² Story.

²⁵³ Wars in Ireland.

Story.

witness the ceremony of marching out.²⁵² When the garrison had gained about half a mile from the town they drew up in two bodies of four hundred each, while in the centre was a crowd of about two hundred women and children. Duke Schonberg presently arrived to meet the Governor. Tighe O'Regan cut a most extraordinary figure:²⁵² the old gentleman, who was very high-shouldered, wore a plain red coat; his ill-dressed, worn-out, long wig was surmounted by a narrow-brimmed white beaver hat, much too small for him and cocked beyond the extreme of fashion; a yellow cravat all awry adorned his scraggy throat, and although the weather was exceedingly warm he carried a large muff hung to his neck; his boots were rusty and full of wrinkles; and he was quite tipsy. Tighe was mounted on an old starved stallion, which, besides being afflicted with lameness and numberless other infirmities, had a most unpleasant trick of kicking and squealing the moment anyone approached him. This strange farcical figure rode hobbling up to the Duke, and the two Generals began to exchange the usual compliments; but before many words could be said, the vicious stallion²⁵² drowned every syllable with his squeals, clearing a ring around him by lashing out on all sides. So soon as the ridiculous scene was over, the Duke had his laugh out, observing that if Tighe's horse was very mad, Tighe himself was very drunk.

The Irish soldiers were so starved that some of them were actually knawing raw cow-hide²⁵² with the hair on it: Schonberg naturally asked how it was that with the garrison so straitened for food, so many women and children should have been retained in the place. The Irish officers replied that Irish soldiers would desert unless they had their wives and sweet-hearts with them; "well," replied the old continental soldier, "there seems certainly to be a good deal of love in it, but also "a good deal of foolishness;"²⁵² and he at once ordered a loaf to be given to each man, and that the officers also should be cared for. What with starvation and their characteristic objection to soldierly uniformity of dress or movement, the Irish troops cut so sorry a figure that the men of the Brandenburg contingent were enraged at having been brought across the seas to fight such poor creatures.²⁵²

The absolute contempt expressed for the Irish soldier in his own country by the soldiers of all other countries, friends and foes alike, is one of the most marked and most curious features of this war.

On the enemy marching out,²⁵² Mr. Halloway, Commissary of the Train, took possession of the fort, and four companies of the Sixth were told off to form the garrison.

On the fourteenth of June King William landed at Carrickfergus, and the campaign opened.²⁵⁴ The King expressed considerable dissatisfaction²⁵⁵ at the dilatory way in which the officers went about their work. However before a week was over²⁵⁶ the army was assembled between Armagh and Newry. The King occupied himself in making minute inspections of the different regiments,²⁵⁶ in forming the several brigades, and in gaining a knowledge of his generals and staff. On the twenty-seventh the whole army concentrated on Dundalk. The following list²⁵⁷ gives the strength of the army and shows the English regiments that took part in the honours of this campaign.

In this list two regiments appear for the first time before the reader. On the peace with Holland in 1674, the government of the States-General had obtained permission to entertain four regiments of British subjects, namely two English, one Scotch,²⁵⁸ and one Irish: these regiments, afterwards increased to six, half English and half Scotch,²⁵⁸ had followed the Prince of Orange in all his campaigns up to the year 1685 when James the

²⁵⁴ Mullenau, Journal of the three months' royal campaign of H.M. in Ireland; Lond. 1690.

²⁵⁵ Story.

²⁵⁶ Story.

Wars in Ireland.

²⁵⁷ Story. List of the Army when mustered at Finglas on the 5th July. As this muster took place after the battle of the Boyne, addition has been made for killed, wounded, and missing.

N.B.—It is to be understood that in speaking of a regiment by a number I am committing an anachronism; *See* Note (108) N.B. in Chap. IV.

²⁵⁸ Carleton.

Evelyn, 15 July, 1685: "I went to see the muster of the six Scotch and English regiments, whom the Prince of Orange had lately sent to His Majesty out of Holland upon the rebellion, but which were now returning, there having been no occasion for their use. They were all excellently clad and well disciplined, and were encamped on Blackheath with their tents: the King and Queen came to see them exercise and the manner of their encampment, which was very neat and magnificent."

In List of H.M.'s Forces, with succession of the Colonels, Egerton MSS. 2,618, the Colonels of the 5th are given as E. of Clare, Sir J. Fenwick, Widdrington, Wiseley, Monck, Talmash, &c. (as in list in this Vol.): and of the 6th Foot, Bellasyse, Babington, &c.

In Succession List of Colonels, 1742, it is stated that both these regiments, having refused to comply with King James's summons in 1685 to leave Holland and return to England, were broken by him, and that this gave rise to disputes as to their degree of precedence.

Second claimed their aid on the occasion of the Duke of Monmouth's rebellion:²⁵⁸ after the defeat of Monmouth they returned to Holland, but when William of Orange came over to occupy the throne in 1688 they accompanied him,²⁵⁸ and were fused into two regiments which still rank as the FIFTH (III. XXIX) and SIXTH FOOT and which take seniority from the date of their first employment in this country.

List of the English regiments present with the army in Ireland in June, 1690.

HORSE REGTS.		FOOT REGTS.	
	Men.		Men.
Life Guards, 1st and 3rd Troops, including 95 Horse Granadeers...	368	3rd Foot Guards, Douglas	648
Blues, Royal Horse Guards	368	2nd Foot, Kirke's	666
1st Dragoon Guards, Lanier's	360	4th ,, Trelawney's	553
2nd ,, ,, Villiers's	245	5th ,, Lloyd's	652
5th ,, ,, Coy's	236	6th ,, Babington's	416
6th ,, ,, Byerley's	244	8th ,, Beaumont's	526
7th ,, ,, Schonberg	242	9th ,, Stewart's	660
Russell's Horse	242	11th ,, Hammer's	593
Langston's ,, (Princess Anne's)	225	12th ,, Brewer's	571
Wolseley's ,, (Inniskilling)	423	13th ,, Hastings's	606
Harbord's Troop	38	18th ,, Meath's	678
	—	20th ,, Gus. Hamilton's	560
Total Horse	2,991	22nd ,, Bellasis's	628
	=====	23rd ,, Herbert's	600
		24th ,, Deering's	600
		27th ,, Tiffin's	625
		Fowkes's Foot	439
		Lisburne's Foot	611
		Earle's ,,	693
		Mitchelburne's Foot	664
		St. John's ,,	589
		Drogheda's ,,	660
		Geo. Hamilton's ,,	583
		White's ,,	600
		Hamilton's ,,	600
			=====
		Total Foot	15,021
			=====

DRAGOONS.	
	Men.
1st Dragoons, "Royals," Mat- thews's ..	406
3rd Dragoons, Leveson's	246
5th ,, Wynne's	260
6th ,, (Inniskilling), Cun- ningham's	358
	=====
Total Dragoons	1,270
	=====

Totals of English forces in the field:—

Horse	...	...	...	...	...	2,991
Dragoons	...	...	...	...	...	1,270
Foot	...	...	...	...	...	15,021
<i>Add</i> —For Officers and Serjeants not included above						1,700
<i>Add</i> —For vacancies caused by the battle of the Boyne ;						300
say	...	...	...	...	...	300
Total English Contingent						21,282
<i>Add</i> —French forces :—						
Horse	...	...	...	...	...	395
Foot	...	...	...	...	...	2,231
Total French Contingent						2,626
Dutch forces :—						
Horse	...	...	...	...	...	1,683
Dragoons	...	...	...	...	...	621
Foot	...	...	...	...	...	3,704
Total Dutch Contingent						6,008
Danish, &c., forces :—						
Horse	...	...	...	...	...	812
Foot	...	...	...	...	...	4,581
Total Danish, &c., Contingent						5,393
<i>Add</i> —Officers and Sergeants in foreign troops						1,200
Vacancies in foreign troops by battle						700
Grand Total of King William's army						37,209

King William's principal Generals were the Duke Schonberg, Count Solmes, Count Schonberg (son of the Duke), Duc de Wirtemberg, Lieut.-General Ginckell, Lieut.-General Douglas, Caillemotte, and Sir John Lanier. The Brigadier-Generals were as follows :—

FOOT.	HORSE.
Col. Trelawney.	Col. Villiers.
Sir Henry Bellasyse.	Col. Schack.
Sir John Hanmer.	
Col. Stewart.	DRAGOONS.
Col. La Melonière.	Col. Eppinger.

The strength of the Irish army north of the Boyne at this time has not been ascertained with any degree of accuracy,²⁵⁹

²⁵⁹ Story.

Wars in Ireland.
James II, autobiog.
Berwick.
Parker.
Mullenau.

but thirty thousand is probably as near the number as possible. It may be of interest to Irish readers to have a complete record of King James's regiments at this period ; and the province in which they were located affords strong presumptive evidence of whether they were at the battle of the Boyne or not.²⁶⁰

A list of King James' Army in Ireland after the battle of the Boyne.

Regiments of Horse and Dragoons.	Provinces.	No. of Troops.	Men.
Duke of Berwick's 1st troop of Guards ... ..	...	1	400
Sarsfield's 2nd troop of Guards	Leinster ...	1	400
Lord Tyrconnel's Regiment, Horse	do. ...	12	600
Sarsfield's regt., Horse... ..	do. ...	12	600
Galmoy's regt. ^{260a} , Horse	do. ...	12	600
Sutherland's regt. do. ... ..	...	9	450
Abercorn's do. do. ... ..	...	9	450
Parker's do. do. ... ..	...	9	450
Luttrell's do. do.	Leinster ...	12	600
Viscount Tyrconnel's Regt.	North ...	16	800
Maxfield's Regt. of Dragoons ... ..	...	12	600
Sir Neale's do do	North ...	12	600
Trant's Regt., vacant ... ..	...	12	720
King's Regt. of Dragoons ... ..	...	12	720
Lord Dungan's Regt. of Dragoons	Leinster ...	12	720
Col. Carol's do. do.	Munster ..	12	720
Lord Clare's do. do.	do. ...	12	720
Col. Luttrell's do. do.	Leinster ...	12	720
Lord Tyrconnel's Dragoons	Leinster ...	12	720
Col. Purcell's Regt. do.	Munster ...	12	720
All the Horse and Dragoons ... ..	...	...	12,310

Clarke MSS.

Burnet sets the numbers at 36,000 for William, and 26,000 for James. Burnet : Hist. of his own time.

One account states that James had 36,000 on the Boyne and 15,000 in garrison. True and perfect journal, &c., by a person of quality. Lond. 1690.

James II states his own numbers as 20,000 and William's as 40,000. Berwick says 23,000 and 45,000. On the 19th June a prisoner stated that James had 20,000 Irish, and was that day expecting 10,000 more, including the French. A deserter to Inniskilling placed the numbers at 40,000 foot and 6,000 cavalry. Parker reckons 30,000. A deserter on the morning of the battle of the Boyne gave 25,000 as the total.

²⁶⁰ Endorsed, "List of King James' Army in Ireland, after the battle of "the Boyne." Singer ; from the original MS. in the Clarendon collection. Another original of this same document is preserved in the Brit. Mus., MS. 15,897, and is headed "A list of Our Army in Ireland."

Journals of the Parliament in Ireland, Lond. 1689, also contains a list of James's Forces.

^{260a} Galmoy's Horse was clothed in "light grey coats, brass buttons, and lined "red, black hats laced with galoon, and buff shoulder-belts, and armed with carbines, "pistols, and swords"; Lond. Gaz., 27 Sept., 1688.

Regiments of Foot.				Provinces.	Nos. of Companies.	Men.
Regiment of Guards	...	...	...	...	30	3,000
Lord Grand Prior's Regt.	...	...	...	...	22	1,100
Col. Hamilton's	do.	...	...	Leinster	22	1,100
Lord Bellew's	do.	...	...	do.	13	650
Lord Gough's	do.	...	...	do.	13	650
Lord Galway's	do.	...	...	Connaught	26	1,300
Lord Evaugh's	do.	...	...	North	13	650
Gordon O'Neale's	do.	...	...	do.	13	650
Cormack O'Neale's	do.	...	...	do.	13	650
Phelix O'Neale's	do.	...	...	do.	13	650
Lord Maguire's	do.	...	...	do.	26	1,300
O'Reilly's	do.	...	...	do.	26	1,300
Brown's	do.	...	...	Connaught	13	650
MacMahon's	do.	...	...	North	13	650
Old Grace's	do.	...	...	Leinster	13	650
Col. Nugent's	do.	...	...	do.	13	650
Col. Grace's	do.	...	...	do.	13	650
Col. Bourke's	do.	...	...	Connaught	26	1,300
Dillon's	do.	...	...	do.	13	650
O'Gara's	do.	...	...	do.	13	650
Lord Kingsland's	do.	...	...	Leinster	22	1,100
Lord Trimblestown's	do.	...	...	do.	13	650
Butler Mongarett's	do.	...	...	do.	13	650
Butler Killeash's	do.	...	...	Munster	13	650
Sir John Fitzgerald's	do.	...	...	do.	13	650
O'Sullivan's	do.	...	...	do.	26	1,300
Lord Kinmare's	do.	...	...	do.	13	650
O'Connor's	do.	...	...	do.	13	650
Lord Slane's	do.	...	...	Leinster	13	650
Sir Maurice Eustace's	do.	...	...	do.	13	650
Lord Westmeath's	do.	...	...	do.	13	650
O'Donovan's	do.	...	...	Munster	13	650
Con O'Neale's	do.	...	...	North	13	650
Lord P. Offin's	do.	...	...	Connaught	13	650
Lord Dillon's	do.	...	...	do.	13	650
MacKilliady's	do.	...	...	Munster	13	650
Sir Mich Creagh's	do.	...	...	Leinster	13	650
Col. Connell's	do.	...	...	Munster	13	650
Col. Moore's	do.	...	...	Leinster	13	650
Lord Gormanstown's	do.	...	...	do.	13	650
Foot	...	...	...	...	...	32,950
Horse	...	...	...	...	...	12,310

260b 45,260

Not reckoning a great many Independent Troops and Companies, viz. :—

^{260b} List of the late K. James's Forces in Ireland, apparently furnished by Schonberg in 1689, shows a total of 54,450; Home Office records.

Captain Garrett Dillon	...	...	...	...	...	60
Captain Ria	...	...	...	...	...	60
Captain Driscoll	...	...	...	...	...	60
His Son's Dragoons	...	...	...	...	...	60
Mac Namara	...	...	...	...	...	60
Old Colonel Grace	...	...	...	...	...	60
O'Collehan	...	...	...	...	...	60
O'Sullivan Moore	...	...	...	...	...	60
Spott Luttrell	...	...	...	...	...	60
						<hr/> 540 <hr/>

The advice always given to King James by de Rosen had been to retire into Connaught and defend the line of the Shannon. The advantages of the position were many and obvious. The Shannon and its lakes offered a front which was strengthened by the several fortified towns along the river. From these garrisons the enemy could be harassed in both north and south: the mountains of Connaught abounded in inaccessible retreats known only to the Irish natives, and, if the river were forced, an invading army might be wearied out or even destroyed piece-meal in the highlands which offered such facilities for irregular warfare: similar mountainous wild country along the sea-board would with ordinary precautions prevent any apprehension of an attack from the rear, whilst the proximity of the sea would facilitate the laying in of supplies. James, however, still rejected counsel to act on the defensive, and resolved to offer battle to his opponent. As has been observed before, the peculiar temper of his Irish adherents had to be studied, and James was of opinion that success, or at least offensive action, alone could keep them in good spirits; while he feared that a retreat without fighting, involving as it must the surrender of every place east of the Shannon,²⁶¹ would so dishearten the Irish that his army would dwindle away to nothing.

A success gained by the Irish in their first brush with the English tended greatly to inspirit them.²⁶¹ It was but a successful ambush by which a party of two hundred and sixty men were surprised and knocked on the head or captured before they could make any resistance, but still it was a success and served to give the Irish soldiers a higher opinion of themselves.

James had assembled his forces between Ardee and Dundalk but on William's preparing to march James retired to Ardee

²⁶¹ Jas. II, autobiog.

where he was joined by the French and the Artillery. On William's advance the retreat was continued to Drumlane, and on the following day as far as the other side of the river Boyne, near Duleek and Oldbridge.

On the twenty ninth of June William followed James ²⁶² towards the Boyne. On the march an Irish gossoon was hanged for a most peculiar crime,²⁶² but one which was, I have heard, practised also by the Spanish guerrillas during the Peninsula war. This boy had made a living by kidnapping English soldiers for whom he received half-a-crown a head from his countrymen, his practice being to induce the men to follow him on such pretences as showing them where cattle or other booty was to be had. He had on an English dragoon's hat and waistcoat which he confessed to having obtained by stabbing the owner in the back while his worthy father held the man in conversation. The boy had also been employed as a spy. So demoralised was he that, although just about to undergo his own sentence, he offered for a brass sixpence to hang one of his own countrymen, who was a prisoner for purchasing soldiers' necessaries. This last stroke of business combined with amusement being refused him, he suffered his own punishment with the utmost unconcern.

On the last day of June the English army marched up to the Boyne, a short march of eight or nine miles. THE BOYNE once forced, the road lay open to Dublin.

William ²⁶² rode forward to reconnoitre. He came about noon to a narrow gorge or glen; on either side were steep slopes covered with the yellow blossom of gorse bushes. Suddenly the slopes disappeared, the track came to an end, and the river Boyne lay just in front of the King at his very horse's feet.

To the right the river wound out of sight hidden by high wooded banks (Ill. XXX). Down the river to the left a long stretch was visible, and in the distance a short three miles off the smoke of Drogheda could be distinguished. The banks of the river grew steeper as it approached the town. Immediately opposite to where William had emerged from the glen and on the other side of the river was the little hamlet of Oldbridge consisting of one stone house and a few hovels, all close to the river bank. Slightly to the left was a small island just where the river was at its narrowest: two hundred yards lower down

²⁶² Story.

the stream lay a larger island named Grove island, and just below that again was one considerably larger still called Yellow island. At the upper end of both these islands the water was fordable, but the main ford and the safest was at Oldbridge where a whole company might cross abreast.

From William's point of view the lower end of Yellow island was hidden by a bend in the river (Ill. XXXI, XXXII) and by high ground on the Dundalk or north bank; but on the south bank and nearly opposite to the furthest end of the island, the eye was caught by the reddish-yellow tint of three or four small conical hills which rose straight from the brink of the stream. From these small hills up to Oldbridge the bank was low and sedgy; but at about twenty yards from the water the meadow land gradually rose in short hillocky waves that merged into a long ridge, beyond which rose another ridge, and yet another. On the last of these ridges there stood sharply etched against the sky a clump of trees surrounding the gables of the little church of Donore.

James and his generals had done something towards strengthening the natural advantages of their position, but not all that might have been done. The stone house at Oldbridge,²⁶² which was square with a court in the middle, had been intrenched and loopholed: the rest of the hamlet had also been intrenched, and a regiment of infantry²⁶¹ was distributed in the houses and behind the hedges to hold this important post. Breastworks had been thrown up along the river's edge,²⁶² and these, as well as the fences which rose one behind the other as the ground grew higher, afforded good shelter for the defending force. Even if William's troops should succeed in crossing the river, the successive rises in the ground for a long distance offered so many opportunities for making a fresh stand against them.

Three miles south of Donore churchyard was the village of Duleek through which lay the high-road from Drogheda to Dublin. Five miles up the river from Oldbridge is the village of Slane. Between Oldbridge and Slane the Boyne curves considerably southwards; and at the southernmost portion of this curve, and two miles below Slane, was the ford of Rossnaree, both deep and dangerous. At Slane was a bridge, and there was no other bridge between it and Drogheda. From Slane bridge a road, passing Rossnaree ford, went to Duleek and there joined the Drogheda and Dublin road: from Donore a bye-road also led straight to Duleek. Now, both these roads, as well as the high road itself, crossed an extensive bog just

before entering Duleek: one regiment, with a gun or two, could have kept a whole army at bay for hours on any one of these roads.²⁶³ The Irish army possessed therefore a good front and a sure retreat.

James's army was mostly encamped in the dips of the ground between Donore and Oldbridge. The river by its sudden bend southwards at Oldbridge covered the left as well as the front. The right stretched as far as the conical hillocks mentioned before, and a slight ravine which here runs up from the river extended along the right flank.

William could form no accurate estimate of the enemy's strength, so hidden were many of the tents by the unevenness of the ground. But still he rejoiced in the prospect of a decisive action. "It will be my own fault," he exclaimed, as he surveyed the enemy's preparations, "it will be my own fault if you escape me now." He could not but appreciate, however, the natural strength of the Irish position. The result of an attack on the front would be very doubtful, especially when attempted by untried troops such as composed the bulk of the English army. An attack on the enemy's left was put out of the question by the course of the river. The idea of getting in rear of the enemy did not strike William. He rode off towards Drogheda,²⁶³ and opposite to the ravine which flanked the enemy's right and more than a mile below Oldbridge, he discovered a narrow gully, rough and uneven, along which a little stream trickled through the steep bank down to the riverside, there causing a boggy green morass. William was informed that at this point also there was a ford, but that the morass would prevent a body of men from reaching it, and that in any case it was too deep for infantry. Here, however, there might be a chance of taking the enemy in flank, or at least of distracting his attention from Oldbridge, and the King made up his mind to try it; but he kept his own counsel, and returned towards Oldbridge.

The road lay high, and the Irish officers on the other side of the river had quickly guessed that the figure surrounded by so many gay uniforms, and followed by an escort of Life-Guards and other cavalry, could be no other than the Protestant usurper. The brilliant party had halted nearly opposite the spot where King James was on the look out. A couple of six-pounders were brought down to the conical hills,²⁶³ concealed by a pre-

²⁶³ Story.
Mullenaux.
Wars in Ireland.

tended movement of cavalry. As William descended to the river on his return, bang went the first shot that had passed between the rival kings:²⁶⁴ two horses and a private of the Life-Guards fell dead. Every eye turned instantly at the unexpected sound of the gun, in time to see the flash of the second piece. "The King is hit; the King is slain," were the horrified exclamations that passed like an electric shock through the ranks of the escort: the ball had ricocheted from the bank of the river and had struck the King²⁶⁴ on the right shoulder, tearing away the clothing²⁶⁵ but fortunately doing him no damage beyond drawing blood. The same ball narrowly missed an officer beyond the King,²⁶⁴ for it broke the pistol in his holster. William took care that his friends should not be discouraged by any conduct of his: merely permitting a handkerchief to be tied over the wound,²⁶⁵ he continued his observations of the enemy. The Irish, when they perceived that William was hit and saw his Staff crowding about him, set up a wild but premature shout of triumphant exultation.²⁶⁴

Meantime the English army was marching down the glen leading to the river, "King William's Glen" as it has been called ever since that day.

The King ordered his escort to dismount²⁶⁶ and rest beside their horses in full view of the enemy. Some of the Fifth and Sixth Dragoon-Guards²⁶⁴ were there, besides the Life-Guards.²⁶⁶ For some hours did these men remain on the same spot exposed to the fire of the enemy's artillery. At length the King rode up; "Now," said he, "I see that my men will stand:"²⁶⁶ and, ordering them to retire to a more sheltered position, he had some guns brought up to the front to reply to the enemy.

The army bivouacked for the night along King William's glen. The indefatigable chief had been on horseback since one o'clock²⁶⁶ in the early morning. At four in the afternoon²⁶⁷ he had dined and taken a short rest, but had afterwards again

²⁶⁴ Story.

²⁶⁵ Mullenau.

Wars in Ireland.

Story.

Burnet.

Broadsheet published by Authority with the Lond. Gazette, 30 June/3 July, 1690. Berwick.

²⁶⁶ Lond. Gaz., 30 June/3 July, 1690.

Wars in Ireland.

Mullenau.

²⁶⁷ Mullenau.

mounted his horse. At eight in the evening²⁶⁸ a Council of War was called.

William, contrary to custom, did not first demand the advice of his generals, but at once declared his intention to force the passage of the river.²⁶⁹ Schonberg, who was the oldest warrior present, ventured to oppose this resolution, he deemed the enemy's position too strong to be forced in front, at least without a loss so serious as to incapacitate the army from following up its victory. And indeed it must be allowed that, had the troops on the opposite bank behaved as Irish soldiers have since behaved in other countries, William's risk in slighting Schonberg's counsel (as he did) would probably not have been justified by the result. But William had heard the unanimous and oft-repeated declaration of the Inniskillingers that these barbarous Irish were fit for guerrilla warfare only, that they shouted and exulted a great deal before the fight began,²⁷⁰ but that directly disciplined troops approached them in the open they fired off their muskets at random, and then with one consent threw them away and scampered off yelling for mercy. William had seen the English Brigade fight in Holland, and he had seen the untried troopers of the English Horse stand unmoved under fire that very day. His Dutchmen, too, were veteran soldiers, and if any troops could cross the Boyne, these his stolid steady brave countrymen might be relied upon to do it. William also knew of his own intended flank attack, but this he kept to himself. In one respect he was guilty of a grave military error of judgment: Schonberg recommended²⁶⁸ that a strong force should be detached that same evening to occupy Slane Bridge, so that in the morning it might be ready to march straight on the Dublin road, take the enemy in flank or rear, and cut off his retreat at the pass of Duleek. This counsel was at first found acceptable, but the Dutch officers opposed it and William decided against it,—how wrongly, the sequel proved. Old Duke Schonberg retired in dudgeon to his tent;²⁷¹ and when the order for battle was presently brought to him, he growled that it was the first he had ever had to receive since he commanded armies.

²⁶⁸ Story.

²⁶⁹ Harris.

²⁷⁰ Story.
Wars in Ireland.

²⁷¹ Parker.
Harris.

King James, with the concurrence of his Staff, determined to abide the result of a battle, instead of accepting the retreat still open to him. Any disproportion in numbers, (and the English were some thousands stronger than the Irish) would be fully compensated by the strength of the Irish position;²⁷²—it lay with the enemy to attack, and an action is usually more productive of loss to the assaulting than to the defending force: this was a favourable, as well as a last opportunity of barring the road to the capital and to the heart of the country: being once encamped face to face with the Prince of Orange, it would be a decided loss of prestige, and consequently of adherents, to James were he to flee before him. Nevertheless, James's opinion of the Irish troops was not favourable, and he would have avoided a decisive action had it been possible to do so with credit.

It is curious that William, who was undeniably pains-taking in his dispositions, and James, whose military qualifications did not extend much beyond that personal courage which deserted him on this occasion, should both have committed the same error of generalship. Neither of them perceived that the key of the position was the road from Slane Bridge to Duleek. General Hamilton pressed upon James, as Schonberg had pressed upon his master, the importance of securing this pass and its road. James replied by an imbecile proposal to detach fifty dragoons to occupy the bridge: the discussion resulted in Sir Neil O'Neil's regiment of dragoons²⁷² being sent on this duty. There was far more excuse for James than for William in this neglect; for James scarcely knew whom to trust, and probably regarded with excusable suspicion any proposal tending to separate his forces. One great failing of the Stuart family had ever been the not knowing when to accept or reject the advice of those about them, and a reluctance to act on any but that which tallied with their own pre-conceived ideas or inclinations: on this occasion the fault was fatal. From the nature of the country the Dublin road required a double defence besides the occupation of Drogheda: for James to secure the one road, while leaving the other open, was to tempt the enemy to take him in rear.

After the English Council was over King William, unwearied in spirit, if weak and wounded in body, again mounted his horse, and the soldiers gossiping over their camp fires of the coming

²⁷² James II, autobiog.

engagement,²⁷³ were cheered by a visit from the general whom they had already learned to know, in spite of his gloomy manner, as the friend of the private soldier.

Then a great calm, suggestive of the sleep before death, fell over either camp. Nothing was to be heard save the occasional sharp challenge as the rounds or the relief went round. Nothing was to be seen moving in the intervals save the dark figures of the sentries as they silently crossed and re-crossed the flickering fires, or were silhouetted against the midsummer night sky.²⁷⁴

²⁷³ Wars in Ireland.
Story.

²⁷⁴ In the British Museum is a MS. plan of the Line of Battle, among a number of other plans, &c., of battles from 1620 to 1694; the MSS. are German, and apparently completed about 1695: some of the names in the plan are erroneous, but with little correction it is as follows; Brit. Mus. MSS., Add. 28,120:

LINE OF BATTLE OF THE ARMY AT THE BATTLE OF THE BOYNE.

Genls. :— Lt. and Major-Genls. :— Oxford.	Count Solms. Tettau.	Wurtemberg. Stuart.	Kirke. Trelawny.	Portland. Haut Saplig. De Meme. <i>Horse.</i>	Eppinger. <i>Dragoons.</i>
Brigs. :— Hayford. <i>Dragoons.</i>	Hammer. Ellenberg.	Melonière. Stuart. <i>Infantry.</i>	2nd Foot. 4th Foot.	{ Rytessel. Mompaland. Portland.	{ Granr. Troop of Life Gds. Eppinger. 6th Drs. Inniskilling.
	{ Orandenburg. Nassau. 11th Foot.	{ Drogheda. Cambon. Melonière.		{ English Foot Gds. Dutch Ft. Gds.	
	{ Jutland. Prince George. De Friedrich. Danish Foot Gds.				
	{ Duke Schonberg. Ginckel. Ogen. Inniskilling Horse. Fuel. Sertal. Horse-Guards.				
	{ 6th Drs. Inniskilling. 1st Drs.				
Genls. :— Lt. and Maj.-Genls. :— Schravemoer.	Nassau. La Forêt.	Douglas. Melonière. Stuart. <i>Infantry.</i>	Lanier. Trelawny.	Sidney. <i>Guards.</i>	Eppinger. <i>Dragoons.</i>
Hayford. <i>Dragoons.</i>	Ellenberg. Hammer.	{ Caillennet. Testing. St. Loiner (St. John ?).	{ 13th Foot. 23rd Foot. Charles (Earle's).	{ English Ft. Gds. Dutch Ft. Gds.	{ Eppinger. 6th Drs. Inniskilling.
	{ Grient. Graben. Cutts. 6th Foot.				
	{ Fühnen. Zeeland. Prince Christian. La Chene.				
	{ Duke Schonberg. Schack. Boncour. 2nd Dr. Gds. Inniskilling Horse. Donep. Sertal. Horse-Guards.				
	{ 6th Drs. Inniskilling. Le Cossen (Leveson 3rd Drs. ?)				

CHAPTER VII.

THE WAR IN IRELAND.

CAMPAIGN OF 1690; THE BATTLE OF THE BOYNE.

1 JULY, 1690.

Disposition of the two armies.—Importance of the battle.—The right attack.—The centre attack.—Death of Schonberg.—The left attack.—The Irish second line of defence.—Conduct of the Irish cavalry.—Progress of the right attack.—Retreat of the Irish.—Loss of the two armies.

[*For Illustrations, see Note on p. xiii.*]

THE first of July was a lovely summer morning; the sun sparkled on the blue river and dewy grass, and glistened on the arms and accoutrements of the already assembled troops. Both armies were under arms at daybreak, and shortly the apparent confusion of the reveille settled down into order as the long lines of grey, scarlet, or blue, drew up in battle array. Each grassy undulation of the Irish position was brought out into strong relief by the clear morning light; so that the number of the Irish troops could have been counted by the English, had it not been impossible to guess how many regiments lay hidden in the long-stretching dips of the ground.

The best, indeed the only reliable troops in James's army were the French contingent and the Irish cavalry, the latter being under the leadership of the Duke of Berwick²⁷⁵ (James's natural son), and of Brigadier-General Patrick Sarsfield,²⁷⁶ a gigantic, brave, but thick-headed Irishman, who had previously served

²⁷⁵ Berwick, &c., &c.

²⁷⁶ Berwick gives the following account of Sarsfield: "Patrick Sarsfield était né Gentilhomme, et avait hérité de son frère aîné d'environ deux mille livres sterling de rente. C'était un homme d'une taille prodigieuse, sans esprit, de très-bon naturel, et très-brave. Il avait été Enseigne en France dans le régiment de Monmouth, Lieutenant des Gardes-du-Corps en Angleterre; et quand le Roi passa en Irlande, il y eut un régiment de Cavalerie, et fut fait Brigadier. L'aventure du convoi battu, dont j'ai parlé ci-devant, l'enfla tellement, qu'il se crut le plus grand Général du monde. Henri Luttrell ne cessait de lui tourner la tête, et de le vanter partout, non par une véritable estime qu'il en eût, mais afin de le rendre populaire, et par là s'en servir à ses propres desseins. En effet, la plupart des Irlandais concurent une telle opinion de lui, que le Roi, pour leur plaire, le créa Comte de Lucan, et à la prochaine promotion il fut fait Maréchal de Camp. Étant passé en France après la capitulation de Limerick, le Roi lui donna une Compagnie des Gardes-du-Corps, et le Roi Très-Chrétien le fit Maréchal de Camp. Il fut tué en 1693, à la bataille de Nerwinde."

in Monmouth's Foot and in the English Life-Guards. The remaining two-thirds of the Irish forces were of a miserable description: accustomed to plunder defenceless people, to fire houses garrisoned by frightened domestics, and to drive off cattle in triumph after brutally slaughtering the unresisting herdsmen—accustomed to regard such acts as these as gallant and praiseworthy exploits, it was scarcely to be expected that they would oppose a very steadfast front to a determined foe. Nevertheless they were in high spirits and could be seen manning with alacrity the breastworks by the waterside (A): when some French battalions were sent down to occupy these entrenchments,²⁷⁷ the Irishmen declared that they were quite able to hold the post for themselves, and the Frenchmen were recalled and posted towards the left of the army.²⁷⁸

King James selected the little shady churchyard at Donore as his post of observation.²⁷⁹ From it he could see straight away to the river, and could at one glance take in the whole battle-field: but while Donore was an excellent spot for obtaining a mere general bird's-eye view such as would be desirable to a newspaper correspondent or other disinterested spectator not ambitious of danger, for a General (in those days) it was too remote from the principal points of action; James was too far off to remedy quickly any error or panic, to lend the slightest encouragement by his own voice or timely presence and example.

William was on the alert before daybreak, and lost no time in distributing his forces for action. Count Maynard Schonberg, son of the old Duke, was already on the road to Slane Bridge (the absolute necessity for this movement having been at length comprehended), taking with him all the cavalry of the right wing,^{278a} some dragoons of the left wing, five field-pieces, and Trelawney's brigade of infantry, including Trelawney's own regiment the Fourth Foot, besides the Second, Thirteenth, and Twenty-third. This right wing comprised also nearly all the

A. N.B.—These capital letters refer to the plan (Ill. XXX), on which corresponding letters indicate the spots mentioned. The same letters appear on the key to the accompanying rough view (Ill. XXXII).

²⁷⁷ Authority mislaid; but in every probability one of those already quoted in this chapter.

²⁷⁸ Wars in Ireland.

Story.

James II, autobiog.

^{278a} Lond. Gazette, 30 June/3 July, 1690.

Wars in Ireland.

Story.

Mullenaux: and see Line of Battle at close of preceding chapter.

²⁷⁹ Story.

English Horse (with the exception of Wolseley's), and numbered in all about eight thousand men.^{279a}

William's main body of infantry was drawn up in two lines opposite the several fords below Oldbridge. On the right the brigade of William's own countrymen (B) was conspicuous by its veteran appearance, as well as by its occupation of the honourable post of greatest danger. Two brigades of English infantry²⁸⁰ under General Douglas were also on the right of the second line (C) and next to the Dutch Guards, but these English regiments were shortly withdrawn.

About one hundred yards below²⁸¹ these was Melonière's French brigade (D), together with Bellasysse's brigade (E) including the Irish regiments, the Twenty-seventh Inniskillings,²⁸¹ the Eighteenth Foot, and St. John's and the other Derry corps (F).

A third body to the left of these was Hanmer's brigade^{281a} consisting of the Dutch regiment of Nassau, Cutts's, the Sixth, and the Eleventh Foot (G); these were supported by a small body of Danish Horse (H), and were headed by the Count Nassau.

Below these again, led by the Duke of Wirtemberg²⁸³ and supported by eight troops of the Inniskilling Dragoons, were the well-disciplined Danish infantry²⁸² in green, blue, or grey,

^{279a} Parker.

Kane.

²⁸⁰ Much wonder has been expressed that so little mention is made of the English regiments by the eye-witnesses of the battle; but the reason of this appears to me to be very plain. The narrators of the battle (Story, Mullenau, Richardson, and author of Wars in Ireland, Kane, and Parker) were all at Oldbridge: hence they naturally confine their narration of detail to the action at and about Oldbridge, making little mention of the right wing whose performances however were of vast importance, as well as in every way creditable.

B. See A above.

²⁸¹ Richardson; Acct. of the Battle of the Boyne, Capt. John Richardson ("an eye-witness of the scene").

Story.

Contemporary plans of the Battle.

^{281a} Plans.

Story.

Wars in Ireland.

That the 11th and 5th and Nassau's were at this spot is certain and the sixth would be with the two last as it was brigaded with them.

²⁸² Letter from Belfast, 13 Mar., 1690, Dublin Society, Thorpe Tracts. The writer describes the Danes as "well disciplined, well clothed, arms bright as silver, "all firelocks and cuttock boxes, their colour green lined red, blue lined red, and "blue lined white, grey lined blue, and every man a cloak or such a coat as the "Dutch Guards wear, and you shall not see a man with a hole in any part of his "clothing: those I see of the Horse are white lined white and buff waistcoats."

²⁸³ Wars in Ireland.

Richardson.

Story.

all carrying fusils, and remarkable for their soldierly and smart appearance.

The left wing (M), under the King's own guidance, was composed of the Danish and Dutch cavalry, Wolseley's Horse, four troops of the Inniskilling Dragoons, and the whole of the Third Dragoons.²⁸³ The policy and forethought evinced in William's distribution contrast favourably with the slipshod arrangements of his opponent. The first to face the fire from the Irish intrenchments and hedges would be the tried troops of the first line; old Dutch soldiers, or the veterans of the Fifth and Sixth whose teeth were black with biting cartridges and who joked most when surrounded by the whistle of bullets, steady Danes brought up under Continental discipline, and the French Protestants who united in themselves the military skill and *élan* of their countrymen with the bitter ferocity and desperate invincibility of excommunicated exiles. In the second line were regiments composed of soldiers young or untried but who, being afforded time to gain confidence, would follow up the first shock with unflinching pugnacity. Once the formidable river and breastworks were forced, who so fit or so eager to come to a hand to hand conflict with the Irish as the Derry and Inniskilling regiments; who so ready to pursue the flying enemy as the men of Tiffin's, Meath's, or St. John's, whose cry was ever "No quarter given or sought."

The soldiers of the two armies were dressed so much alike that it was found necessary to adopt some emblems of distinction; every English soldier wore a green twig in his hat ²⁸⁴ while James's people were distinguished by white cockades.

To us who at this distance of time may review the past cleared of all the mists of party passion and illuminated by the light of subsequent events, the battle then about to be fought must appear the most important that ever took place in the history of our country. Nay, there is no battle whose result, whether from a political or religious point of view, has more permanently affected the state of Europe and therefore of the whole world. If William were defeated the French king would pour troops into Ireland; thousands, who now wavered between loyalty to the hereditary dynasty and loyalty to the constitution and constitutional religion, would declare for James. In the face of a powerful English party and the whole might of France, William, with only Holland and a few petty states to back him,

²⁸³ Story.

Van Wyck's painting.
Bonivert.

must have succumbed. England would have returned to the bondage of James and his unkingly predecessor, to a state of tutelage to France and the Pope. Where would, in such a case, have been our continental influence? Where our wars in favour of right against might, our intercessions in favour of liberty against tyranny? Where all that long series of struggles in defence of the wronged and the weak, which have raised the names of England and Englishmen to their present height of honour?

Had such men as Charles and James continued to occupy the throne we should never have possessed the Indies and the high road to the East: the French would never have been driven out of Flanders, or India, or America, or Spain, or Egypt, by a nation untaught in war and afraid to draw the sword. Had William been defeated at the Boyne the Protestant religion would have been stifled ere it was barely a century old, and England would have sunk lower than Spain, bestridden by religious bigotry and political despotism. The battle of the Boyne forced the world forward when it would have retrograded. The first of July, 1690, is a memorable epoch in the history of England, and in the history of England's Army. This was the first pitched battle fought by our Standing Army.

As Count Schonberg marched towards Slane with his Division, he learned that there existed a ford at Rossnaree, a long mile nearer than Slane Bridge and about three miles and a half from Oldbridge; to this ford he detached a large portion of his cavalry while he proceeded to Slane. The enemy, from whom the start of the Count's column from Oldbridge could not be concealed, detached a corresponding force²⁸⁵ in the same direction: but, owing to the bend in the river, the march of the Irish was considerably longer than that of the Count; so that when the latter arrived at Slane Bridge he found himself opposed by Sir Neill O'Neill's regiment of Dragoons alone.²⁸⁶ The English Horse charged with the success to be expected from their numbers: O'Neill's men made a brief though brave

²⁸⁵ Wars in Ireland.
Jas. II.

Mullenaux.

²⁸⁶ Wars in Ireland.

Story.

London Gazette.

Mullenaux.

James II.

Bonivert.

resistance: O'Neill himself fell badly wounded in the thigh, seventy of his men were left on the ground,²⁸⁷ and the rest retired on their approaching supports.

Count Schonberg, when he saw the reinforcement moving along the opposite bank of the river, had sent to ask for further aid.²⁸⁸ The King, however, had forestalled his request by dispatching General Douglas with the two brigades of English infantry of the right: this accession made the Count's detachment ten thousand strong.

Hereupon de Lauzun, fearing lest so large a force should beat back the troops already detached to oppose it, and should thus succeed in taking the Irish army in flank or rear, made off as fast as he could towards Rossnaree²⁸⁹ with the whole of the French contingent (C-C).

Count Schonberg awaited Douglas's junction,²⁹⁰ drawn up on the defensive in alternate battalions and squadrons, a disposition adopted on the advice of the Earl of Portland in imitation of Cæsar's tactics at the battle of Pharsalia. On Douglas's arrival, he placed his infantry in the centre²⁹¹ and his cavalry on the flanks and advanced on Lauzun who awaited him between Rossnaree and the Dublin road.

James from Donore could distinguish the Count's movements, and he weakened his centre still further with a view to strengthen Lauzun. Descending from his post of observation, he withdrew all his reserve, besides several battalions of infantry from the main body,²⁹² and led them towards Rossnaree posting the reserve so as to form a communication betwixt the centre at Oldbridge and the left with Lauzun (C-C).

There were now left at the Oldbridge defence only nine regiments of infantry;²⁹³ one in the village, one in the breastworks by the water-side, and seven in support of these two: the

²⁸⁷ Wars in Ireland.

James II.

²⁸⁸ Story.

Wars in Ireland.

London Gazette.

Mullenaux.

²⁸⁹ Story.

James II.

²⁹⁰ Wars in Ireland.

²⁹¹ Mullenaux.

Wars in Ireland.

²⁹² James II.

²⁹³ Story.

Berwick.

James II.

whole of the right wing of Horse and Dragoons also remained. Lord Tyrconnel, Berwick,²⁹⁴ and General Hamilton were intrusted with the command of these troops, which were all Irish. But at this time it was fully expected that the action would be fought out towards Slane and that little or nothing would be done at Oldbridge.²⁹⁵

For the last hour before ten o'clock the English artillery²⁹⁶ had been cannonading the Irish works and houses (N). At ten William learned that the right wing had gained the other side of the river;²⁹⁵ and he gave the signal for the main body to storm the fords at Oldbridge, under the direction of Duke Schonberg. The King himself rode off to head the left wing.

A low buzz of repressed agitation followed the aides-de-camp as they galloped along the line delivering their brief messages. The great guns ceased to thunder, and an unnatural stillness—the hushed stillness of intense expectation—succeeded.²⁹⁶ In a few moments there uprose on the summer air the stirring sounds of drum and fife,²⁹⁵ the band of the Blue Dutch Guards striking up a march as the men stepped off across the short meadow slope to the river.

When the Dutchmen walked into the water (O) ten abreast the music ceased,²⁹⁵ and after a minute's pause was replaced by the sharp roll of musketry as the Irish fired briskly from their breastworks, while the louder roar of the English field pieces added afresh to the din. La Melonière's regiment and St. John's having the right of the French brigade, closely followed the Dutch Guards.²⁹⁷ Scarcely less forward (P) were Caillemotte's and Cambon's regiments,²⁹⁸ and in support of these the remaining Derry and the Inniskilling men. Hanmer's brigade and the Danes²⁹⁸ extended the advance along the line (Q). So many men entering the river in masses acted as a dam, and the Dutch found themselves giving and receiving fire while up to the waist

²⁹⁴ Berwick.

James II.

²⁹⁵ Story.

²⁹⁶ Richardson.

²⁹⁷ Wars in Ireland.

Richardson.

Story.

Mullenau.

Fingall MSS. acct. says that the Royal Dragoons were the first to cross the river.

²⁹⁸ Mullenau.

in water.²⁹⁹ A young lieutenant of granadeers led the attack, and before stooping for the men to fire over his head, he first halted his company and coolly dressed the ranks²⁹⁵ and closed up the gaps while standing in the middle of the river. A few terrible moments longer, and the Dutchmen were climbing the breastworks (A) and the enemy running, though not before many a man had gone down in the stream.³⁰⁰ La Melonière's battalion being next to the Dutch also suffered badly, losing here five officers besides eight wounded, and sixty men.³⁰⁰

The whole river was now swarming with red and blue coats. The Irish Foot-Guards still maintained a hot fire from the village, and Count Solmes at the head of the Dutch Guards advanced to storm this post, the Irishmen²⁹⁵ lately in the breastworks quitting their first hedge as he came on.

While the Dutch and the Irish Guards were thus engaged at Oldbridge, General Hamilton was in vain endeavouring to stay the advance of the rest of the attacking line. He himself brought down to the river one regiment to oppose the French Protestants and St. John's,³⁰¹ and he ordered Lord Antrim's regiment and some other troops down to charge Hammer's brigade; the other Irish regiments in rear were to support. But Hamilton could induce his men to do nothing beyond firing a few random shots;³⁰² Antrim's men ran, and the others ran, the only regiment that did come into collision with the enemy leaving one of its colours behind it;³⁰³ and Hamilton was shortly left with only a few officers and in danger of capture.

While Hamilton retreated from the river, a squadron of Irish under Captain Parker swooped down upon Caillémotte's regiment³⁰⁴ and actually cut their way through it, then wheeled to the left to get back again. This brought them among St. John's Derry men (at that moment marching along the rear to get to

²⁹⁹ Story.

London Gazette.

Mullenau.

³⁰⁰ Wars in Ireland.

Mullenau.

³⁰¹ Story.

Berwick.

³⁰² Story.

James II, autobiog.

³⁰³ Lond. Gazette.

³⁰⁴ Story.

Wars in Ireland.

Richardson.

Lond. Gazette.

the right of the Dutch), and afterwards among the Dutch in Oldbridge; and so mauled were these daring fellows by the regiments through which they had to pass, that scarce half a dozen of them got away.³⁰⁴ Caillemotte was mortally wounded in this charge,³⁰⁵ and was borne to the rear by four soldiers. As he passed along the ranks of his countrymen the brave-hearted Frenchman never ceased to encourage them, crying, as well as pain would permit him,³⁰⁶ "À la gloire, mes enfants, à la gloire."

The spirited conduct of Captain Parker's men was rivalled by that of others of the Irish Horse. A charge was made upon the Danish squadron of cavalry that was crossing near Hanmer's brigade,³⁰⁷ and Berwick's troop of Guards came down upon Hanmer's men at the same time.³⁰⁷ The Danes were broken³⁰⁸ by the impetuous down-hill onset of the Horse, and fled back across the river; but the sturdy Devonshire lads of the Eleventh (Ill. XXXIII) were not to be easily beaten, and Berwick's troopers were repulsed.³⁰⁷ A captain of the Eleventh had a narrow escape in this charge: one of the troopers was a deserter from the regiment, and, having possibly a spite against his former captain, he rode at him firing both his pistols, but missed him and was taken prisoner.

When Caillemotte fell and the Irish Horse cut a way through his regiment, a good deal of confusion arose. The several charges of cavalry had told on the whole front; the French protestants were in such a state that another well-timed charge would have broken them; the Dutch had received a check; the Danish Horse was routed; the English brigade held its own, but made no progress.³⁰⁹ Some of the men began to cry out for "Horse, Horse"; the cry as it passed along was taken up for "Halt, Halt";³⁰⁷ and the army stood still just when it was of the utmost importance to advance.

Duke Schonberg (Ill. XXXIV) discerned that the fate of the battle might depend upon this crisis. Without waiting to don his body-armour,³⁰⁷ the old General rode down to the river and headed Caillemotte's leaderless regiment: "Messieurs," he cried,

³⁰⁵ Mullenaux.
And as in Note ³⁵.

³⁰⁶ Tindal.

³⁰⁷ Story.

³⁰⁸ Story.
Mullenaux.

³⁰⁹ Wars in Ireland.
Story.

"behold your persecutors, en avant, mes enfants, en avant." And again the troops pushed on, and the smoke and din became more dense and loud than ever.

Of course at the first sign of a battle the women and children of the little hamlet of Oldbridge had sorrowfully abandoned their riverside homes; and the men had either accompanied them or joined the army,—all but one poor deformed lame man or "bokkha." This bokkha refused to quit the place: he had over his turf-hearth an old duck gun; and, damning the heretics who were coming to lay waste his home, he swore that he would not budge until he had had a shot with his family gun at the bloody-minded Prince of Orange. On the morning of the battle when the protestant forces began to move, the bokkha concealed himself in a double ditch close to the Oldbridge ford, so as to be covered from the shot of both friend and foe. Looking sharply about from his hiding-place he soon made out the principal personages in the enemy's army, and resolved to reserve his fire until these big game should come within range. Thus biding his time, he at length viewed the charge of Hamilton's and Parker's Horse, the wavering of the French refugees, the fall of Caillemotte,—and he perceived with joy a horseman ride fast down to the river wearing a coat richly laced, an embroidered sword belt, a sash of golden network, and many plumes in his laced hat. This was the very man he had so long waited for; surely this must be the Prince, and he was about to ride close by his hiding-place. The determined bokkha kept his eyes steadfastly on this officer, and when he saw him point the soldiers towards his own empty ruined home, he decided that this man, even if he were not the Prince (and he seemed too old to be so), would at all events be a worthy sacrifice to his outraged Penates. He examined the priming of his duck-gun and made ready. Chance favoured him, for at this moment the officer turned in his saddle to speak to the soldiers, and his horse availing himself of the distraction tugged at the reins and stooped for a good long drink. Before the rider could drag his horse's head up again, the bokkha had found time for a deliberate aim:—the duck-gun was discharged, and the great General Schonberg fell ³¹⁰ never to speak more. As he fell some

³¹⁰ This is a tradition implicitly credited by the older natives of Oldbridge and Donore, from one of whom I heard it. And as it is a story of such a character that it would scarcely have been concocted groundlessly, I give it to be accepted or rejected at choice. Colour is lent to it by the variety of accounts, and the great doubt about the mode, of Schonberg's death: some said he was shot accidentally by his

of the Irish troopers,³⁰⁸ making their way back, struck at him and wounded him in the head. It was however the shot in the neck³⁰⁸ that was mortal (Ill. XXXV).

But the needed impetus had been given at the right moment ; the troops recovered their disorder and the Irish Guards were beaten out³¹¹ of the village with a loss of one hundred and fifty men. The right of the line was now well over the river (S) and in full advance on the Irish army. Several hedges had been carried by the Dutch Guards³¹² who had been joined by St. John's, when a charge of cavalry was made upon them : St. John's regiment received it in close order (T), and, by firing in platoons instead of in volleys,³¹² repulsed the Irishmen.

The Irish troops now drew up again in line on a ridge³⁰² which extended across their whole position (U). The whole of the English army was moving forward to attack them. General Kirke and Lord Sydney rode busily from one brigade to the other, restoring order and organising the fresh advance. The word was given to march ; and for the next half hour all was smoke, dust, confusion, and noise.

At this time King William, with his left wing of cavalry,³¹³ was putting into effect his privately designed movement against the right flank of the enemy (M). Placing himself at the head of the Inniskilling Dragoons, William (Ill. XXXVI) told them³¹⁴ that "they should be his Guards that day." "Gentlemen," he said,³¹⁵ "I have heard much of your exploits and now I shall "myself witness them : " then he led his division down the little ravine from Drybridge to the river side. But here was an unforeseen impediment : the vividly green grass of the flat meadow (V) beside the river was the deceptive covering of a morass : the horses floundered up to their girths and got frightened ; many of the men had to dismount and help out their chargers, with

own men, some said by a deserter from his own regiment, some said by an Irish shot.

Story. Parker. Harris. Richardson, &c.

Mullenau (who was a surgeon) says that Schonberg "was killed with a carbine-shot in the neck and three cuts over the face."

See also the Illustration of the skull.

³¹¹ Berwick.

³¹² Story.

Richardson.

³¹³ Wars in Ireland.

Story.

Richardson.

³¹⁴ Wars in Ireland.

³¹⁵ Richardson.

difficulty³¹⁶ keeping themselves from sinking in the mire: the King himself got bogged,³¹⁶ and was obliged to dismount while Private M'Kinlay of the Inniskilling Dragoons extricated his horse. A regiment of Irish Dragoons,³¹⁵ who from the other side beheld the situation (W) of the English left wing, howled in derision at the endeavours of the horsemen to reach the stream: ³¹⁷ "Pass if you can," they yelled, "we give you free leave, pass if you can." The officers about the King pressed him to return and to leave them to make their own way: "No, no," replied William³¹⁵ up to his elbows in mire, "I will see you over, gentlemen." Presently the King and the leading files having got to the water, the men in rear discovered by experiment where lay the most practicable spots: and once in the river, a minute or two brought them to the small ravine on the opposite side. The Irish dragoon regiment, ceasing to fire, retired on its cavalry supports. The four Inniskilling troops deployed into line,³¹⁵ and charged with such fury (X) that they not only broke the enemy but became so scattered in pursuit, that a body of fresh cavalry meeting them (Y) routed them in turn, and drove them back across two ploughed fields on to the Danish horse. William was now at the head of the Danes,³¹⁵ and Cutts's regiment of English infantry was drawn up to their left (Z). The Danes, overwhelmed as much by fleeing friends as by pursuing foes, gave way,³¹⁸ carrying the King with them in the press; and the battle might even now have gone hardly with William, had not the men of the British regiment stood firm.³¹⁹ The on-rushing wave of Irish cavalry shattered itself against this immoveable rock bristling with seventeen-foot pikes, and the tide of battle was again turned: the King gained time to rally the flying troopers,³¹⁵ and the Irish squadrons were cut to pieces.

The main body of infantry was at this juncture marching upon the Irish posted along the ridge (U). The Irish Foot

³¹⁶ Story.

³¹⁷ Local tradition.—To this hour the passage is called the "Pass-if-you-can."

³¹⁸ Richardson.

Wars in Ireland.

Cutts's Regt. was subsequently disbanded: its uniform was red, with Isabella-coloured facings and linings and breeches, and with loops of black and white for the Grenadiers; Lond. Gaz. 1689-90.

³¹⁹ Richardson who bestows great praise upon the regiment of English Foot that exhibited so "seasonable an instance of British valour" does not specify the regiment, but from Story's account of the order of crossing the river there is no doubt that it must have been Cutts's regiment.

received the order ³²⁰ to come to the charge and to drive the enemy back again into the river: they advanced in good order, but only one regiment actually charged,³¹¹ namely the Irish Foot-Guards: the others when almost within a pike's length wavered; ³²¹ the murmur passed along the ranks that the army was taken in flank ³²¹ by cavalry; every eye was strained to the right: the grey uniforms of the relentless Inniskillingers were to be distinguished on the steep ground above the Pass-if-you-can. In a moment the Irish soldiers turned about and retreated ³²¹ over the uneven ground as fast as they could walk. In vain their officers shouted to them to stand; in vain these brave gentlemen ³²⁰ sacrificed their own lives in the hope of inspiring with courage by their example their mean-spirited followers: in vain Tyrconnel rode from rank to rank: ³²⁰ "The Horse, the Inniskillingers," was all that the panic-stricken wretches would reply as they continued to press up the hill.

Had it not been for the gallantry of the Irish cavalry another rout like that of Newtown-Butler would have ensued, and thousands would have been slaughtered. The Duke of Berwick and General Hamilton moved forward the whole of their right wing of cavalry ³²² to cover the retreating infantry: and with such effect did the Irish charge, that they gained time for their infantry to ascend the slopes and to form up again on the heights of Donore. Here they were induced to make a last stand under cover of the hedges,³¹⁶ the church and the few cottages; but the exhortations of their leaders could not easily overcome that exaggerated fear of the Saxon that had been nursed in the breasts of the Irish by centuries of subjection. A rapid and disorderly retreat on Duleek was commenced; many cast aside their arms and fled to cower in the uncut corn or in the hedge-rows and ditches, where they were afterwards discovered by the pursuing enemy ³¹⁶ and shot down as they rose to flee, like so many hares or rabbits.

The burden of the fight again devolved upon the cavalry. Two regiments of Irish Dragoons were ordered to the front to check the pursuit; Lord Dungan, who led one,³²⁰ was shot at the first onset, and his men turned and followed the infantry; the other regiment, which was Lord Clare's, followed suit. But, in spite of such disheartening examples, the Irish Horse regi-

³²⁰ James II.

³²¹ Story.

James II.

³²² Berwick.

ments^{323a} continued to exhibit the greatest pluck: they swept down the grassy ridges with irresistible vehemence, charging again and again.³²³

There is about half way between Donore Chapel and Dulceek Pass, and near the Drogheda road, a house called Platin House. In a field (A-A) close to this house General Hamilton had drawn up a body of cavalry.³¹⁵ Now, a bye-road bounded two sides of the field and was separated from it by a bank and dry double ditch: there was no entrance to the field from the road,³¹⁵ and Hamilton had had to clear a gap for his men to ride over. William's troops must either enter by this gap and be attacked piece-meal (thus gaining time for the Irish infantry to get to Duleek unpursued), or else must leave Hamilton's formidable body of Horse in their rear.

There came along this bye-road the eight troops of Inniskillingers³¹⁵ that had crossed the river with the Danish Foot: they were led by Colonel Wolseley, and were pressing on in advance of the army in the devout hope of obtaining some share in the day's triumphs. Hamilton suffered two troops to pass through the gap unmolested: when these two troops had entered the field Wolseley gave the order to form up, but unhappily in uttering the word of command he made a mistake and ordered the men to form to the left³¹⁵ instead of to the right, thus bringing them with their backs to the enemy. Some of the other officers, immediately comprehending the mistake shouted to the men to wheel to the right,³¹⁵ upon this some went to the right and some to the left. Hamilton seized the moment of their confusion to charge; some fifty of Wolseley's men were cut down before they could get out of the field, and the others rushed out upon the rear squadrons in the lane: the Irish pressed upon them while all were in disorder³¹⁵ and incapable of resistance, and the Inniskillingers were routed. The Irish pursued them closely, until the King coming up with some Dutch cavalry caused a check.³²⁴ William, who could with difficulty hold his sword because of his wounded shoulder³¹⁶ riding up in front of the flying Inniskillingers, asked them³¹⁶ "What they would do for him"; such a question so put was

³²³ James II.
Berwick.

^{323a} The reader must bear in mind always that, at this period, Dragoons and Horse were as different as Horse and Infantry.

³²⁴ Richardson.
Story.

quite enough to turn the soldiers' faces to the enemy again, and re-forming their squadrons they aided the Dutch in the charge on Hamilton's party now joined by more of the Irish cavalry.

Schonberg's French Horse³¹⁶ had also joined William, and the best fighting of the day took place now (B-B). Here was no cowardly flinching; no easy victory; blow for blow and shot for shot were exchanged. Ten times did the gallant Irishmen come on,³²⁵ and ten times did the equally gallant Inniskillingers and Dutchmen, who indeed preponderated in numbers, beat them back. Berwick had his horse shot under him,³²⁶ but after being ridden over by the charging squadrons, escaped with nothing worse than bruises: numbers of the Irish officers were killed,³²⁶ Parker's and Tyrconnel's eight troops,³²⁶ already much thinned, were literally cut to pieces. The Irish Life-Guards suffered also: Hamilton was taken prisoner: and at length the Irishmen had to retire:³²⁷ but no troops could have done more than they had done.

About the same time that this action took place near Platin, General Ginckell with some Dutch cavalry,³²⁸ the Third Dragoons, and the other four troops of the Inniskilling Dragoons, had encountered the enemy still more to the left towards the Drogheda road. But the Irish Horse here also displayed their accustomed valour, and Ginckell and his Dutch regiment being foremost, were driven pell-mell down a lane;³²⁸ Ginckell came last trying to rally the fugitives. Captain Brewerton of the Third and the Lieutenant Colonel of the Sixth, seeing how matters stood, with a seasonable promptitude dismounted their dragoons³²⁸ and lined the hedge, besides manning a house that overlooked the lane. When the enemy came impetuously charging after Ginckell's men, the unexpected and heavy fire from the house and the hedges knocked over a good many of them, and the rest were only too glad to get back out of range.

The whole of the Irish cavalry at length retreated,³²⁸ after having thus fought for half an hour against superior numbers. This half-hour saved King James's army from annihilation.

Leaving the Irish infantry in full retreat on Duleek, and their Horse retiring from Platin closely pressed by William, we

³²⁵ Berwick.

Story.

James II.

³²⁶ Autobiog. Jas. II.

³²⁷ Richardson.

³²⁸ Story.

must turn for a while to the English Division under Douglas and Count Schonberg.

When King James joined Lauzun³²⁹ he found his troops drawn up about half a mile from Rosnaree ford, having a bog in their front and the road to Duleek (C-C) in their rear: the river was of course immediately on their right. On the other side of the bog the English had halted to make dispositions for an attack (D-D).

To James's consternation, the English infantry, instead of advancing along the causeway over the bog, opened out to the right across the bog itself,³³⁰ while the dragoons mounted and filed off to the right also as if to circumvent the bog³³¹ and thus come upon the Duleek road in rear of the French.

Just at this juncture an aide-de-camp galloped up with the news that William had forced the river³³¹ and beaten the Irish out of Oldbridge. Lauzun thereupon gave it as his opinion³³¹ that the day was irretrievably lost, and that nothing more could be done except to secure the pass at Duleek as speedily as possible: even fighting Sarsfield was compelled to acknowledge that retreat was advisable. Accordingly Lauzun drew off towards Duleek: Douglas pressed behind. Bye-and-bye it got bruited among the Irish soldiers that their troops at Oldbridge were beaten, and, fearing for their own safety, they began to break their ranks³³² in their anxiety to get to the head of the column: the English cavalry availed themselves of the confusion to charge in upon the retreating infantry,³³² and they slew a great many along the Duleek road. Presently some of the routed dragoons³³¹ from Donore crossed the road shouting that all was lost. The retreat now became a run, and the Irishmen, as their custom was, made off by twos and threes to conceal themselves in the fields: before dark half the infantry³³¹ had melted off the road, which was strewn all along with the muskets cast aside by them.³³¹ Lauzun, however, kept his own Division in fair order, and so reached the bog near Duleek: he at once took measures to secure the Pass.

The routed Irish infantry from Oldbridge was already

³²⁹ James II.
Story.

Berwick.
Bonivert.

³³⁰ James II.
Story.

³³¹ James II.

³³² Story.

pouring into the village ; and so eager were the men to press on towards Dublin, so selfishly bent on their own safety, that they not only neglected to guard the pass themselves but even tried to force a way through the French. Lauzun found it necessary³³³ to fire on his terrified allies, in order to prevent his ranks from being bodily swept away by the disorderly mass of fugitives.

King James no sooner felt assured that the passage of the Boyne was lost than he bethought himself of his own individual safety :³³¹ regardless of everything else he rode off to Dublin.

What an occasion had here presented itself for a display of princely courage and example ; what an opportunity for even devoted self-sacrifice. How differently would posterity have regarded James, had he now headed his Guards and shown that he did not desire to survive defeat ; how differently even, had he taken the less heroic, but not less soldierly, course of himself commanding the rear-guard and seeing his troops safely into Duleek. One cannot but contrast the behaviour of James under defeat at the Boyne with the behaviour of William under defeat at Estinkerke or Neerwinden three or four years later. James fled without striking a blow or receiving a wound ; William was to be seen foremost wherever the action was hottest. So soon as James scented defeat, he was the first to fly and rested not until he was out of the country ; in fact he deserted ; he did what an Ensign would have been rightly shot for doing : when William, on the contrary, saw that victory had departed from him, he ceased not to head the charges of his cavalry until he had seen every man in safe retreat.

At length all the Irish infantry had got into Duleek. The roads into the village lay across a wide bog : the bog was traversed from west to east by a deep black ditch, along the bottom of which there ran a small river. The only way across this bog and its stream was by the roads : on the one leading from Donore William advanced, on that from Rossnaree was Count Schonberg's Division. Both roads were now defended by the French and their cannon. Until the French moved off there could be no passage for the pursuers ; at a spot where not ten men could charge abreast, two or three thousand soldiers with artillery were well able to keep thirty thousand at bay. When Lauzun³³¹ had held the pass long enough to afford a good start to the infantry, he drew off.

³³³ La Hogue and Zurlauben.

Count Schonberg's Division³³⁴ joined the rest of the army in Duleek. The cavalry followed up the enemy for some three miles beyond this village, but the retreat was so excellently covered³³¹ by the French troops that the enemy suffered little loss. The enemy was the less encumbered because James had dispatched the baggage³³¹ and most of his artillery towards Dublin when the action commenced.

Night came down at last over the corpse-bestrewed fields beside the blood-stained river; over the victors housing themselves as they best could at Duleek; over the vanquished, harrassed and tired, still toiling wearily along the Dublin road; and many a wretched straggler blessed the sheltering darkness as he had never had reason to bless it before. The BATTLE OF THE BOYNE was over (Ill. XXXVII).

The loss of the enemy was about sixteen hundred killed,³³⁵ wounded, and taken prisoners. The slain in King William's army amounted to less than a third of that number:³³⁵ the Dutch Guards suffered most, and had lost above a hundred men: in the other regiments the loss was very slight; even Caillemotte's regiment had but eighteen men killed. Most of the Irish casualties fell to their Horse regiments,³³⁶ for the infantry and dragoons had not waited to be killed.

Schonberg's death was the subject of universal regret. The body of the kindly old soldier was conveyed to Saint Patrick's Cathedral. Caillemotte, his frequent companion in arms, lies buried at the foot of the trees close to Oldbridge ford.³³⁷

Doctor Walker, Bishop of Derry, and Colonel of the Derry volunteers as well as late governor of that city and garrison, to whose example and spirited exhortations the frustration of the late siege had been mainly due, also met his death³³⁸ in this battle. It does not appear that he was actually fighting on this occasion: by some it was said that upon news of Schonberg's death³³⁹ he had gone over the river to look after him if perchance

³³⁴ Wars in Ireland.
Mullenau.

³³⁵ Berwick.

Story.

Wars in Ireland.

Parker.

Richardson.

³³⁶ Berwick.

³³⁷ Local tradition; a little mound is still pointed out as the grave.

³³⁸ Story.

Richardson.

³³⁹ Story.

he should be still alive though wounded. Walker's body was seen just afterwards at a short distance from the river,³³⁹ already stripped naked by the rascals who followed the camp and pounced upon the corpses of the slain while they were yet warm. Bishop Walker was the last warrior bishop of English history.^{339a} (III. XXXVIII.)

^{339a} Among the Authorities not quoted throughout is the account in the Fingall MSS.

CHAPTER VIII.

THE WAR IN IRELAND. CAMPAIGN OF 1690. FROM THE BATTLE OF THE BOYNE TO THE CLOSE OF THE CAMPAIGN.

A.D. 1690.

Surrender of Drogheda.—The march on Dublin.—Evacuation of Dublin by the Irish.—The first siege of Athlone.—Douglas's retreat from Athlone.—The march on Limerick.—Surrender of Waterford.—The first siege of Limerick.—The affair of Ballynedy.—The assault.—Raising of the siege.—The defence of Birr.—The siege of Cork.—The siege of Kinsale.—The close of the campaign.

[For Illustrations, see Note on p. xiii.]

KING WILLIAM has been often blamed, especially by Irish writers, that he did not follow up more briskly his victory at the Boyne: but many reasons may be advanced that would transform this apparent sloth into a soldierlike and prudent restraint. It was well known that James had called out a number of regiments³⁴⁰ of Militia and that several of these were now in Dublin, but it was not known what the exact strength or character of these regiments might be:³⁴¹ if William pushed on at once he would have to leave a strong detachment to invest Drogheda, while James on the contrary would be drawing fresh men from Dublin and the places beyond. William was now sure that his troops could beat the Irish alone; but he was not yet assured that the raw lads who marched so readily up to troops as new at soldiering as themselves, would be a match for the steady discipline of Lauzun's French veterans; and it was not unlikely that, with the French to their front, the behaviour of the Irish troops might be very different to that shown by them when left to themselves, as they were at Oldbridge. William's siege-train was not yet arrived; and above all his Commissariat had not yet come up with the rest of the army; when it did arrive it could not quit the neighbourhood of the sea for an inland march of unknown duration and through a

³⁴⁰ True and perfect journal of the affairs in Ireland since H.M.'s arrival in that kingdom. By a person of quality, 1690.

³⁴¹ Story.

district of exhausted resources, without a little time being allowed for necessary arrangements.

On the morning after the battle, de la Melonière with guns and thirteen hundred men was sent to summon Drogheda.³⁴² After some demur, the place surrendered upon condition that the garrison should receive safe-conduct to Athlone.

On the third the army made a short march to Balbriggan ;³⁴¹ but information being received that the enemy had evacuated Dublin, the Duke of Ormond, Colonel of the second troop of Life Guards, was sent forward with a thousand cavalry and the Dutch Guards³⁴¹ to take possession ; and an officer of the Commissary-General's staff³⁴³ with an escort of dragoons was pushed on to seize all stores and munitions left behind by the enemy.

The protestant section of the population of Dublin had for the last week been in a fever of excitement over passing events, events whose result was so momentous to their collective and individual prospects. On the day of the battle conflicting and contradictory reports³⁴³ had reached the capital every hour. Now, the Prince of Orange was killed and all hope for the protestants was over ; then, he was alive and preparing for battle ; at one time, the English had been annihilated ; at another, it was bruited that the Irish had given way. At length, King James escorted by Sarsfield and a regiment of Horse, came clattering into the town ;—the Irish had gained the day, and James had arrived to further the arrangements for clinching the victory. Bye and bye, when lights appeared in the windows and the long summer twilight merged into dusk, Irish dragoons came galloping in by twos and threes, and still spurring their fagged horses as if the devil himself were after them :³⁴³ then the Irish inhabitants began to gather in clusters and to look serious, while their late loud and boastful talk turned to troubled whispers. The protestants too began to assemble in the streets and, silently and still half in fear, to shake hands one with the other, as men will do after deliverance from some overwhelming danger or relief from some anxiety of suspense. The next day there remained no doubt of James's defeat,³⁴⁰ for all through the morning from before dawn to midday Irish soldiers were

³⁴² Story.

Wars in Ireland.

Parker.

Cutts's Foot was with la Melonière's detachment (Story).

³⁴³ Wars in Ireland.

True and perfect journal.

pouring through the city, dusty, weary, and blood-stained, some marching in bodies, some straggling singly, and some on vehicles that they had pressed on the road to expedite their escape; many of the infantry were even without weapons of any sort. The Horse alone, as soldiers conscious of having performed their duty, marched in in complete order³⁴⁰ with their kettle-drums and trumpets sounding a march. All that day parties of stragglers continued to come in,³⁴⁰ and towards evening the whole army marched off southwards. It was noised about that the town was to be set on fire by the rear-guard,³⁴⁰ and that the object of the governor in remaining till last was to see this done. The unhappy protestants looked in vain for the dust of the English army on the north road: however, a false report of its approach caused the governor and the Irish rear-guard to quit the town. Then the protestants, after months of suffering and persecution, dared again to come forth openly: supplying themselves with arms they ran about greeting one another³⁴⁰ as though they had been raised from the dead; they crowded the streets, they sang and shouted and gave vent to an exultation which knew no bounds. It was at eight o'clock in the evening,³⁴³ just at the hour when the streets were alive with this revival, that the Commissariat Officer and his escort entered the town. The delight of the people at the sight of these red-coats was beyond all description: not the King himself at the head of the whole army could be so warmly welcomed as this one staff-officer³⁴³ and his single troop of English dragoons: every trooper was regarded as a saviour and a hero. The people not only shouted and raved with joy and excitement, but in the intensity and exuberance of their gratitude to their deliverers they embraced the necks of the very horses and were ready to pull the men off them as they marched up to the Castle.³⁴³

On the fifth the King followed the Duke of Ormond, and the army encamped at Finglas, a suburb of Dublin.

William was compelled for political reasons to make a longer halt at Dublin than would have been advisable from a purely military point of view. There were addresses to be received, deputations to be heard, a provisional government to be appointed, proclamations to be issued. The time was not, however, altogether lost to the army, for a very particular muster³⁴¹ was made by the Commissariat Officers in presence of the King on the seventh and eighth.

On the day after this two days' review the army marched southwards, a strong division being at the same time detached

under Lieutenant-General Douglas to invest Athlone.³⁴⁴ Now Athlone is due west of Dublin and is on the Shannon, that grand natural barrier of the province of Connaught ; so that to secure Athlone would be to secure the whole of the north against the enterprises of the Irish, and also to secure a gate into the great western stronghold to which the war must ultimately become confined.

Douglas's division ³⁴¹ consisted of two regiments of English Horse and Wolseley's, the Fifth Irish Dragoons and the Sixth Inniskillingers, the Second Battalion Scots Foot Guards, the Sixth, Eleventh, Twentieth, and Twenty-second Foot, the Twenty-seventh Inniskillingers, with four other regiments of infantry ; the whole force amounting to seven thousand five hundred men.

While the King was at Dublin he had published a proclamation ³⁴⁵ offering papers of protection to those of the peasantry who should remain neutral. But before Douglas's division had reached Mullingar the soldiers were plundering indiscriminately.³⁴⁵ It was found impossible to restrain the men from looting along the line of march, notwithstanding that when caught in the act they were sentenced to dice for their lives.³⁴⁵ This unlicensed pillage not only demoralised the troops but also the violation of the protection papers had a most deleterious effect upon the minds of the people.³⁴⁵ It was remarked that the Irish protestants, the men of Londonderry ³⁴⁵ and Fermanagh, were the foremost in these mischievous outrages ; but in truth they alone had an excuse, for had not the majority of them been stripped by the Irish of all their possessions ?

On the seventeenth Douglas arrived before Athlone ³⁴⁵ and summoned the place. The governor, Colonel Grace, firing a pistol at the trumpeter, bid him tell General Douglas that " those were the terms he was for," and that " when his food was " all gone he would defend Athlone until he had eaten his " boots." Douglas was not long in discovering that the strength of the place had been under-estimated. Approaches were indeed commenced ;³⁴⁵ but, without bread, without pontoons to cross the river, with only about a dozen guns,³⁴⁶ the heaviest

³⁴⁴ Wars in Ireland.

Story.

Parker.

True and perfect journal.

³⁴⁵ Story : Drogheda's Welsh regt., to which Story belonged, formed part of this expedition.

³⁴⁶ Letter, Douglas to Portland.

Story.

of which were twelve-pounders, without sufficient powder even for these, and with Sarsfield on the march from Limerick³⁴⁷ with fifteen thousand men to cut off the communication with Dublin and the main army, it would be rashness to remain before Athlone. At dawn on the twenty-fifth³⁴⁸ the siege was raised, and Douglas marched towards Limerick to re-join the King.

The retreat was not accomplished without difficulty. Ignorant of the strength of the enemy in the vicinity, obliged to take precautions against possible pursuit by the garrison of Athlone or a surprise by Sarsfield's reported force, Douglas had to accept for his route those roads where he would be least likely to fall in with the enemy, and where he would have the advantage of passes capable of defence by so small a force. This restriction to bye-roads, on which there were few farms and no towns, caused such a failure in the supply of provisions that for four days together the army was without bread.³⁴⁹

The enemy was on the look-out for Douglas at Bannagher-bridge, and he had therefore to make a *détour* by Ballyboy and Roscrea. Here he received an order from the King to hurry on lest he should be cut off by the enemy. He marched at once on Limerick, and, having passed the mountains, he sent back the Twenty-seventh and St. John's Foot together with Wolseley's Horse to protect the district about Mullingar. The Sixth Foot had been already detached to Dublin on quitting Athlone. A glance at the country from Limerick to Portarlington will suffice to show that Douglas's retreat on Limerick (for, although an advance into the enemy's country, it was still a retreat from before the enemy), might have ended less fortunately, had the Irish army sufficiently recovered from its recent defeat to take the field in strength and to occupy the passes of the mountains of Tipperary and Queen's County.

The King had quitted Dublin on the ninth and marched directly south, so as to cut off and secure all the places in the south-eastern counties before proceeding to the Shannon. The army proceeded by easy marches³⁴⁸ by way of Kilcullen, Castle-Dermot, Carlow, and Bennet's-bridge, and so to Rossed-Narrow and Carrick on Suir. From Castle-Dermot the Duke of Ormond had been detached to seize Kilkenny,³⁴⁹ and a party was now

³⁴⁷ Macarice Excidium.
Letter Douglas to Portland.

³⁴⁸ Wars in Ireland.

Story.

³⁴⁹ Story.

sent to occupy Clonmel, a place described as capable of a good defence "had it been garrisoned by any but Irishmen."³⁵⁰

Major-General Kirke was also sent from Carrick to summon Waterford, taking with him the Second and Twelfth regiments³⁵¹ and some cavalry. The place capitulated upon an investment being threatened, and the garrison received safe conduct to Mallow. Duncannon fort which commanded the river some seven miles below Waterford promised to give greater trouble, but the opportune arrival of Sir Cloudesley Shovel's fleet³⁵² induced Captain Bourke, the Governor, to surrender.

On the twenty-seventh the march was continued³⁵³ by Clonmel, Goolden-bridge, and Sallywood to Cahircoulish, a place about six miles from Limerick. Here Douglas rejoined.

After the defeat at the Boyne the enemy had scarcely halted until he reached the Shannon. The French opinion had been all along in favour of defensive action on the line of this river; it was only in deference to King James that this scheme had been at first laid aside, and upon James's departure from Ireland Lauzun lost no time in marching westwards; orders were issued that the Irish Colonels were to get their men down to Limerick,³⁵⁴ each conducting his own regiment by whatever route he judged best, and the French undertook to remain till the last³⁵⁴ in case of pressing pursuit.

The month elapsed since the battle of the Boyne had been spent in strengthening the defences of Limerick.

The natural defences of Limerick were more formidable than the artificial ones. The Shannon makes a sudden bend northwards before it reaches the town, but bows round again about a mile and a half above it (*see* Ill. XLVI); then, half-way between the northernmost curve and the town, the river splits, re-uniting in the middle of the town and thus forming an island nearly a mile long, and some five hundred yards wide, called King's Island. The town was built half on the southern extremity of

³⁵⁰ Wars in Ireland.

³⁵¹ Story.

At the same time the Seventh Dragoon Guards, the First Dragoons, and the Fourth and Thirteenth Foot returned to England.

³⁵² Story.

London Gazette.

Wars in Ireland.

³⁵³ Wars in Ireland.

Story.

Mullenaux.

³⁵⁴ Berwick.

this island and half on the left bank of the river, the former portion being denominated Englishtown and the latter Irishtown ; the two were connected by a bridge named Balls-bridge, and King's island was connected with the other bank of the Shannon by Thomond bridge. The country immediately about Irishtown was very low and swampy, but cut up into fields and those numberless small plots so peculiar to Ireland.

Rather more than half a mile from Irishtown, the Clonmel road (at this period) passed over a strip of firm ground, some one hundred and fifty yards across, with bog on either side of it. At the end of this pass nearest the town, and close to the road, was a rising ground, and on the two most prominent eminences stood the ruins of an ancient church, and an old fort ³⁵⁵ called Ireton's fort ; neither of these advantageous outposts had been as much strengthened ³⁴⁹ by the Irish as they might have been.

The defences of the town consisted of an exterior wall ³⁵⁶ encircling Irishtown as well as Englishtown from Balls-bridge to Thomond-bridge, the Irishtown wall having also a ditch. In the Irishtown wall was a sallyport close to Balls-bridge, and a gate called St. John's leading to what is now the Garry Owen suburb ; in advance of the wall were three outworks, two being on the front between the river and John's Gate and one at the south-east angle. Slightly to the proper left of John's Gate a redan had been erected against one of the towers of the wall and named the Black Battery. The wall of Englishtown had a strong bastion near Balls-bridge, and at the northern end of King's Island was a good sized fort ³⁵⁷ newly built by the Irish.

At five o'clock ³⁵⁸ on the morning of the 9th of August the English army marched on Limerick, having picked detachments from all regiments, ³⁵³ under Colonel Earle, for the advance-guard. About two miles from the town further advance was

³⁵⁵ First erroneously called Cromwell's fort by the English soldiers in 1690 ; Story. Cromwell's fort was to the left of this.

³⁵⁶ Story.
Mullenaux.
James II.
Parker.
Kane.

³⁵⁷ Now mis-called Cromwell's fort as well as the other already spoken of, but set down by Story in his plan as the "new Irish fort." See also the history of the second siege, in 1691, in Chap. XI.

³⁵⁸ Mullenaux.
Story.
James II.

contested by the enemy,³⁵⁸ but to no purpose. The most serious check occurred naturally on the neck of land already described ; and the hedges with which it was seamed, as well as the stone walls of large farm-premises³⁵⁹ offered excellent cover to the Irish, who were notoriously better soldiers behind shelter than in the open. Two field pieces were brought up to the left,³⁵⁹ and Earle's party charged the enemy, and, although the Irish fought well for two hours,³⁶⁰ succeeded in driving them from hedge to hedge until they finally retired ; General Douglas, who had been sent forward to direct the advance, took especial care to make the pioneers so cut the fences³⁶¹ as to preserve his front unbroken, thus ensuring success and saving much bloodshed. No sooner had the enemy been driven in, than the few entrenchments they had thrown up for the defence of the road were levelled ;³⁶⁰ four field guns were posted on the rising ground of Ireton's fort³⁵⁹ to reply to the cannonade that had begun from the town ; and the troops pitched their tents within a quarter of a mile of the walls.³⁵⁹

On this same day General Ginckell,³⁵⁹ with a body composed of the Second, Ninth, and Eighteenth Foot, and of the Royal and other dragoons, reconnoitred the ford of Annaghbeg about two miles above the town. Ginckell found the ford defended by low earthworks occupied by eleven regiments of cavalry and infantry, and the position was strengthened by a large new house³⁶² belonging to Sir Samuel Foxon, which, with all its out-buildings, hedges, and walls, offered so many standpoints to the defenders. However, during the night the enemy abandoned the ford,³⁵⁹ and Ginckell crossed in the morning and posted his three regiments of infantry and some artillery to secure the passage.

King William had brought with him none but field guns,³⁶² and there was at this time on the road from Dublin a train of ammunition wagons together with two eighteen-pounders and six twenty-four-pounders,³⁶³ several wagons of provisions, and a

³⁵⁹ Story.

Mullenau.

³⁶⁰ Mullenau.

³⁶¹ Story.

The neglect of similar precautions by the French at Neerwinden in 1693 caused enormous loss of life and repeated failure of their attacks.

³⁶² Story.

Bonivert.

³⁶³ Story.

Mullenau.

Parker.

Kane.

set of tin pontoon-boats. Two troops of the Second Dragoon-Guards³⁶² (Ill. XXXIX) under Captain Poulteney was all the escort travelling with this much-expected convoy through an enemy's country, where every peasant was a guerilla and every child a ready spy. Naturally, the enemy had information of the approach of the convoy; and on the night of Sunday the 10th, Sarsfield, with eight hundred cavalry,³⁶⁴ crossed the river at Killaloe and marched at leisure towards Cashel until he received certain news that the train was at that town: all the Monday he lurked in the mountains³⁶² along the course taken by his prey. On Monday afternoon the train halted at Ballynedy castle,³⁶² some seven miles from Limerick: the men of the Second Dragoon-Guards turned their horses loose to graze,³⁶² detailed the usual corporal's guard, ate their suppers, smoked their pipes, and went off to sleep: they had never marched in an enemy's country before, they had had no practical military education, and, after the fashion of the uneducated soldier, they complied with routine orders and then trusted to luck; not a sentry, not a vedette was posted beyond the precincts of the camp, not a word of notice of approach had been sent on to head-quarters. The conductors and drivers of the train, seeing the troopers thus assured, naturally felt so also and followed their example in going to rest: a number of women and children also slept in the camp that night;³⁶² whether they belonged to the men of the train, or to inhabitants come in for protection or to bring supplies, is not stated.

On the Monday an Irish gentleman named Manus O'Brien³⁶² came into the English camp and volunteered the information of Sarsfield's march by the bridge of Killaloe, though with what design he knew not. The English officers laughed at his news³⁶² and surmised that Sarsfield had gone to hunt for mare's nests in the mountains: but later in the same evening when some one repeated the tale in King William's presence he grasped the situation in a moment,³⁶² understanding at once that the Irish must have had news of the convoy, and that Sarsfield had been sent to waylay it: he instantly ordered Sir John Lanier³⁶³ to take a body of Horse and march to meet the convoy. Sir John unfortunately failed, from what cause was never explained, to march until about two o'clock in the morning³⁶³ or some four hours after he had got his orders, and

³⁶⁴ Story.
Berwick.
Parker.

even then he marched in very leisurely fashion ³⁶⁵ until his party was startled by a quaking of the earth and the appearance of a sudden brilliant flash of light some three miles off. Sarsfield had fallen upon the convoy at the hour when sleep is heaviest; the Irishmen barbarously slaying, not only the soldiers, but the wagoners and even the women and children as they slept. ³⁶⁶ They then gathered the wagons together and set fire ³⁶⁷ to them and also burst the guns, but this last so hastily that six of them were afterwards found to be serviceable; ³⁶⁸ the pontoons also were almost unhurt. By the time Lanier's men came up the enemy had disappeared into the mountains again, and pursuit was baulked.

This business exercised a far greater effect upon the siege than the mere loss of the material could have done: the defeats at Newtown-Butler, at Boyle, and at the Boyne, and the rapid abandonment to the English of the whole country except the extreme south, so dispirited the Irish ³⁶⁹ that they had begun to despair of ever turning the tables, and suggestions of the policy of an early surrender were rife: ³⁶⁹ Sarsfield's well-planned and well-executed little success caused an inordinate reaction, ³⁷⁰ and those who had been ready to give in on the 11th were eager to fight to the death on the 12th.

For a few days the English works were delayed for want of cannon; ³⁷¹ but the General Officers lent their horses ³⁷¹ to fetch in the *débris* from Ballynedy; and other guns were ordered up from Waterford, ³⁶⁵ while three hundred infantry mounted on ponies ³⁷¹ kept the road.

On Sunday the 17th the trenches were opened, ³⁷¹ seven battalions being detailed for the duty; and not only were several batteries successfully commenced, but also the Irish were

³⁶⁵ Story.

Parker.

³⁶⁶ Story.

Parker.

Mullenaux.

Letter, Dublin, 23 Aug., 1690, Theo. Harrison to Rev. John Strype; Ellis correspondence.

³⁶⁷ James II.

Berwick.

Story, &c.

³⁶⁸ Mullenaux.

Letter, Dublin, 23 Aug., 1690, Theo. Harrison to Rev. J. Strype.

³⁶⁹ Macariæ excidium.

³⁷⁰ James II.

Macariæ excidium.

³⁷¹ Story.

beaten out of an advanced redoubt³⁷⁰ in front of the south-east angle of the wall. The next night the enemy made a sally which had nearly ended in serious disaster to the besiegers. The Scots Guards and Ninth Foot having relieved the right of the trenches³⁷¹ were ordered to lie down ; from fatigue or carelessness the majority of both officers and men fell asleep³⁷¹ and allowed the enemy to steal upon them unawares : the English soldiers, roused from sleep,³⁷¹ began firing at random at everything and everybody : the Danish troops, who manned the trenches to the left, finding themselves fired upon, took the English for the enemy and returned the fire, while the Irish fired on both.³⁷¹ This confusion lasted for over an hour before the English and Danes discovered the true state of things,³⁷¹ when they united in the charge and repulsed the sallying party.³⁷¹

On the 20th an attack was ordered upon the strong redoubt close to John's Gate. The granadeers of Cutts's³⁷¹ and of the Eighteenth Foot were detailed to lead the way, Captain Foxon heading the former and Captain Needham the latter. At two o'clock in the afternoon the signal was given ; and the granadeers leaping over the trenches, went at a run straight for the redoubt in the face of the enemy's fire. Arrived at the redoubt a volley of granades was thrown in, and the rush was resumed ; Captain Foxon mounted first³⁷¹ and he was immediately thrown down ; rising unhurt, he went at it again and had the satisfaction of being the first in, the rest following with spirit. After a short struggle the enemy were ejected, and kept out while faggots or fascines³⁷¹ were brought from the trenches, wherewith to block up the part of the redoubt that lay open to the town. On the capture of the work the English cavalry, that had been posted in readiness to hinder any sally from the town,³⁷¹ drew off, glad to escape further exposure to the enemy's guns. But about an hour afterwards the enemy sallied in great force³⁷² from John's Gate, and forthwith began to fire on the redoubt : Major Wood of the Sixth Dragoon-Guards, who commanded an advanced picket³⁷¹ of twenty-seven troopers of the Sixth and twenty-four of the French Horse, the instant he heard the firing made for the spot and found himself confronted by a squadron of Irish Horse, with a wide ditch betwixt himself and them : rushing at the ditch³⁷¹ Wood and his men gained an impetus that the Irishmen could not withstand. Lieutenant-Colonel Wyndham

³⁷² Story.
Mullenaux.
James II.

with more men of the Sixth (Ill. XL), and some of the Blues³⁷¹ led by Captain Lacy, now came up, accompanied by some of the Dutch and Danish cavalry: forming up as they arrived, they charged the Irish³⁷² and forced them back upon the gate, whence they did not again venture forth: but the cavalry was of course severely galled as it returned to the trenches; Captains Lacy and Needham were killed, as were also not a few of their men. The cost of this day's work was altogether considerable, and stood as follows for the English alone:—³⁷²

			Killed.	Wounded.
English Cavalry	...	...	21	52
Do. Infantry	...	...	58	140
			<hr/>	<hr/>
Total	...	...	79	192
			<hr/>	<hr/>
English horses	...	...	64	57

But of the Irish there were over three hundred men killed;³⁷² for when they cried loudly for quarter after their usual fashion, the English soldiers replied that they should have just such quarter as the wagoners at Ballynedy had.³⁷³

By the 24th the English had run their trenches³⁷¹ within twenty yards of the ditch of the town: and they had now six batteries³⁷² playing; one of six twelve pounders under Ireton's fort; one of eight twenty-four pounders and two eighteen pounders close to the captured redoubt; one of four twenty-four pounders at the angle of the trenches over against the south-east angle of the wall and John's Gate; one of four mortars, and another large battery for red-hot balls, against the east face of the town; besides two smaller batteries on the extreme right of the lines, one directed against King's Island and the other against Ball's-bridge. On the night of the 24th³⁷⁴ the redoubt battery was moved nearer the walls, and the next day a breach began to show itself over the Black battery, near John's Gate.

For three days and nights a storm of shot and shell,³⁷² of carcasses and red-hot balls, rained upon the miserable town; but the milder rain³⁷⁴ of the heavens fell also almost unceasingly upon both besieged and besiegers, and eventually proved the stronger rain of the two. At times the down-

³⁷³ Letter, Dublin, 23 Aug., 1690, Theo. Harrison to Rev. J. Strype; Ellis correspondence.

³⁷⁴ Story.

Mullenauux.

pour was such that the men could not work the guns,³⁷⁵ and to mount fresh batteries soon became an impossibility: the trenches were knee-deep in mud: ³⁷¹ the soldiers were never dry ³⁷⁶ from morning till night and from night till morning: sickness, ³⁷⁶ which had been prevalent in the camp before, increased to a plague: the tenting ground became a mere swamp, and those who could afford it kept down the overwhelming damp only by burning bowls of spirits under the canvas. ³⁷⁶ Meantime the Irish had houses, and were little affected by the weather. It became imperative to carry the place at once or to raise the siege; another cause conduced to this decision, namely the near exhaustion of the stock of ammunition. ³⁷⁷

On the 27th ³⁷⁸ a goodly rent had been made in the palisadoes on the counterscarp; and the breach appeared practicable, although Quarter-Master-General de Cambon ³⁷¹ and others were of opinion that a longer delay was advisable. An assault was decided upon.

Half the granadeers of every regiment, ³⁷⁹ five hundred in all, were as usual to have the honourable post of the greatest danger. Immediately in support were the Scots Guards, ³⁷⁹ the

³⁷⁵ Mullenauux.

³⁷⁶ Sterne; the following description of the siege by Corporal Trim was evidently taken by Sterne from some old soldier who had been present: "We were scarce able to "crawl out of our tents at the time the siege of Limerick was raised, and had it not "been for the quantity of brandy we set fire to every night and the claret and "cinnamon and geneva with which we plied ourselves off, we had both left our lives "in the trenches." . . . "The city of Limerick, the siege of "which was begun under His Majesty King William himself, lies in the middle of a "develish wet swampy country; it is surrounded with the Shannon, and is by its "situation one of the strongest fortified places in Ireland; it is all cut through with "drains and bogs; and besides, there was such a quantity of rain fell during the "siege, the whole country was like a puddle; 'twas that and nothing else which "brought on the flux. Now there was no such thing after the first ten days, as for a "soldier to lie dry in his tent, without cutting a ditch round it, to draw off the water; "nor was that enough for those who could afford it, without setting fire every night "to a pewter dish full of brandy, which took off the damp of the air, and made the "inside of the tent as warm as a stove."

³⁷⁷ Story.

Berwick.

³⁷⁸ James II.

Mullenauux.

Story.

Parker.

Kane.

³⁷⁹ Story.

Parker.

Kane.

Ninth, and Eighteenth Foot, Lisburn's Herefordshire regiment, the Blue Dutch, and a regiment of Brandenburgers. To the left of these was another body of infantry³⁷¹ composed of Cutts's regiment and the Danes. In rear of all was a strong show of cavalry.³⁷¹ General Douglas commanded the whole. The day was one of those hot stifling days of August³⁷¹ when the very idea of exertion is repugnant.

At half-past three in the afternoon,³⁷¹ the hottest hour of all, the deliberate boom of three several guns gave the signal for the assault, and also put the enemy on the alert. The granadeers soon reached the counterscarp³⁷¹ and there showered granades and bullets upon the Irish, who replied with cannon and musquet. Captain Carlisle,³⁷¹ who commanded the granadeer company of Drogheda's, had been twice wounded before he reached the top of the glacis, yet he was first into the ditch (which was a dry one); he was instantly shot, but Lieutenant Barton, his subaltern, was ready to take his place, and Drogheda's sturdy Welshmen required little urging, while the other granadeers were equally forward;³⁸⁰ the covered way was quite in the hands of the besiegers, and the supporting regiments followed up the success. Unfortunately, while the granadeers had been permitted to launch themselves unrestrained against the enemy, the supporting battalions had received orders to halt³⁸¹ when once the covered way was in possession. The granadeers had all followed Carlisle and Barton³⁷¹ into the ditch, and then rushed on the breach with such impetuosity³⁸² that the Irish fled. But the supports deeming it their duty to clear the covered way first of all, instead of following to the breach,³⁸³ began to pursue those of the enemy that were retiring from the covered way by John's Gate. The crush of the Irish was not great, and the besiegers had the gates shut in their faces.³⁸³ By this time the granadeers were well into the town,³⁸⁰ but the Irish, seeing their fewness

³⁸⁰ Story.
Mullenau.
James II.
Macarice Excidium.

³⁸¹ Parker.
Story.
Mullenau.

³⁸² Story.
James II.
Macarice Excidium.

³⁸³ Parker.
Kane.

and that they were unsupported, recovered their courage³⁷¹ and returned to the fight; the Brandenburgers were the first to attempt to support the granadeers, and they had actually taken³⁷⁴ the Black Battery when, with a horrible explosion,³⁷¹ the enemy's powder there blew up, killing numbers and scorching and wounding many more. The granadeers had to fall back and regain the covered way.³⁸⁰ The object of the English was now limited to retaining the covered way and effecting a lodgment there, and the object of the Irish was, of course, to drive them back to their own lines. And at this sort of work the Irish were excellent soldiers: give them a wall or a clod to get behind, and they would blaze away as energetically as might be desired. The Irish women, however, exhibited a courage far beyond that of their men,³⁷¹ for they came boldly to the front of the breach and nearer to the enemy than to their own people; and, when they failed to obtain more deadly missiles, threw stones and broken bottles.³⁷¹ For three hours did this sharp work continue.³⁸⁰ Cutts attempted to create a diversion by an attack³⁷¹ on the Spur at the southern angle of the wall: but he was without scaling-ladders,³⁷¹ there was no breach on that side, and he could do little good; he himself was wounded and many of his men killed.

At length when the ammunition was all spent,³⁷¹ while the Irish fire increased with every moment, fresh regiments coming up to the walls,³⁷⁴ and every available gun being pointed on the attacking party, the troops were recalled from the covered way, and the FIRST SIEGE OF LIMERICK was closed.

On the 29th³⁷⁴ the rain began again in torrents and with every appearance of continuing. A council of war was held; ³⁷⁴ it was argued that disease was on the increase, that ammunition was scarce, that the transport train consisted mostly of oxen, and that, if the rains continued, it would become impossible to draw off the guns at all and they would have to be abandoned to the enemy; even as it was, it would be necessary to destroy all the remaining heavy ammunition. On Sunday the 31st the English army raised the siege,³⁸¹ and with a rear-guard of five thousand men marched to Cahircoulish,³⁷¹ first blowing up all the shell, &c., that could not be conveyed away.

The loss in the assault of the 27th was grievous. In three hours' fighting one thousand five hundred men had fallen³⁸⁴ on

³⁸⁴ Story.
James II.

the side of the besiegers alone, of whom five hundred were left dead on the spot. In the English regiments the vacancies caused in the commissioned ranks in so brief a fight were awful to contemplate, and spoke well for the gallantry, if little could be said for the skill, of our officers; the Third Foot-Guards³⁷¹ had seven officers killed and eleven wounded; the Ninth three killed and ten wounded;³⁸⁵ the Eighteenth six killed and eight wounded; and Cutts's and Lisburn's between them appeared on the list for five killed and seventeen wounded; and all these were exclusive of the granadeers³⁷¹ who bore the brunt of the affair. Lord Meath, the colonel of the Eighteenth,³⁷¹ Colonel Stuart of the Ninth, and Colonel Cutts were among the wounded.

The British army now retired into winter quarters, the Danish and Dutch contingents being detached towards Cork³⁸⁶ under the Duke of Wirtemberg and General Schravemoer to assist in the reduction of that place.

At this time Birr castle in King's County was occupied by but one company³⁷¹ of the Twenty-Seventh Inniskillingers; and the Irish, deeming this a favourable moment for its capture, sent Sarsfield with eight thousand men to besiege it.³⁸⁷ But the Inniskillingers were not to be terrified by numbers: so long as the bricks and mortar would hold together, so long would they defend the place. News of their strait coming to head-quarters, General Kirke, with the Blues,³⁷¹ the First and Sixth Dragoon-Guards, and Langston's Horse, the Third and part of the Sixth Dragoons, the Second, Eleventh, and Eighteenth Foot, as well as Cutts's, Lisburn's, Earle's, and Drogheda's regiments, was sent to relieve the hard-pressed little garrison. With a reinforcement that he received on the road Kirke's numbers³⁸⁷ were still inferior to those of Sarsfield; but the latter nevertheless retired again beyond the Shannon, thereby losing much of his own prestige and considerably damping the too-easily elevated spirits of the Irish.³⁸⁷

During this expedition for the relief of Birr, much harm was again done by the licentiousness of the English soldiers, who levied contributions³⁷¹ on all sides with the utmost

³⁸⁵ Parker.

Kane.

Story says only two killed and four wounded.

³⁸⁶ Story.

Parker.

Kane.

³⁸⁷ Macarice Excidium.

impartiality, disregarding nation, religion, political creed, and military safety-papers, equally. Story, the chaplain of Drogheda's regiment, tells us that some of the colonels not only winked at this disgraceful robbery,³⁷¹ but even encouraged it, because they themselves had unclean hands;³⁸⁸ there is, unfortunately, too much collateral testimony to admit of our doubting his statement.

On the 21st of September, John Churchill, now become Earl of Marlborough,³⁷¹ arrived off Cork with the Fourth, Eighth, and Thirteenth Foot, his own regiment the Seventh Fusileers, Fitzpatrick's fusileers, Hales's and Collier's Foot, and Lord Torrington's and Lord Pembroke's marine regiments.³⁸⁹ A landing was effected from open boats³⁷¹ in the face of the enemy: on the 23rd, Wirtemberg and Schravenmoer having joined, the trenches were opened, and on the 28th³⁷¹ the place surrendered at discretion, to avoid the horrors of the assault which had actually commenced; the Duke of Grafton was mortally wounded on this occasion.

Almost equally bald of incident because equally skilfully and quietly conducted, was the siege of Kinsale, which place surrendered on the 15th of October.

The Reverend Mr. Story, the most reliable historian of this war, concludes his narrative of this campaign with an account of the clever cunning of the Rapparees in avoiding detection, and it tallies so closely with all that one hears, reads, and sees of the underhand doings of the Irish malcontents of to-day, that it is worth transcribing. Story narrates how, when they feared detection, the Rapparees would sink down into the long grass, the standing corn, or other convenient cover, how they would dismount the locks of their pieces and stow them away in some dry spot or about their clothes, how they would then stop the muzzles of their pieces with corks, and the touch-holes with small quills, and chuck away the piece confidently into a pond or other equally secure place; and then, says he, "You may see an hundred of them without arms who look like the poorest, humblest slaves in the world, and you may search till you are weary before you find one gun; and yet when they have a mind to do mischief they can be all ready in an hour's warning."

³⁸⁸ Various letters in the Clarke MSS.

³⁸⁹ Raised 1690 and armed with Dutch snaphans musquets, cartridge-boxes, and bayonets: each regt. 15 Compies., 3 being granadeers, of 6 Sergts., 6 Corpls., 4 Drums and 120 Privates; Royal Warrts. 14 and 22 Apr., 1690; Ordnance Papers.

CHAPTER IX.

THE WAR IN IRELAND. CAMPAIGN OF 1691, TO THE
BATTLE OF AGHRIM.

1691, TO 5 JULY.

Preparations for the campaign.—Winter operations.—Opening of the campaign.—
March of the English Army.—Capture of Ballymore.—The second siege of
Athlone.—Capture of the English Town.—The Assault on the Irish Town, and
fall of Athlone.—The Irish retreat.—De Ginkell's pursuit.

[*For Illustrations, see Note on p. xiii.*]

THE campaign of 1691 was looked forward to by both sides as one that must prove decisive. It would be the third year of the war; the first year had resulted in a drawn game; in the second the English had decidedly had the best of it, but they had received such material checks on the Shannon that the Irish might still hope to turn the scale in their own favour. It was impossible that the state of things could remain as it was; either the English must force the frontier of the Shannon and thus put an end to the struggle, or the Irish must take the offensive and drive the English back into Ulster.

Both armies were full of hope, and preparations were eagerly made for the approaching campaign.

Count Solmes having left Ireland to accompany King William to the Continent,³⁹⁰ Lieutenant-General Ginkell took the command of the British army. Recruits and stores arrived daily from England; ³⁹⁰ large depôts of transport and supplies were formed at Mullingar and Belturbet; the troops were all furnished with new clothing; ³⁹⁰ and a train of Artillery was prepared at Dublin on a scale heretofore unknown in the British Isles.³⁹⁰ Count Schonberg, second son of the late Duke, was created Duke of Leinster; and other honours and promotions were conferred on those whose lives were hazarded more for honour than for gold.

On the Irish side, Sarsfield was created Earl of Lucan³⁹¹

³⁹⁰ Story.

³⁹¹ Story.
Berwick.

and was promoted to be Lieutenant-General; Dorrington was made a Major-General, and Barker General of Foot; the Duke of Berwick was recalled to France; and Lieutenant-General Saint-Ruth³⁹¹ was sent from France to take command of the army under the Duke of Tyrconnel, Maréchaux-de-Camp d'Usson and de Tessé accompanying him.³⁹² The different garrisons still in the hands of the Irish³⁹³ were supplied with stores, their defences looked to, and the troops inspected and re-organised.

An attempt was also made to erect defences on the roads leading to Athlone; but de Ginckell, having intelligence of this, ordered out a body of troops to force them, he himself³⁹⁰ with Sir John Lanier and Major General Kirke superintending the operation. The principal point was a pass about four miles from Streamstown; and here the Irish, upon notice of Ginckell's march, posted a force of two thousand three hundred men under Brigadier Clifford. No sooner, however, had the advanced guard of the English under Captain Pepper³⁹⁰ of the Nineteenth Foot appeared in sight, than the Irish retired upon their reserve which was drawn up on the side of a hill at Moate; but they shortly retreated into the town itself³⁹⁰. This place was defended by a palisadoed work with a good ditch to it; but even here the Irish did not feel safe and they made off for Athlone. Upon this Colonel Wolseley with the English advanced cavalry, consisting of a few of the Blues³⁹⁰ and First Dragoon-Guards under Cornet Lisle, and of Monk's Dragoons, supported by some of St. John's Foot, pursued closely and dispersed the Irish in all directions, killing about two hundred, and capturing many of their horses and arms and much of their baggage and camp equipage: and Cairn Castle³⁹⁰ and Castle Conway were secured by the English troops on their return.

Monk's dragoons, who took part in this affair and in many others of a similar character, were composed of four picked men³⁹⁰ per company from the Second Queen's, mounted, and ordered to do dragoon duty under Lieutenant Monk of the same regiment. They were, in fact, Mounted Infantry.

In May the campaign opened, Ginckell making Mullingar his head quarters,³⁹⁰ Douglas bringing down the troops from the north, Wirtemberg assembling the foreign regiments at Thurles,

³⁹² Maréchal-de-Camp corresponded with Lieutenant-General (although the Maréchal-de-Camp performed also Quarter-Master-General's duties); Berwick and Story mention Sarsfield's promotion, each by the different title.

³⁹³ Berwick.

the Artillery train coming from Dublin, and the whole being ordered to rendezvous at Bannagher. Major General Mackay was ordered from Scotland;³⁹⁰ and Sir Martin Beckman, who had made his reputation at Tangier, was sent from England to act as Chief Engineer. The Duc de Wirtemberg was appointed General of infantry, and M. de Schravemoer commanded the cavalry.

On the 6th of June de Ginckell marched from Mullingar to Rathcondra, hastening forward a strong body of cavalry to Ballymore to prevent any attempted relief of that fort.

Ballymore lies on the direct road from Rathcondra to Athlone, and about half-way betwixt the two: the place itself was a mere village, but the fort,³⁹⁴ which had been recently erected, was built upon an isthmus some six acres in extent which jutted into a small lake, and which the surrounding bogs invested with the character of an island. The fort was defended by about one thousand men,³⁹⁰ with, however, only two cannon which were old Turkish pieces mounted on cart-wheels. After a brave attempt at a resistance which, however, was quite useless, the garrison, commanded by Lieut.-Colonel Mylo Burke,³⁹⁴ surrendered on the 8th. It seems unaccountable why any garrison had been left thus to fall an easy prey to the English army.

The English were now on a sort of neutral ground between their own winter frontier and that of the Irish, and here one of the many horrors of war displayed itself. When the Irish resolved upon the defence of the line of the Shannon, they expelled all useless mouths beyond the boundary: but the English, who were forming depôts of supplies along their frontier, could naturally not afford to receive the multitude of women and children, together with sick and aged men, thus cast forth. When de Ginckell's army appeared at Ballymore these poor houseless starving wretches came flocking around the troops, and were to be seen gladly picking up all the offal³⁹⁵ and refuse of the camp; nay, such was their starving condition, that they eagerly devoured dead horses crawling with vermin, and even babies were put to suck at the filthy carrion.

On the 18th.³⁹⁰ the army advanced to Ballyburn pass near Twoy, Colonel Toby Purcell of the Twenty-third being left at Ballymore with four companies of the Royals.

³⁹⁴ Story.

Mac. Excidium.

³⁹⁵ Parker.

On the 19th the Army, having been joined by the Duc de Wirtemberg and being now some eighteen thousand strong, moved on Athlone: and shortly after daylight the advanced guard engaged with the enemy's outposts, driving them in, and lodging themselves under the shelter of the fences and ditches which covered the country.

Athlone stands on either side of the Shannon,³⁹⁶ just below where it lagoons into Lough Ree. The Leinster side was called English-Town, and the Connaught side Irish-Town, the two being connected by a stone bridge. The river is extremely rapid, and rough-bottomed, but there is a ford a little below the bridge (L) passable on foot in dry summers. Both towns were surrounded by walls of defence; but the fortifications could not be termed formidable, inasmuch as they were in bad condition and consisted mainly of exposed curtains with plain bastions at long intervals. The Irish-Town had been strengthened by earth-works subsidiary to, and without, the walls; but, oddly enough, no such endeavour seems to have been made to strengthen the English-Town. The old castle (B E) and the barracks were both on the Connaught side of the river (Ill. XLI).

No sooner had the enemy's scouts been driven in, than a battery was planted on a rising ground (F) north-west of the English-town, on which it immediately opened fire; while another battery was erected beneath it by the riverside (F) to hinder the intrenchments which were being thrown up by the enemy on the other bank, and another was placed over against the Dublin gate (F).

By noon the next day a wide breach appeared in the north-west bastion (G); whereupon a Council of War was held at which it was resolved to storm the place that evening in the following order, which will serve as an example of the recognised order of attack on such occasions: "Order of the attack at " Athlone 20th June 1691 at 5 oc. in the afternoon. There are " to be commanded from each Wing 150 granadeers, in all three " hundred, which are to be commanded by a Lieutenant-Colonel

³⁹⁶ The authorities for the details of this siege of Athlone may be quoted together as on no important point do they materially differ; they are principally,

Story.

Mackay's Memoirs.

Macarice Excidium.

Parker.

Kane.

London Gazettes, &c. &c.

" and Major, six Captains, twelve Lieutenants, twelve Serjeants,
" and that Detachment shall be disposed of as followeth,

" 1. A Lieutenant, Serjeant, and thirty Granadeers ; who as
" soon as they shall enter the Breach, shall take to the right
" towards the Bridge, to prevent the enemies getting that way
" into the town ; but if they find any Retrenchment before the
" Bridge, they shall post themselves in covert as well as they
" can thereabouts.

" 2. After them a Captain, two Lieutenants, two Serjeants,
" and fifty soldiers.

" 3. Then the Lieutenant-Colonel, three Captains, five Lieu-
" tenants, 5 Serjeants, with one hundred and twenty Granadeers,
" who shall follow the two former Detachments towards the
" Bridge.

" 4. After these the Major, with two Captains, four Lieu-
" tenants, four Serjeants, and one hundred and ten Granadeers,
" who are to take to the left, and clear the rampart of the
" enemy.

" 5. After these fifty Workmen, whereof twenty five are to
" follow the Lieutenant-Colonel to the right, and twenty five to
" go after the Major to the left, with Hatchets, Pick-axes,
" Shovels, and Hammers.

" 6. After them shall follow the two Battalions of Stuart
" (Ninth Foot) and Prince Frederick, whereof Stuart is to go
" to the Right, and Prince Frederick to the Left ; and the
" officers are to take care that the Men do not press on too fast,
" but cover themselves from the enemies fire as soon as they
" can.

" 7. After these two battalions, two hundred Foot to carry
" Fascines, and each of them to carry tools along with them.

" 8. After these shall follow the regiments of Brewer (Twelfth
" Foot) to sustain Stuart, and Count Nassau to sustain Prince
" Frederick.

" 9. The workmen are to open, as soon as possible, the two
" Gates of the Town, that the Horse and Foot may come in
" that way.

" 10. The Lieutenant-Colonels, or Major (or both), that shall
" come first to the Ford on the left of the Bridge, is to take care
" to prevent the enemies sallying that way ; and also, that their
" men do not fire one upon another.

" 11. All these foregoing Detachments are to be com-
" manded by Major-General Mackay, and Brigadiers Stuart
" and Vittinghoff."

A body of cavalry was also in readiness to support the attack.

Accordingly at 5 o'clock in the afternoon the advance party of 30 men, led by a French subaltern, marched under cover of broken ground to within about 150 yards of the breach, when the attack became manifest to the enemy who at once opened a brisk fire ; the assailants however reserving their fire until they were actually upon the enemy. The French lieutenant, heading his men, rushed up the breach throwing his granade, firing his piece, and cheering on his followers: these were not slow to answer his appeal, and although the young French officer's courage cost him his life, the attack did not flag ; Brigadier Stuart with his own regiment, the Ninth Foot (III. XLII), energetically supported the granadeers ; the other regiments followed ; and in a very short time the Irish quitted the breach and ran towards the bridge, closely pursued by the storming party, who chased them even up to the drawbridge ; indeed, so crowded were the fugitives in their anxiety to escape, that several were crushed to death, and others were forced over the sides of the bridge.

Strangely enough the only officer killed this day on the English side besides the leader of the advance party was a Lieutenant-Colonel Kirke of the 2nd Dragoon Guards who was struck by a cannon-ball as he lay on the side of a hill quietly viewing the action. The loss in men was only about twenty killed and forty wounded.

So soon as the town was mastered, entrenchments were thrown up at the foot of the bridge (H) to guard against re-capture, and batteries were at once commenced within the town towards the river.

At this time the main Irish army under the French General St. Ruth advanced from Ballinasloe and encamped beyond the Irish-Town, the garrison being constantly relieved by fresh battalions from the camp : but, for want of transport, St. Ruth could do nothing beyond thus sustaining the defence. Equally for lack of transport, de Ginckell could not pontoon the river before St. Ruth arrived, nor could he bring up his whole siege-train, for it was as much as he could do to merely feed the army.

On the 22nd the new batteries (F) in English Town were in full play against the north-east side of the Castle : before dusk that evening a considerable breach had been effected in the river wall ; and during the night the whole side of the Castle was laid in ruins. On the same day a train of pontoons, floats,

and other siege material, arrived most opportunely under escort of the Blues and the Sixth Dragoon-Guards.

A desperate struggle now took place day by day for possession of the bridge connecting the two towns, the Irish contesting it to the utmost, and the English gaining ground only inch by inch. Upon the bridge stood an old mill-house, and this being fired by the granades of the besiegers, sixty men were burned alive in it before they could get out, only two of its little garrison escaping. There was a dry arch under this bridge; and one of Lisburne's regiment going thither to search for plunder, in turning over the bodies of the men that had fallen there during the assault on the 20th, came across a pair of Colours clenched in the hands of one of the corpses: emerging from the arch, the soldier unfurled his trophies, and made towards his quarters in triumph: the enemy, observing the unwonted display, fired thickly upon him, but he was fortunate enough to get off safely with his inglorious capture and was rewarded by the General with five guineas.

The English Generals, having information of a ford higher up the river in the Lanesborough direction, by which a passage might be made to take the enemy unawares in rear, a lieutenant of Horse was dispatched with a party to reconnoitre the spot, with positive orders to return the moment he had tested the ford by crossing it: but, as luck would have it, just as the young officer had crossed the river, he espied in the distance a large herd of black cattle, and recollecting that much credit had frequently attached to the captors of such plunder, he set off with his party to run down this attractive prey. Naturally this glaring indiscretion led to the discovery by the enemy of the lieutenant's proceedings, and within a few hours the newly found ford was strongly defended by earth-works and by a chain of communication with St. Ruth's camp. Had the reconnoitring officer exercised greater common sense, or had he implicitly obeyed *with understanding* the orders he had received, it is not unlikely that the battle of Aghrim, if not also the subsequent siege of Limerick, might have been avoided, and the lives of several thousands of men saved. Nevertheless, it is highly probable that he considered himself harshly treated in being tried and cashiered.

While in the towns on either side of the river each party was occupied in daily erecting fresh batteries against each other, the bridge continued to be contested arch by arch. By the night of the 26th the English had managed to possess themselves of the

whole bridge except one broken arch on the Connaught side : and, with a view to the easy passage of a storming party, the captured arches had been repaired as they were taken.

On the 27th the breastworks of fascines erected by the Irish at their end of the bridge were set on fire by granades ; and that night the English succeeded in bridging over the intervening ruined arch. On the Sunday morning, the 28th, the enemy observing this, a Serjeant and ten men of Brigadier Maxwell's regiment, being all Scotchmen, volunteered to don armour and to wreck the English works on the bridge : boldly they set about their daring task, but every man of them was soon slain : their places were taken by another ten equally devoted, and these brave fellows in the face of the heaviest fire actually succeeded in destroying the temporary bridge over the broken arch, altho' only two of them returned to reap the fruits of their valour. The English works were, however, recommenced under cover of a close gallery, and the lost ground was shortly recovered.

St. Ruth had hitherto been of opinion that any assault upon the Irish-Town directly from the river was simply impossible ; but he now began to fear that Ginckell's design was none other than to force a way through the Irish-Town itself. He therefore sent word on the evening of the 29th to M. de Suzon, who was commanding in the town, to have the rampart on the land side sufficiently demolished to allow of the troops from camp marching into the town promptly, to support the defence in case of an assault. Unfortunately for the Irish, de Suzon delayed the execution of this order for a day ;—unfortunately, for on the very day that he should have performed this work, a Council of War was being held in the English camp, at which the passage of the river was determined upon. Indeed on the day before (the 29th) the troops had been drawn out in readiness for the attempt, and it was deferred only because at the hour fixed upon, the English works on the bridge next the broken arch had taken fire, creating a delay and distraction fatal to the intention for the moment, and greatly increasing the exposed space betwixt besiegers and besieged.

At the Council which met on the 30th at General de Ginckell's quarters, a most anxious discussion took place. On the one hand the General represented to his Officers that the idea of storming the place by crossing the river in the very face of all its batteries and the concentrated fire of its musketry, appeared almost fool-hardy and most improbable of success : it

was not even as if the whole river were fordable ; there could only be one narrow stream of men crossing at one spot, and in full view of the enemy ; and as to the bridge, the possibility of crossing by it (a most dangerous process at the best of times, especially in case of a retreat becoming necessary) was now more remote than it had been before the conflagration of the morning.

On the other hand, it had become imperative to take some decisive step ; for the forage for miles round was all consumed, and the means of transport from the rear were limited.

Several of the principal officers then spoke in favour of an assault : they urged that to raise the siege was not only to afford to the enemy the unsubstantial, but none the less appreciable, advantage of prestige at the very beginning of the campaign, but it also involved the reversal of the whole situation : to quit Athlone would be to expose the roads to Dublin and the North, and from offensive action the English would subside into the defensive ; they urged that no act of determination and bravery in war could be unattended by risk, but that hitherto in almost all hand-to-hand combats the Irish troops had offered comparatively faint resistance, and had made victory easier to their opponents than anyone had a right to expect ; and they concluded by expressing an unanimous determination to offer to their men an example of resolute courage. Wirtemberg, Mackay, Tettau, and Ruvigny, the General Officers, all spoke in the same strain ; and Major-General Talmach^{396a} especially advocated an immediate assault, and by his sanguine but sensible persuasions did much towards persuading the Council to its ultimate decision.

Every concomitant circumstance conspired to favour the bold undertaking. A day or two before this Council was held, three Danish soldiers under sentence of death had volunteered, for a pardon, to test the depth and width of the ford : clad in armour they crossed at distances from one another, their friends pretending all the time to fire at them for deserters, and the Irish consequently leaving them unmolested, until their facing about to return displayed their design ; it is pleasant to learn that these victims of a "Hobson's choice" got back safely, two of them being but slightly wounded, and the other unhurt. The river at the ford was only thigh-deep, and never before within the memory of man had it been so shallow.

^{396a} Talmach spelled his own name thus ; autographic letters in Clarke MSS. 13.

When the Irish saw the destruction of the English gallery on the bridge on the 29th, they congratulated themselves that the enemy was at length disheartened, and that the siege was about to be raised. It was probably for this reason that de Suzon delayed to open the ramparts as he had been instructed to do, and that his guards were for the next twenty-four hours less watchful than usual; also that the Irish had but three regiments in their works in the town, while their General was beguiling what he thought to be the leisure of security by giving an entertainment at his quarters in the camp. Shortly before 6 o'clock on the light summer evening of the 30th, instead of the usual relief of the guards, there marched down to the trenches about two thousand troops composed of forty-three men from the Granadeer companies, and eighty-three picked soldiers from the battalion companies of every regiment, each detachment having with it three Captains, six Subalterns, and seven Serjeants; and every man carrying fifteen rounds of ammunition, and having the "sign of battle," a green bough, ready to place in his hat. Major-General Mackay was in command, and Major-General Tettau and the Prince of Hesse were with him: Talmach, not being for duty, marched as a simple volunteer in the advance-party commanded by Colonel Gustavus Hamilton of the 20th Foot. The General-in-Chief was present to encourage the soldiers to their trying duty; and a bag of guineas was distributed as some sort of acknowledgment among those who were thus foremost in danger.

All was now ready, and Death hung expectant in the air.

The strictest silence was enjoined, until there rang out on the still summer air, as a signal, the toll of the death-bell from the church steeple. Instantly there issued forth to the river-side sixty men in body-armour, and close upon them followed at very slight intervals the whole of the storming party, while every cannon and musquet from the walls opened fire upon the unexpecting foe. At the same time the supports assembled in readiness to cross the bridge as soon as feasible, while another body marched to the pontoon bridge now being rapidly laid some few hundred yards below the walls.

Twenty abreast the men crossed the ford led by a Captain Sandys, the Irish shot now falling thickly and rapidly among them. With a resolute and impetuous rush the storming-party reached the breach in the wall at the other side of the ford, and driving the enemy before them, made straight for the bridge, only two hundred fusileers of the Sixth Foot under Lieut.-

Colonel Columbine, being left to hold the castle in check : within a few minutes after the ford had been crossed the broken arch of the bridge was planked over, and the British troops were pouring into the town without impediment. As the men pursued the Irish to their outer ramparts, they found the streets and ways so encumbered by rubbish and masonry knocked down by their own cannon that they, who just before had faced almost certain destruction without a murmur, now fell to swearing horribly at the bumps and knocks they received as they climbed over these obstacles ; whereupon old General Mackay, with characteristic Caledonianism, called out that instead of damning and cursing they had more reason to thank God for their victory, and that they would be no worse soldiers, and would certainly be better men, if they would fight as much but swear less.

So unexpected was the attack and so skilfully pre-arranged, that by half-past six o'clock the whole place was in the hands of the British ; the re-inforcements from the Irish camp arriving only just in time to find themselves transformed from besieged into besiegers, for their own gates were shut in their faces, the drawbridge was drawn up, and their own guns opened fire upon them from their own ramparts. St. Ruth was astounded no less at the audacity than at the success of de Ginckell's stroke ; and early the next morning he decamped, leaving the Castle, which had not yet surrendered,³⁹⁷ to fall into the hands of the English.

That a fortified town, almost un-breached, strongly garrisoned, and sustained by an entire army encamped within a quarter of a mile of its walls, should thus be taken by storm across a wide and rapid river, in the full face of its fire and in the light of day, is a feat in war almost unparalleled, and adds one more to the numerous warnings to Generals that they should guard not only against *probabilities*, but also against the most remote *possibilities*.

St. Ruth's first march was to Miltown, and on the next day he continued his retreat as far as Ballinasloe. Here he called a Council of War, and opinions were divided, whether to defend the passage of the Suck river, or to retire on Limerick. The French officers were for the former plan, but Sarsfield and the other Irish officers advocated the latter course, urging that the Irish fought better behind walls than in the open ; and that,

³⁹⁷ During this siege, which lasted eleven days the English had fired away twelve thousand cannon-balls, six hundred bombs and nearly fifty tons of powder, besides a great many tons of *stones* discharged from mortars : Story.

by defending the towns time would be gained for the arrival of reinforcements from France, when the offensive might be assumed with far greater chance of success. St. Ruth deemed it best to fall in with the opinion of the Irish majority ; but, within the next day or two, observing the magnificent advantages of a position that might be occupied across the high road at Aghrim, a little village about four miles further on from Ballinasloe, he made up his mind to give battle there. He was greatly liked and looked up to by the Irish troops, and did not therefore fear that a decision contrary to their own desires would have any bad effect upon them.

De Ginckell, having placed Athlone in a good state of defence, and leaving there as garrison the First and Fifth Foot, with Col. Lloyd of the latter as Governor, marched on the 10th after St. Ruth as far as Kilcashel. Here, upon reconnoitring he found that his adversary had retired beyond Ballinasloe to Aghrim, and that the passage of the Suck was open. He therefore the next day occupied Ballinasloe, and himself with his principal officers rode out to observe the enemy's position and to ascertain his intentions.

CHAPTER X.

THE WAR IN IRELAND: CAMPAIGN OF 1691.

THE BATTLE OF AGHRIM.

Description of the field of battle.—De Ginckell's advance.—Strength of the two armies.—The Irish position.—The first left attack.—The second left attack.—The left-centre attack.—The right-centre attack.—The right attack.—The final attack.—Death of Saint-Ruth.—The rout.—The loss of the two armies.—The fighting qualities of the British soldier.

[*For Illustrations, see Note on p. xiii.*]

THE position now taken up by Saint Ruth was one upon which he had had his eye for some days; and it was as naturally strong as he could reasonably desire.

About three miles and a half from Ballinasloe the road from that town to Loughrea and Ennis passes through the village of Aghrim (or Aughrim) (Ill. XLIII). A mile south of Aghrim stood Kilcommodon church; and a hill rises gradually from Aghrim, until about half-way between Aghrim and Kilcommodon it attains its greatest height, descending again towards Kilcommodon, the descent at this end being, however, less gradual and easy than that at the Aghrim end. The Irish camp lay along the rear of this hill,³⁹⁸ which is generally called Aghrim Hill; and on this hill St. Ruth took his stand. Near the highest part of the hill stood two ancient Danish earth forts.³⁹⁹

To the north of the hill of Aghrim lay an extensive red bog, which stretched along the whole of the left of the Irish position, and even circled round partly in rear of it; this bog also ran out so far to the left front parallel with the Ballinasloe road as to preclude the likelihood of any attack from that flank.

³⁹⁸ Story.

Mac. excidium.

Among the authorities left unquoted throughout this chapter is the account in the Fingal MSS.

³⁹⁹ Story: they are still there.

Aghrim is pronounced Och-rim; gutturally.

Directly beneath the hill of Aghrim, and all along its front, lay another bog about three quarters of a mile across, beyond which rose the ridge of Urrachree, lower and less regularly formed than the ridge or hill of Aghrim, but almost parallel to it, the bog forming a flat valley between the two ridges, wider at the Aghrim than at the Kilcommodon end. Through this valley there meandered a small river, the ground on each side of which was soft and impassable by cavalry;³⁹⁸ there were, however, several foot-tracks by which infantry could avoid the worst spots of the bog.

To the south of Aghrim hill the right of the Irish lay more exposed, for here the bogs were firmer and of less extent, and the ground became more hillocky and sound.

The road from Ballinasloe passed over the north end of the Urrachree ridge, then dipped between the large red bog (which may be denominated Coololla bog) and the Aghrim bog, and thus ran direct into the village of Aghrim by a passage over the stream, close to which (and on the Ballinasloe side) stood the ruins of an old castle.

From the Ballinasloe road a lane diverged along the Urrachree ridge, and another road ran from the village of Aghrim along the lower slope of the Aghrim ridge; and these two roads were connected to the right front of the Irish position by a cross road, which skirted the intermediate valley and circled round the south of Aghrim hill and Kilcommodon, the junction of the two roads taking place close to a ford (now spanned by Tristaun bridge) over a little stream that drained the south-east slope of the hill of Aghrim. The only passes suitable for cavalry were, then, the Ballinasloe road and the Urrachree road.⁴⁰⁰

On the evening of Saturday the 11th of July, orders were issued in the English camp for an advance against the enemy the next morning; the baggage to be left behind⁴⁰¹ under a guard of two regiments, every company to turn out as strong as possible⁴⁰¹ with arms fixed and ammunition in bandaleer or pouch, five pioneers to march at the head of each regiment in readiness to act in unison,⁴⁰¹ and the granadeers to be on either wing of their corps with two granades per man.

At six o'clock⁴⁰¹ on the Sunday morning the troops

⁴⁰⁰ Story.
Mac. excidium.
Berwick.

⁴⁰¹ Story.

marched out of Ballinasloe, the infantry over the bridge, the English and French cavalry by the ford above the town, and the Dutch and Danish cavalry by that below the town. As the troops crossed the river they were formed up into a double line of battle as well as the uneven ground would permit, the arrangement of the brigades and regiments being as follows :—⁴⁰²

LINE OF BATTLE, 2/12 JULY, 1691.

Major-Generals :—	Schrammoer.	Brigadeers :—	Villiers.	Major-Generals :—	Ruvigny.	Brigadeers :—	Leveson.
			{ 3rd Dragoons. 5th do. Blues. Langston's Horse. Ruvigny's do. 2nd Drn. Gds.				{ 6th Dragoons. 5th do. 1st Drn. Gds. Wolseley's Horse. 6th Drn. Gds.
				RIGHT WING			

The strength of the two armies was about equal, de Ginkell having perhaps the advantage of numbers,⁴⁰³ but in any case not of sufficient preponderance to counterbalance the disadvantage of being the attacking party.

⁴⁰² Story : Two of the regiments mentioned were left at Ballinasloe as a camp guard, but it does not appear exactly which ; perhaps the Twenty-Second and Lisburne's. The Fifth Foot was absent from this engagement, for we find it (having been in garrison at Athlone) rejoining the army on the first of August. Nevertheless, from a passage in Mackay's memoirs, and from the lists of casualties, it would seem certain that the Twenty-second was on the field.

⁴⁰³ The list of the English Army gives the following numbers, reckoning the cavalry regiments at 300 and the infantry at 550, or nearly their full effective strength, and deducting two regiments of English and two of foreigners for camp guard :—

Over the fenny swamps and concealing the turfy hills ⁴⁰⁴ hung a thick summer mist ; and it was not until nearly noon that de Ginckell could sufficiently note the details of the enemy's position to enable him to bring up his troops and decide upon his mode of attack.

The Irish army was drawn up in two lines, the infantry in the centre ⁴⁰⁵ and the cavalry on either wing : Tessé commanded the right wing ⁴⁰⁵ and Sarsfield the left. A reserve of cavalry ⁴⁰⁶ was posted to the left rear ; and before the action commenced Sarsfield was desired to take command of this reserve, with instructions not to stir until he received a distinct order to do so from St. Ruth himself. The old castle of Aghrim was entrenched and occupied by musqueteers. ⁴⁰⁴

As the fog lifted beneath the influence of the July midday sun, the two armies were discovered in battle array, the one on the hill of Aghrim, the other on the Urrachree ridge ; and the cannon began to thunder across the valley. ⁴⁰⁴

The road from Urrachree over the narrow stream to the Irish right ⁴⁰⁴ was at this time very slightly guarded ; and the battle opened about three or four o'clock ⁴⁰⁷ (without any very definite

English—Horse,	6 regts. at	}	300 = 2,700
Dragoons, 3	„ „		
Foot	15 „ „		
			550 = 8,250
			<hr/>
	Total British	=	10,950
Foreigners—Horse	}	12 regts. at 300 = 3,600	
Dragoons			
Foot ...			
	8 regts. at 550 = 4,400		
			<hr/>
	Total foreign	=	8,000
			<hr/>
	TOTAL (about)		<u>19,000</u>

Mac. Excidium says that the Irish forces amounted to 10,000 Foot and 4,000 Cavalry.

Story says that the Irish had the advantage of at least 1,000 men, but he seems to allude to the strength of their position rather than to their actual numbers. In another place he says that the Irish had 20,000 Foot and 5,000 Horse, and de Ginckell but 17,000 in all.

⁴⁰⁴ Story.

⁴⁰⁵ Story.

Mac. excidium.

Parker.

Kane.

⁴⁰⁶ Parker.

⁴⁰⁷ Story.

Parker.

Kane.

Mackay.

intention on the part of either General) by a detachment of Danish dragoons being sent to occupy the little ford,⁴⁰⁴ but they were beaten back. Upon this,⁴⁰⁴ two hundred of the Sixth Inniskillingers were ordered down to deter the Irish from crossing, while the infantry of the centre advanced into the valley. It was evident, however, that, to render the centre attack of any avail, either the Urrachree or the Ballinasloe road must be forced, and the Inniskilling Dragoons were ordered to force the ford and fall upon the right of the enemy. The men were so eager⁴⁰⁴ that, having repulsed the enemy from the cover of a large farm-house beyond the ford, they were overwhelmed by his supports and had to run⁴⁰⁴ for it until reinforced by Eppinger's dragoons, who dismounted and checked the further advance of the Irish on to the road or the bog: but the Irish cavalry behaved here as they had behaved a twelvemonth ago at the Boyne,⁴⁰⁴ like true men and good soldiers. The fight grew hotter and hotter; re-inforcements poured in from Kilcommodon:⁴⁰⁴ and Portland's Horse (which had come up with the army just in time to share the action) had to be sent down⁴⁰⁴ to the assistance of the Inniskillingers and Eppinger's. Soon the whole of the Irish right wing was engaged; and on the other side the Duke of Wirtemberg, bringing down two battalions,⁴⁰⁴ held the Irish occupied until, more infantry coming to his assistance, he was enabled to force them back again to their original position on Aghrim hill. So far the British had success on their side, but not much had been gained in reality; for the real key to the Irish position lay on their left, where the slope of the hill was more gradual and whence three good roads led to their front, centre, and rear. De Ginckell called a council of war⁴⁰⁴. At first it was decided to delay the attack till the morrow, and an order was despatched for the tents to be sent on from Ballinasloe: but afterwards it was thought best to continue what had been well begun. On General Mackay's advice⁴⁰⁸ the plan of action was to consist in a vigorous diversion of the enemy's right flank and right centre, with a view to facilitating the really important attack on his left.

Accordingly, about half past four o'clock, the English left advanced: the sun was directly in their eyes and the wind in their faces, no small disadvantages. The notoriously fertile hill of Aghrim was partitioned off into fields, and the hedges and

⁴⁰⁸ Story.
Mackay.

ditches of these plots extended quite into the bog especially about the centre of the Irish position : St. Ruth had caused the fences to be so cut or levelled as to form continuous successive lines of defence with communication from one to the other.

At five o'clock the firing recommenced, and again the Irish carried themselves manfully (as one historian puts it "like men of another nation") : ⁴⁰⁴ fence after fence and ditch after ditch was disputed to the uttermost, ⁴⁰⁹ and it was difficult to say which displayed most courage, the men who advanced in the face of the most deadly fire, or the men who refused to retreat ⁴⁰⁸ until the muzzles of the enemy's musquets actually touched their breasts. The uproar was increased by the cannon of both sides playing on the main body of either army.

It was not until half past six o'clock ⁴⁰⁴ that the Irish right had sufficiently given way to admit of the centre attack being made.

The Twelfth, Nineteenth, Twenty-Third (Ill. XLIV), and Creighton's regiments, ⁴⁰⁸ supported by the Ninth and Ffoulks's, led off the centre attack and marched straight over the spot where the fences abutted farthest on to the bog. ⁴⁰⁴ Colonel Earle with the Nineteenth shewed the way, ⁴⁰⁴ the men marching thigh-deep in marsh and soft bog. The orders were that these regiments were not to push beyond the bog ⁴⁰⁸ until the infantry to their right had had time to cross the wider part of it, and until the cavalry had forced the road at Aghrim castle. But the men got so elated with their success at the outermost fences that they could not be restrained : ⁴⁰⁸ from fence to fence they beat the enemy, until they were masters of all the ground ⁴⁰⁴ between the bog and the steep rise of the hill. Flushed with victory they still pushed boldly on against the enemy's main body, when they suddenly found themselves confronted by a mass of Irish cavalry ⁴⁰⁸ that came pouring through the gaps of communication so ably arranged by St. Ruth. Colonel Earle was equal to the occasion : going to the head of his men he urged them not to give way, ⁴⁰⁴ for courage would prove the only means of safety. And nobly the Englishmen answered his appeal : with every hedge about them one continuous flame of fire intermitted only when at intervals the Irish Horse rode heavily down upon them, the gallant fellows stood until they were flanked ⁴⁰⁸ as well as fronted by fresh bodies of cavalry.

⁴⁰⁹ Story.
Parker.

Then they gave way : the enemy followed closely like a wave that had but gathered strength by its recoil, and the English were swept like sea-sand before the resistless vehemence of the masses that burst upon them. Colonel Earle was wounded,⁴⁰¹ was twice taken prisoner, and twice escaped ; Colonel Herbert of the Twenty-Third was also captured ;⁴⁰¹ and when the six regiments regained the bog, they had left so many of their own men mingled with the bodies of the Irish that to this day the spot on the hill side where the English gave way is known as "the Bloody Hollow." A century and a half later the Nineteenth and Twenty-Third regiments fought again side by side in an almost precisely similar attack and shared together a similar bloody repulse and ultimate glorious victory.

Meanwhile the attack had been extended along the right by the Twenty-seventh Inniskillingers, the Eighteenth, St. John's, Lord George Hamilton's, and the French Foot,⁴⁰⁰ The passage of the bog was long, but not a shot was fired against them ; so silent and so hidden⁴¹⁰ lay the Irish that it was conjectured that they had been withdrawn. A fearful undeception awaited the advancing regiments ; they were within twenty yards of the outermost hedge ;⁴¹⁰ a sudden movement behind its thick foliage, a sudden blaze of matches and click of firelocks, in an instant the quiet green hawthorn hedge became alive with fire, and frightful gaps appeared in the ranks of the English and French.

These, however, although staggered for the moment, pressed resolutely on ;⁴¹⁰ and the Irish, who fought manfully, were beaten from hedge to hedge. But, as before, the check came in due time ; the battalions were so intermingled from the confusion of scrambling over ditches and through hedges, that soldiers of different regiments fought side by side.⁴¹⁰ As the Irish infantry cleared away their cavalry appeared,⁴¹¹ ready to swoop down upon the victorious but disordered regiments, which had to retire, especially as it became known that Earle's and the other troops on their immediate left had by this time been beaten back⁴⁰⁸ to almost under their own batteries.

The balance of probability of victory was now decidedly with the Irish. The English left was held in check, the centre was repulsed with slaughter, the right had as yet done nothing.

⁴¹⁰ Story.

⁴¹¹ Story.
Parker.
Kane.

The only hold upon the Irish position was where the infantry of the right centre was making an attempt to regain the footing it had lost on the hill-side. De Ginckell hurried forward the cavalry⁴¹¹ of the right wing in a desperate attempt to succour the hard-pressed infantry. The English Horse rode steadily forward on the Ballinasloe road,⁴⁰⁸ supported by the Second Queen's Foot and the Twentieth. Two regiments of Irish infantry, and one of dismounted dragoons,⁴¹⁰ poured forth an incessant fire from their sheltering hedges. Now, to the west of the present Ballinasloe road there used to be an old bye-road across the Coololla bog:⁴¹² the English cavalry branched off on to this road and thus came directly on the left flank, indeed almost on the left-rear, of the Irish. The only place to cross the stream was at a spot a little above the castle⁴⁰⁸ where but two abreast could get over; the slippery boggy sides made the crossing no very safe one for horses at any time, and with showers of bullets in front and a heavy press of men and horses behind, it required steady and brave troops to attempt it. The Blues (Ill. XLV) held the post of honour;⁴⁰⁸ and as St. Ruth saw this splendid regiment making for the crossing he withdrew his glass from his eye, and asked, "What on earth they could mean by it?"⁴¹⁰ The bye-standers replying that they meant to get over, and that they would certainly try at it, St. Ruth remarked that, "By Heaven, they were gallant fellows, "and it was quite a pity that they should thus court death." When he saw them actually crossing, he still refused to believe it possible for them to succeed eventually, and is said to have repeated the saying ascribed on a previous occasion to the *Maréchal de Créquî*:⁴¹³ "*Que plus il, en passerait, plus il en "battrait."*" The Blues having leapt or scrambled their horses over the stream, were led by Sir Francis Compton, by the only way possible to avoid the boggy ground, and were thus exposed to all the fire from the castle.⁴¹⁰ Then, forming up, they charged along the firm ground⁴¹¹ that bordered the bog; Ruvigny's French Horse,⁴⁰⁸ the Sixth Dragoon-Guards, the Third Dragoons, and Langston's Horse were just behind, while the Second and Twentieth Foot effected a lodgment⁴⁰⁸ close to the castle, obtaining what cover they could in a large dry ditch.

⁴¹² This is corroborated by Story's account, and strongly so by local tradition: see Note ⁴¹⁹. The passage across the stream is to this day called "Luttrell's Pass," presumably because the defence of it was entrusted to the officer of that name.

⁴¹³ Berwick.

Meantime the conflict between the infantry of both sides continued on the bog,⁴¹¹ sometimes one and sometimes the other gaining ground. The British infantry on the right, seeing the Horse moving to their aid, redoubled their endeavours to hold their ground, and received some re-inforcements from Major-General Talmach. During the winter the English regiments had been much practised at dispersing and then gathering quickly on a given signal,⁴¹⁴ and the benefit of this practice was experienced now; the moment the Irish Horse were distracted by the necessity of meeting the English cavalry, the signal was given, and speedily the men of each battalion extricated themselves from the confusion and concentrated on their own chief. Thus re-formed, the attack on the Irish infantry was recommenced⁴¹⁵ with fresh success under the direction of Talmach. The renewed attack extended itself along the whole line: the Irish were driven with great slaughter across the bog⁴¹⁶ and on to the incline of the hill. Major-General Mackay attacked the enemy's right with the left wing of Horse,⁴¹⁰ joined by a part of the French Horse and of the First Dragoon-Guards. At this juncture also de Ruvigny, with the cavalry of the right wing,⁴¹⁶ came thundering along the edge of the bog, crushing or slaying every Irishman in their path. As the cavalry swept by the infantry went at it again, and the hill-side was one confused *mêlée* of cries⁴¹⁰ and din, flame and uproar, beneath a thick veil of smoke. The Irish had fought⁴¹⁷ for the first time in their own country like men and valiant soldiers, and they seemed determined to do so to the very end; but the soul of their army had departed—St. Ruth was dead. Having gone to the left to despatch a body of cavalry to meet the attack of the English at Aghrim, he was returning to the right and was riding down the side of the hill⁴¹⁷ just above the Bloody Hollow when a round-shot or a chain-shot struck him⁴¹⁸ to the ground dead; one of his people cast a cloak over the body, which was afterwards lost sight of among the other dead.⁴¹⁶

⁴¹⁴ Kane.

⁴¹⁵ Story.

Kane.

⁴¹⁶ Story. Mackay. It is here that Mackay mentions Bellasis's regt., the 22nd.

⁴¹⁷ Story.

Parker.

Kane.

⁴¹⁸ Mackay.

Mac. Excidium says "about sunset."

The chain shot asserted to be the fatal shot is preserved in St. Patrick's Cathedral,

Another circumstance conduced materially to the ultimate rout of the Irish, although nothing could have now saved them from defeat. Their ammunition ran short; a fresh supply was brought up, and it was found that the bullets had been cast a great deal too small⁴¹⁹ for the calibre of the firearms: the soldiers were enraged, and attributed the fault to treachery; they tore the buttons from their coats and tried to make them serve as bullets, but all was in vain.

Without orders, pressed in front by the English infantry and in flank by the cavalry, the Irish centre at length gave back. The party in the castle, cut off from their comrades, surrendered.⁴¹⁶ Their extreme right still held out against the Danes for another half hour.⁴¹⁰ But if the English and their allies had been all but successful when every circumstance had favoured their adversaries, they were resistless now, and very shortly the confused fight became a rout. An order was given by some Irish officer to massacre all prisoners before quitting the field, and Colonel Herbert⁴¹⁰ and some others thus met their fate; and then the Irish fled outright. Their infantry⁴¹⁰ made towards the bogs in their rear and the cavalry took the first roads that offered. Sarsfield, who had been all this while anxiously awaiting orders to bring up the reserve,⁴²⁰ was obliged to fly without striking a blow. The usual horrid slaughter ensued during the pursuit, until kindly night, aided by a thick misty rain,⁴¹⁰ shut out the fugitives from the eyes of their pursuers.

The miseries of that Sunday night to the thousands of wounded who lay on the blood-soaked earth, who shall describe?

⁴¹⁹ Whether this be true or not it could not have affected the ultimate issue of the battle, therefore I give it a place. My only authority for the statement is local tradition. Several repeated the story to me, among them an old man (Jonathan Comer) 80 years of age whose ancestors have all been equally long-lived and whose great-grandfather is asserted to have been present in the action. This old fellow was full of tales, some evidently original and true, and some equally evidently distortions of the historical accounts of the battle; but most of them were only family traditions and had no actual bearing on the history of the engagement. Among other things he told me of an affecting incident that happened to the half-sister of his grandfather: on the day of the battle the girl was going to the village school as usual, and she was so terrified at what she witnessed that it turned her brain, so that to the last day of an exceedingly long life she insisted every morning on going to school "with the "other children." He also told me that he was present on the only occasion on which the "fort field" was ever ploughed up; there was a very strong superstition in the country against disturbing this soil, and the farmer was "warned" by all his neighbours against so impious an action; nevertheless he planted the field in potatoes, but he did not live to eat them; and from that time the soil has remained untilled. Many relics have been found at different times about the fields and bogs, but with astonishing ignorance and indifference have been lost or thrown away.

⁴²⁰ Parker.

The dead and the living lay in entangled heaps together : in some small enclosures from two to three hundred bodies were to be counted ; ⁴²¹ and looking from the top of the hill the next morning the victors could discern the slain scattered over the country for four miles round, like sheep dotted over the pastures and bogs.

The English set to work to bury their own men and many of the Irish with them, but a large number ⁴¹⁰ of the latter were left rotting on the ground : dogs in great numbers frequented the fields and fed on the carcasses of men and horses, and so savage did the animals grow ⁴¹⁰ from this food that it became dangerous for people to pass that way except in company. Some of these dogs belonged to the vanquished army, and among them was a greyhound belonging to an Irish officer, one of the slain : ⁴¹⁰ this dog fed on the corpses like the rest, but yet would not suffer his master's body to be touched : after a time, when all the corpses were reduced to skeletons, the other dogs left the place, but the greyhound remained ; spending the day beside his master's bones he would go during the night to procure food at the houses about : for six months did the affectionate animal thus keep watch : but one day in the January after the battle, one of Colonel Ffoulk's regiment happening to pass very near to the Irishman's remains, the dog flew upon him, and the soldier, alarmed at the attack, levelled his firelock at the poor creature and shot it.

The Sunday's work had been bloody : between three o'clock and dusk some eight or ten thousand men ⁴²² were smitten with the sword or the bullet. There is no accurate account of the loss of the Irish, but it may be set down as at least seven thousand killed and wounded. The loss on the British side amounted to about one thousand killed and one thousand two hundred wounded, if the official lists given at the end of this chapter and furnished to the General two days after the battle are to be relied upon. But as there were several pecuniary inducements to officers to conceal the vacancies in their regiments, ⁴²³

⁴²¹ Story says that three days afterwards, when all the English and some of the Irish had been buried, he counted 120 to 150 corpses in some of the small enclosures.

⁴²² Story states that the Irish loss was reckoned at 7,000 killed.
Parker puts the loss of the Irish at 4,000 killed and 2,000 captured.
Kane sets the Irish loss altogether at 17,000 !

⁴²³ Parker sets De Ginkell's loss at 3,000 killed and wounded.
Kane sets it at 4,000.
The official lists make it about 2,200.

it is quite possible that the estimate of from three to four thousand killed and wounded, formed by some who were present, may be correct.

Large numbers of the Irish, including many officers of distinction,⁴²⁴ were taken prisoners; and their cannon, baggage, and field equipage all fell to the victors.⁴²⁵ Eleven standards and thirty-two Colours were taken, and were sent over to the King by the hands of Lord O'Brien.

In the best account of this battle by an eye-witness⁴²⁵ we meet with a comparison of the fighting qualities of English troops with those of others. The Rev. Mr. Story who makes this comparison was a chaplain in an army composed of English, Scotch, Anglo-Irish, Danish, French, German, and Dutch troops; all these he saw daily in camp or bivouack, and repeatedly in action, as he did the Celtic Irish also. He rightly calls his story a "true and impartial" one, for he scruples not to blame his own countrymen when blame is due, and to praise the foreigners when they deserve praise. We have already seen how he censures the English officers and soldiers for their helpless indolence in the most essential points of campaigning, for their insular self-satisfaction and unreadiness to learn from their more experienced allies; and now let us see what he says of the British soldier in battle. His praise here is not limited to any section of the nation; he speaks without distinction of the whole of the British troops, though using the word "Englishmen"; the Londoners of the 1st and 2nd Dragoon Guards and 3rd Dragoons were there, the Gloucester men of the 9th, the Suffolk men of the 12th, the Devon and Cornwall men of the 19th and 20th, the Cheshire men of the 22nd, Lisburn's Herefordshire men, the Welshmen of the 23rd, Lord George Hamilton's Scotchmen,^{426a} St. John's Derry men, and the Inniskillingers of the 27th and of the 5th and 6th Dragoons—all fought side by side, and all are included in Mr. Story's praise. He says that they "marched boldly up to their old ground" again from whence they had been lately beat; which is only "natural to Englishmen: for it is observable that they are

⁴²⁴ Story.

Mac. Excidium.

Kane.

⁴²⁵ Story.

^{426a} Lord George Hamilton's Regt. was clothed in scarlet with silver lace; Brit. Mus., Add. MSS. 18,023 Bills for Officers' Clothing. He was transferred from this regt. to command of 7th Ft. and 1st Ft.

“commonly fiercer and bolder after being repulsed than before ;
“and what blunts the courage of all other nations commonly
“whets theirs, I mean the killing of their fellow soldiers before
“their faces.”⁴²⁶

⁴²⁶ The following extract from Story may amuse the curious in such matters:—
“I shall conclude this digression, and the battle of Aghrim, with an account of a
“prophecy, which the Irish had of a battle to be fought at this place. I was
“told by a gentleman, who lives now in the neighbourhood, that at least a
“year before the battle was fought, several of the Ulster Creights, driving their
“cattle that way, some of them asked that gentleman the name of that castle, who
“when he told them that it was Aghrim; one of them replied; that was the place
“where a great battle was to be fought; and that the Englishmen should think their
“coats too heavy in climbing up those hills. This was also mentioned by Col.
“Gordon O’Neal (found stript among the dead next day, and made a prisoner)
“and several other of the Irish officers after the battle, which kind of predictions are
“never rightly understood till they are past: for the Irish interpreted this to signify
“the Englishmen running away from them, but they found it by experience, that the
“English thought their coats too heavy in the pursuit of the enemy: tho’ some say
“this prophecy is meant of the Hills near Ardee, the day before the Battle of the
“Boyne, which was so hot, that very few were able to carry their coats.”

Official Return of killed and wounded at the Battle of Aghrim, 12 July, 1691.

Regiment.	Colonels.		Lt.-Cols.		Majors.		Captains.		Lieuts.		Cornets.		Troopers.		Horses.	
	Killed.	Wounded.	Killed.	Wounded.	Killed.	Wounded.	Killed.	Wounded.	Killed.	Wounded.	Killed.	Wounded.	Killed.	Wounded.	Killed.	Wounded.
The Blues	1	..	2	..	1	..	45	21	24	..
2nd Drm. Gds.	1	1	2	1	1	..	26	22	..	41
Langston's Horse	7	10	..	12
Rivigny's do.	2	2	9	1	9	1	40	9	26	45
1st Drm. Gds.	23	5	11	24
6th do.	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	7	..	5	14
Walseley's Horse	12	3	7	10
La Forrest's Dragoons...	1	..	..	1	..	9	10	..	..
Donep do.	10	2	..	..
Scheded do.	2	2	..	..
Boncour do.	21	6	34	16
Portland's do.	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Montpoullan do.	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	2	..
Ginckell do.	1	2	6
Schack do.	1	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	2	6
Reidesell do.	3	..	..	5
Nienhouse do.	1	..	..	..	..	2	2	..	..
Zalister (?) do.	2	2	..	..
Eppinger's do.	7	5	..	..
3rd Dragoons	1	..	1	..	41	27	..	..
6th do.
5th do.
Total Cavalry	1	1	6	6	15	3	13	1	263	127	111	187

Regiment.	Colonels.		Lt.-Cols.		Majors.		Captains.		Lieuts.		Ensigns.		Soldiers.	
	Killed.	Wounded.	Killed.	Wounded.	Killed.	Wounded.	Killed.	Wounded.	Killed.	Wounded.	Killed.	Wounded.	Killed.	Wounded.
2nd Foot	1	..	..	2	..	..	7	10
20th do.	9	9
Ld. George Hamilton's	..	1	..	..	..	..	3	..	..	1	1	..	32	45
23rd Foot	2	23
12th do.	1	..	1	..	..	1	..	..	..	7
9th do.	1	..	36	43
19th do.	..	1	..	..	1	..	2	1	1	2	..	..	87	70
27th do.	19	40
Creighton's	2	..	..	1	..	..	12	14
St. John's	..	1	..	..	..	..	1	2	2	5	4	..	13	54
Lisburn's	1	..	..	1	2	..	16	64
18th Foot	7	8
Foulks's	1	1	..	1	2	2	1	..	..	15	40
Cutts's	1	..	..	1	..	..	1	..	3	4	16	39	39
Nassau	1	5	12	12
6th Foot	1	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	2	2	10	45	45
La Melonière's	1	..	..	1	..	8	4
Cambon's	1	4	1	4	4	..	..	35
Belcastell's	1	..	..	..	9	1	6	5	21	54	54
Greben's.	2	1	3	4	10	50	50
The Danes	1	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	1	2	..	..	6	70
Total Foot ...	2	6	1	2	4	3	13	24	9	35	9	28	337	781
Add „ Cavalry	1	1	6	6	15	3	13	1	263	127
Total of the Army ...	2	6	1	2	5	4	19	30	24	38	22	29	600	908

CHAPTER XI.

THE WAR IN IRELAND. CAMPAIGN OF 1691. FROM THE BATTLE OF AGHRIM TO THE CLOSE OF THE WAR IN IRELAND.

The Irish retreat on Limerick.—The capture of Galway.—The march on Limerick.—The second siege of Limerick.—The forcing of the Shannon.—The attack on Thomond Gate.—The Surrender of Limerick, and close of the war in Ireland.

[For Illustrations, see Note on p. xiii.]

So utterly demoralised was the Irish army by its bloody defeat, that there was scarcely any attempt at an organised retreat. By ones and twos, or in straggling parties of twenties and forties, the dispirited soldiers made their way as they best could by the highways, by the lanes, and across the bogs, towards Limerick, and as Bannagher and Portumna fell into the hands of the victorious army and their garrisons joined in the retreat, the ground was strewn with hampers and all sorts of household stuff which the people dropped as they went. The sole idea of each man was to get to Limerick, and thus secure his own personal safety.⁴²⁷

There now remained but two places of any importance in the hands of the Irish, Galway and Limerick ; and four days after the battle de Ginkell marched by way of Loughrea and Athenry on Galway. After the capture of the outworks, an action in which Major-General Talmach "would needs go as a "volunteer, as he usually did when it was not his turn to "command," Galway surrendered with the honours of war, the

⁴²⁷ The Authorities consulted for this chapter may be quoted *en masse* ; and they are chiefly ;

Story.

Macarice Excidium.

A diary of the siege and surrender of Limerick, Lond. 1692.

Letters in the Clarke MSS.

London Gazette.

Parker.

Kane, &c., &c.

Contemporary maps and plans of Galway and of Limerick.

Tracts : Brit. Mus. 816 m. 23.

The account in the Fingall MSS.

garrison being permitted to march to Limerick, leaving the town "with their arms, six pieces of cannon, drums beating, "colours flying, match lighted, and bullet in mouth." Sir Henry Bellasyse was appointed Governor with the Twenty-Second Foot (his own), and the Twelfth and Twenty-third Regiments for a garrison.

The Commissary-General having now arrived in person with a large convoy of money, supplies, ammunition, and other material, the army was deemed prepared to march on Limerick ; a move which was begun on the 28th, and continued by way of Athenry, Loughrea, and Eyrescourt, to Banagher Bridge, at which latter place the Royal Dragoons joined. On the 3rd of August the march was continued by Birr, and Burriska-Kane, to Nenagh ; and here a halt of four days became compulsory for reasons of supply. Not all the experiences of 1689 or of 1690 had yet sufficiently impressed the Authorities with the first principle of warfare—that a Commissariat without an adequate Transport Train at its own sole disposal, however perfect it may be in other respects, is absolutely useless. And when the army reached Nenagh, a distance of only seventy miles from its base of operations and its frontier of depôts, it was without bread. The General had already foreseen some such contingency, and upon his sending to Dublin a strong representation on the subject, "most of the nobility and gentry " furnished him with their coach-horses " : but still these went but a little way towards meeting the demand, and recourse was had to pressing.

On the 11th a fresh start was made by way of Shalley (where the Fourth Foot joined), and Tulla, to Cahircoulish, six miles south-east of Limerick, which was reached on the 14th.

Between Cahircoulish and Limerick was encamped the major portion of the Irish forces, it being apparently intended to try the issue of another battle before retiring within the city. The whole country was of course under martial law, and every Irishman in the neighbourhood of the army was forced into the service : fresh arms were issued from the stores in Limerick to those who had lost theirs during the flight from Aghrim ; and all betokened a resolute defence of this the last stronghold remaining to the Irish. Ireton's Fort had been repaired, a new fort had been erected on the site of an old churchyard not far from it, and a third had been begun with a view to forming a complete chain of outworks round the town. The star-fort on King's Island was in a better condition than before, and was connected

with the town by covered ways ; while earth-works had been thrown up within the old walls of Irishtown. The Duke of Tyrconnell, the Count de Lauzun (who had taken the place of St. Ruth), and all the principal Irish Generals were within the fortress ; supplies were abundant and the garrison was strong.

The reader will recollect the description ⁴²⁸ of the place given in the history of the siege of the previous year : and indeed a better idea of the defences may be gathered by one glance at the plans (Ill. XLVI) than from pages of description.

De Ginckell remained outwardly inactive for the first ten days after his arrival at Cahircoulis : but preparations for the siege were energetically proceeding all the time. The Tipperary Militia arrived in camp escorting a large Commissariat Train of supplies : and a train of artillery also arrived from Athlone, consisting of nine twenty-four pounders, nine eighteen-pounders, and three mortars with its proportion of all necessary material ; and on this occasion the lesson of 1690 was not forgotten, for large parties were sent out to meet the trains as they approached. Twenty-nine tin pontoon-boats were also received from Athlone. Several regiments arrived in camp from other parts of the country, among them the 11th Foot, and the 5th Dragoon Guards. The fleet came up the river and anchored about three miles below the town. Horses were sent out from camp to meet and hasten up another siege-train coming from Dublin ; and every regiment was ordered to manufacture two thousand fascines.

A day or two after the appearance of the English army before Limerick, Sir William King, a former Governor of the city, escaped from the Irish and got safely into camp ; and the information afforded by him as the siege progressed proved to be of great use.

For some days it seemed as if this year's operations were to be only a repetition of last year's failure, for the weather again set in wet. However, on the 22nd it cleared up, and on the 25th de Ginckell invested the place.

With an advance-guard of about two thousand Horse and Dragoons, and two thousand five hundred infantry, accompanied by eight field pieces, the army marched towards Limerick. In immediate support of the advance-guard rode the whole of the cavalry, every man carrying in front of him three fascines to be dropped at convenient spots. As the army drew nearer to

the town, the troops gradually opened out on either flank in order to occupy all the approaches ; and as they did so, Major General Mackay with the infantry of the van pushed forward to attack the enemy's outworks.

Ireton's fort was no contemptible work ; it was in good order, had a wide ditch, was garrisoned by five hundred men, and had lines of communication with the town. Cromwell's fort was scarcely less formidable : but the Old Church fort was in an unfinished condition. Mackay's party, upon approaching Old Church fort, found, to their surprise, that it was quite deserted ; and before they reached Ireton's fort the Irish abandoned that also, retreating to a stone fort nearer the town ; this fort they reached in safety although Mackay's men pursued them closely. Later in the day Count Nassau was sent to attack Cromwell's fort, which the granadeers of his party, after receiving the enemy's fire full in their faces, carried with little difficulty. All that night and the next day the troops stood to their arms in expectation of a sally from the town : and on the following night, ground was broken towards the Shannon to the west of the town and a line of trenches begun from the river to Cromwell's fort : behind this work the Danish contingent encamped.

The next operation was to improve the defences of the outworks abandoned by the Irish, and to connect them by lines of communication : and on the 30th the battery of guns to the extreme left of the new trenches (Ill. XLVII) opened fire on Thomond bridge, while at night the battery of mortars at the same spot shelled the town, the enemy replying from King's Castle and from their batteries in the Irish Town.

The line of circumvallation was now so extensive, that, besides taking their day duties, every regiment of infantry had to mount guard in the trenches every other night, never mounting with their Colours lest the enemy might thus discover the inadequacy of the army to the ground to be covered. In consequence of this strain upon the infantry, the Horse and Dragoons were ordered to furnish four men per troop for spade-duty in the trenches ; and right well they worked, altho' it was a most unusual thing for trenches to be dug or batteries erected by any but infantry soldiers. By this means a fresh battery was made between Cromwell's fort and the river, although it was almost immediately afterwards abandoned, as being still too far from the town : the approaches were also carried considerably nearer to the walls.

For the next few days the firing from the batteries continued ; but, owing to the flat and boggy nature of the ground, great difficulty was experienced in finding suitable places for fresh batteries within effective distance of the walls. At length, on the 4th of September, it was resolved to erect a battery on the isthmus opposite the English town, although from the nature of the ground it was found impossible to approach the works to within less than from three hundred to four hundred yards of the place. Neither this new battery nor the works below the town could hinder the enemy's free communications with County Clare, where the main body of his cavalry lay some little distance from the river. The new battery was rendered as formidable as possible, and consisted of eight ten-inch to eighteen-inch mortars in the centre flanked by twenty-five 24 Prs. and 18 Prs. on the right, and ten pieces for red-hot shot on the left. A battery of eight 12 Prs. was also planted at Ireton's fort : and on the 8th all these, together with the batteries on the left attack, set to work simultaneously, throwing bombs, fire-balls, carcasses, and ball, without cessation. The houses of the town were hourly in flames, an event always welcomed by the Irish soldiers as an opportunity for plunder, they comforting the unhappy owners of the property on such occasions by the assurance that it was "better for them to be "plundered by their own people than to give what they had to "the English soldiers, who would certainly strip them on the "first opportunity."

Indeed so universal was this brutal feeling in the country, that the Cork Militia, being employed in the release of a party of protestant prisoners from St. Thomas's Island a little above Limerick, actually stripped their fellow-protestants of all that the enemy had previously left them, as they escorted them from the Island to the English camp.

The Irish were not idle during all this time, and they did not witness the erection of all this apparatus of Death around them without making some efforts to stave off the effects. They planted a new battery of eight guns in King's Island opposite the new English battery, and they raked Ireton's fort from the old Black Battery, besides maintaining a heavy fire from the other parts of their works.

However at length, on the 9th, there appeared a wide breach in the English town wall between Ball's Bridge and the Abbey : the guns in the spur beyond the Abbey had been dismounted ; and the town was laid almost in ruins. On this night occurred

a wonderful but extremely characteristic instance of the mischief arising from inculcating upon soldiers a stupid dogged obedience unqualified by discretion. A large quantity of woolsacks having been carried down to the river-side in readiness for any assault upon the newly-made breach, a sentry was left in charge of them: during the night the Irish came across the river in wherries and set fire to the woolsacks, the sentry coolly looking on all the while: naturally the man was confined and brought before his Commanding Officer, with intention to try him for his neglect of duty; but upon being asked what he had to say, he simply pleaded that he was not aware of having committed any fault, that his orders were not to quit his post, and he did not quit it, and that he did not fire because he had "no orders" to fire, and he dared not fire without orders.

On the 10th two mortars were mounted in Ireton's fort under the superintendence of Lieutenant Brown, a very inventive and active officer, and they did great execution.

On the 11th the breach was at least forty yards wide; and all the empty casks in camp having been collected, floats were prepared in readiness for crossing the river.

Great doubts, however, prevailed at this time as to the best course to pursue. The winter was at hand and the season for siege operations was therefore drawing to a close: even if an assault upon the breach in the English town wall were successful it seemed exceedingly problematical whether it would be possible to occupy the town, which would be between three fires, from the Irishtown on one side, from the large Star-fort on the Island on another side, and from the Clare bank on a third side. The garrison was a strong one, and was supported by the whole Irish Army, and it was not at all impossible that, once in Limerick, the English might find it equally hard to get out again, if further assistance should arrive from France to the Irish. It was doubted whether it would not be better to give up all hopes of taking the place by storm; and instead to consume the counties of Clare and Kerry, and then to reduce both the garrison and its supporting army by blockade of supplies and consequent starvation.

This latter course was so far determined upon that letters were despatched to England for ships to aid in the execution of the project: and Brigadier Leveson was at this same time with about one thousand dragoons engaged in harrying and reducing County Kerry.

Meanwhile, however, the siege operations were continued.

The main batteries were enlarged ; and the enemy's communications on the north were intercepted by the erection of a battery near St. Thomas's Island. But, until the place could be invested on the Clare side as well as on the County Limerick side, it seemed probable that both time and powder were being utterly wasted.

Fortunately, at length, treachery in the enemy's camp combined with boldness in the besiegers to afford the latter the possession of the coveted ground. Major-General Luttrell, seeing that King James's cause was a losing one, and being tempted to his villainy by the hope of thereby redeeming the confiscation of his family property, volunteered to give the English General notice of the day when he should be in command of the guards, and to do his best towards aiding any attack.

Accordingly, on the 15th of the month—it having previously been industriously bruited about that the siege was to be abandoned, and a number of guns having been ostentatiously dismounted and apparently drawn-off with a view to give the greater colour to the report—all was made ready for a passage of the river into County Clare. All day long numbers of men had been hard at work preparing the floats and the tin boats for immediate service, and very soon after dark these, accompanied by six hundred workmen, were brought down to the appointed place, where the Second Foot (III. XLVIII), headed by a detachment of four hundred granadeers, took charge of them. Sir David Collier led the way, and the granadeers were headed by Captains Ketchway and Parker of the Eleventh and Twentieth and Captain Alnutt of Drogheda's regiment. In support were General Talmach with five regiments of infantry, and General Schravemoer with a body of cavalry, together with six field pieces.

At 9 o'clock in the evening this Division marched to a spot on the Shannon about a mile above St. Thomas's island and about the same distance from the town : here there was a small island more than half-way across, and the river was fordable for the remaining distance. The advance-party was put across to the island in the tin boats ; and about midnight the pontoon-bridge itself was begun. A few straggling sentries fired on the working-party, but the traitor had taken care that no supports should be immediately at hand. By daylight the bridge was completed, and the Royal Dragoons were in the act of crossing when Brigadier Clifford appeared on the Clare bank with four

regiments of dismounted dragoons and as many battalions of infantry, and prepared to dispute the passage. Talmach, upon this, ordered the Granadeers to wade through the further channel, and by manning a house and lining the hedges on the other side to keep the Irish at bay until the cavalry could cross. The Irish attempted to outflank the granadeers on their right, and might have succeeded in doing so, had not the Royal Dragoons arrived opportunely and repulsed them. The granadeers, supported by the 27th Foot and the 5th Dragoon-Guards (III. XLIX), now advanced steadily upon the enemy ; the Irish were driven back : another halt, to afford the rest of the Division time to cross, and then a fresh advance was made.

At this time Sarsfield lay at Killaloe with a portion of the Irish cavalry ; and Brigadier Sheldon with the remainder, about three thousand in number, was encamped not far from the St. Thomas bend of the river : but so alarmed were both parties by the news of the forcing of the Shannon, that they precipitately retreated further into County Clare to beyond Six-mile bridge.

The passage of the river was now secured to de Ginckell : a covering work was thrown up at the head of the pontoon-bridge to guard against surprise, and a strong guard was constantly maintained there. The garrison of St. Thomas Island, being now cut off, surrendered upon promise of quarter ; and Colonel Tuthill, to whom the surrender was made, was tried and casheered for permitting this promise to be broken.

At the same time that an entry to Co. Clare was thus forced by way of the Shannon, a NAVAL BRIGADE was also landed on its sea-board for the purpose of consuming its resources and cutting off supplies to Limerick.

De Ginckell now resolved to follow up his success by investing the place on the County Clare side as well as on the other side, notwithstanding the danger of dividing his forces so completely as would be necessitated by the conformation of the river. To guard against this danger as much as possible, a battery was raised between Ireton's and Old-Church forts so as to flank any sally from St. John's Gate. And, it being evident that any permanent success must proceed from the Clare side, the heavier guns were dismounted and put on board-ship, while the largest mortars were removed to Ireton's Fort as being the best spot from whence to shell both towns.

On the 22nd, signals having been agreed upon in case of any sally from the Irishtown, de Ginckell himself headed the enterprise against the west side of the place. The duc de

Wirtemberg, and Generals Schravemoer and de Ruigny accompanied him, the latter being in command of the cavalry. The Division consisted of all the cavalry in camp (with the exception of the 5th Dragoon-Guards and detachments out of the other regiments); of ten regiments of infantry; and fourteen field-guns: the troops carried seven days' provisions. The Royal Dragoons furnished the advance-guard, and about noon the Division crossed the pontoon bridge into County Clare. At 2 o'clock the leading party of Dragoons came in contact with the enemy, and some skirmishing took place until the arrival of the infantry, when the Irish retired under the protection of the guns of the place.

The whole of the English granadeers, under Colonel Tiffin of the Twenty-seventh, were now ordered to the front; and the Second, the Twenty-seventh, Lord George Hamilton's, and St. John's regiments were brought up in support. This party advanced on Thomond Bridge which connected County Clare with King's Island. The bridge was defended by two forts, one on either side, and the approaches to it were of course exposed to the full fire from King's Castle and the walls of Englishtown: the enemy, besides manning the two forts, had also ambushed a number of men in the stone quarries and gravel-pits, of which there were several on the way to the bridge. For some time the fire from these and from the walls was so hot, that the English were ordered to hold back, and the undertaking appeared too hazardous to succeed: at length, however, the granadeers by their unflinching courage cleared the pits: re-inforcements issued from the town; the English supports also came up; a brief fight ensued, and then the Irish retreated. With such persistent closeness did the English press them, that a French Major, on duty at the Thomond Gate, was afraid that the victors would enter the town with the vanquished; and he ordered the draw-bridge to be drawn up, thus leaving the Irish cut off from all retreat. The English soldiers grew more elated as they beheld this token of victory, while their opponents became equally dismayed; the retreat had ere this turned to a flight, and in their haste to reach the drawbridge in time those behind pressed those in front to death, trampling them under foot or forcing them over into the water: the combat became a slaughter; and, before quarter had been asked and accorded, the dead lay in heaps higher than the parapet of the bridge.

No sooner was the fight over, than an effective lodgment was made close to the head of the bridge; and thus Limerick was

effectually cut off from all communication with its cavalry which lay between Sixmile bridge and Ennis. This absence of cavalry probably prevented the Irish from making any concentrated attack on the besiegers.

On the day after the attack on Thomond Gate, fresh batteries were commenced ; but negotiations for surrender began also on the same day. A cessation of hostilities was arranged, and on the 28th the principal articles were agreed upon. The military articles of the treaty of surrender were principally that all prisoners of war on both sides should be liberated,^{428a} that all soldiers of the Irish army desirous of entering the French service should be carried to France, and that the garrison should march out with the honours of war.

On the 3rd of October Limerick surrendered ;⁴²⁹ and thus the last hopes of the adherents of King James were dissipated and the last stronghold of Political Tyranny and of Religious Intolerance fell before the upholders of Protestantism and of Political Liberty. The war in Ireland was over ; and as we read of its termination who can help breathing a prayer that it may be the last war between Great Britain and Ireland, that all the bitterness of its memories may die out, quenched in mutual tolerance, in mutual patriotism, in mutual esteem, and in community of interests (Ils. L and LI).

At all events *in our Army*, Celt and Saxon no longer fight in opposing battalions but side by side as brothers in arms ; their only rivalry being that honourable rivalry of the soldier,—who shall be foremost in the field of honour.

^{428a} Egerton MSS. 2,618 contains the original draft of the Treaty of Limerick, the alterations, and the correspondence thereupon.

⁴²⁹ As our country is one in which great store is set by precedents, it may be mentioned that the Queen presented to the officer who bore the dispatches notifying the fall of Limerick a diamond ring worth £500 ; Letter, Whitehall, 13 Oct., 1691, Yare to Clarke ; Clarke MSS.

CHAPTER XII.

THE WAR IN FLANDERS. CAMPAIGN OF 1691.

A.D. 1691.

The war in Flanders.—Causes of the war.—A description of King William the Third.—The campaigns of 1689 and 1690.—Origin of the Twenty-first Foot.—The campaign of 1691.—The two armies.—Opening of the campaign.—Loss of Mons. The British Contingent.—Origin of the Twenty-sixth Foot.—Origin of the Ninety-fourth Foot.—The rest of the Allied Army.—The Camp at Anderlecht.—The French attempt on Liége and Brussels.—The tactics of the Allied Army on quitting Anderlecht.—The movements between the Meuse and the Sambre.—Removal of the Earl of Marlborough from his command.—William's attempt to cut off de Luxembourg from Mons and the Scheldt.—De Luxembourg's flank march.—Movements after the retreat of the Allies from the Sambre.—The skirmish at Leuze.—Close of the campaign.

[For Illustrations, see Note on p. xiii.]

WHILE de Ginckel had been earning honour for himself and his army in Ireland, King William had been busy in FLANDERS.

Louis Quatorze was at this time attempting a general extension of the French frontier; his armies were pushing forward into Italy, Germany, and Bavaria on the one side, and into the Netherlands on the other: French armies were also engaged on the side of the Pyrenees, for a large portion of the Netherlands appertained to the Spanish crown, and any invasion of them entailed therefore a breach with Spain.

King William, as Stadt-holder of Holland, was interested in checking the extension of the French frontier on the north; and this of all the frontiers was, from its physical geography, most open to aggression and least capable of defence.

The accession of William of Orange to the British throne, by connecting the political affairs of the Continent with those of England, induced an entire revolution in the being and prospects of the British Army, and he was himself its earliest leader of any degree of universal celebrity.

William Henry, fifth Prince of Orange Nassau, and King William the Third of England, was born in 1650. Early left an orphan, he found himself regarded by the people of the United Provinces as the hope of their nation, while the party in power betrayed an almost murderous, though unavowed,

hatred of him and of his race. The love of the common people encouraged in the young Prince a patriotic ambition of the truest kind, while the mean jealousy of the government early forced upon him habits of caution and secretiveness. Naturally of a passionate temperament, this schooling into compulsory and continual concealment of his feelings had doubtless considerable evil effect upon a constitution not originally strong. Thus rendered a man while yet a boy, William appears to have brooded much over the affairs of his country; and he brought to the consideration of them the sharpened, shrewd intellect of one accustomed to deal daily with crafty enemies, and a mind pruned of boyish exuberance of passion by hourly self-restraint. To become worthy of his countrymen's high expectations was his aim in life. As he grew older, his ambition assumed a definite form, and the desire of his soul was to at once uphold the protestant interest and humble the power of France; in gratifying his hatred of France he would be striving against papal supremacy, and France he did most cordially hate. French interest, French power, and French diplomacy had half ruined his native country during his childhood: even since he was of an age to see and judge for himself French soldiers had invaded his beloved Holland with all the cruelty of a French invasion. To combat France became William's longing, his hobby, his one dream and hope in life: "delenda est Carthago" became his motto, his panacea for all evils political or religious, patriotic or foreign; he burned to carry into France the same miseries of war that France had so wantonly inflicted on his own and other countries, to see French armies fleeing, French homesteads desolated, French trade paralysed;—he pictured to himself a day when his victorious armies should enter Paris in exulting triumph while the insolent king who deemed himself a demigod should in his turn chew the bitter morsel of utter humiliation.

Such then being William's ambition, he discarded all pursuits and studies not conducive to his object; he passed by all that did not tend to form him a warrior or a statesman, and he left unheeded all diplomacy that did not affect the power of France.

It was this merging of all his patriotism and all his hereditary religious sentiments into an active detestation of France that led to William's acceptance of the crown of England, and, when crowned, to his interest in the efficiency of the British army.

In personal appearance King William was of fair height but slight build, sickly-looking both in face and figure, rather sallow of complexion. Small-pox, asthma, and weakness of the lungs had somewhat stooped his shoulders, and prematurely drawn the lines of his face; but the peculiarly expressive features amply compensated for the lack of regal presence:—the forehead broad, high, and thoughtful; the eye-brows calm and significant of a power of reserve and self-constraint; the eye vigorous, keen, and intellectual; the nose of the Roman type with full passionate nostrils; the mouth resolute, decisive, and sarcastic (*see* Ill. XXXVI). The circumstances of William's earlier years, as well as frequent sickness and care, had veiled his whole face with a mingled severity and melancholy that were traceable in no individual feature and yet pervaded all, so as to become one of the most striking characteristics of a most striking countenance.

William's enmity to France formed the bond of union between himself and the English nation; to both this enmity was a thing inherited, a birthright; when supplies could be obtained from the English Parliament for nothing else, they were readily granted for a French war.

Several British regiments had served the last two campaigns in Flanders; but as the British contingent was comparatively but a handful, and as English generals had little to do with the direction of the war, it would not be worth while to follow the campaigns of 1689 and 1690 in detail. Suffice it to say that the continental opinion of English valour was not lowered. Among the few English regiments engaged were the Second troop of Life-Guards, and the First, Third, Seventh, Sixteenth, and Twenty-first Foot.

This TWENTY-FIRST FOOT had been raised in Scotland in 1678,⁴⁹⁰ and being then armed with fusils became known as the SCOTS FUSILEERS. The regiment came on to the English establishment in 1688 when it first came south.

The year 1691 did not open propitiously for the Allied Army in the Low Countries. The balance of the previous years of

⁴⁹⁰ Scotch Est. List, 1678; Edinboro' State papers. This regt. is styled "The Regt. of Scots Fusileers" in R. Warrt. 30 Decr., 1695; App. X.

In History of Standing Armies 1698, it is styled "Row's Fusileers."

In D'Auvergne's campaigns in Flanders 1691 to 1697, the regt. is not styled Fusileers; (only the Royal Fusileers being styled so). Neither is it so styled in the English Est. lists.

Letter, Whitehall, 5 May, 1697, Secretary at War "The Scots Fuziliers"; W.O. records.

the war had been greatly in favour of the French, and they were preparing for the coming campaign with all the confidence derived from the prestige of past victories.

Not only had the Turks (in alliance with France) defeated the Austrians at Belgrade, but the French themselves had more than held the Spaniards in check in Catalonia, had defeated the Italians at Staffarda, and the Dutch at Fleurus.

The French Generals were the best trained in the world, and while the master-mind of the duc DE LUXEMBOURG directed the campaign, he was not without counsel and active support from officers, each distinguished for some speciality of military genius. The French soldiers were for the most part men of service, and all were well drilled and equipped. The organisation was complete: the Commissariat or "Intendance," the Engineers, and the Artillery were each in an efficient condition, and were all so blended with the whole body of the army as to secure harmonious and prompt execution of the General's plans.

The Allied army on the other hand possessed no leader the equal of de Luxembourg in sagacity, coolness, and promptitude. The subordinate commanders, with the exception of the Earl of Marlborough and perhaps the duc de Wirtemberg, were generally inferior to the French generals de Boufflers, de Ximenes, d'Harcourt, d'Humières, and de Villars. The army was made up of contingents from several states independent one of the other, and much difficulty was experienced in this and every year of the war from want of exactitude on the part of the different allied governments: if the Spanish and Dutch troops rendezvoused in good time the Bavarians and Brandenburgers were tardy; if the English and the Wirtembergers furnished their full quota the Hanoverians and Spaniards were a third below their promised strength; if the Dutch infantry and Bavarian cavalry were fine serviceable soldiers, many of the others would be but civilians with arms in their hands, lads fresh from the shop or the farm. Owing to the unpunctuality of the several armies comprised in the Allied force, the French were invariably enabled to take the lead in the campaigns, while the Allies could neither form nor execute any scheme until after the arrival of the different contingents and a consequent knowledge of their real strength.⁴³¹

⁴³¹ This Chapter was drafted before the quotation of authorities for each detailed statement in the text had been definitely decided upon, the chapter was not the

This year the Brandenburg contingent was greatly behind-hand, because until the French troops wintering on the Moselle and the Rhine should take the field, the Duchy of Luxembourg (III. LII) would be left open to their incursions by the departure of the Brandenburgers from their winter-quarters in the Duchies of Clèves and Luxembourg. The rendezvous was between Vilvorde and Brussels; but the retention of the Brandenburgers in their own territories, and the tardiness of some of the other German contingents, prevented the Allies from undertaking any enterprise on the enemy's frontier.

There was among the French generals a Marquis de Boufflers, whose aptitude for sudden expeditions and surprises was such that it amounted to a genius. This officer, who throughout the winter had been exercising his peculiar talent, was now selected to execute a surprise of the fortress of Mons, the works of which were in an unfinished state. Mons was, with Ath, the connecting link of the Allied frontier between the Scheldt and the Sambre: the Earl of Marlborough alone seems to have rightly estimated the value of such a link, and he urged in vain that measures should be taken to prevent Mons being surprised.

The two great essentials of military preparation were not neglected by de Boufflers; secrecy was supplemented by completeness. Formed at Versailles, the design had been communicated only to M. de Boufflers and to the Intendants or Officers of the Commissariat in the frontier districts. The Intendant of Hainault had collected on the frontier between the Sambre and the Meuse forage sufficient to last seven thousand cavalry for three weeks: in Picardie the magazines contained forage for forty thousand horses for the same period. The Artillery and siege train had been concentrated at Douai

less carefully compiled. The following, however, are among the principal authorities consulted:

De Beaurain.
D'Auvergne.
De Villars.
Berwick.
London Gazette.
Establishment Lists.
De Bonneval.
De Feuquiere.
De Quincy.
Story.
Coxe, Memoirs of the Duke of Marlborough.
Besides those quoted in other notes.

and the places on the Scheldt. The Intendants had completed all arrangements for supplies of food and munitions, and had provided twenty-one thousand peasant pioneers or navvies. The rivers Scarpe, Scheldt, and Haisne would form a facile means of communication, and the Allies possessed no garrisons on the French side to cut off their convoys.

The distribution of the French army for the enterprise was ordered to be as follows :

	Infantry.	Cavalry.
Before Mons	30,000	10,000
Quartered in towns in the vicinity ... ..	...	3,000
Between Sambre and Meuse... ..	...	7,000
On the Lys, under Mchal. D'Humières	10,000	6,000
Guard for convoys	1,000	...
To keep the Lines between Lys and Scheldt ... ..	...	400
TOTALS	41,000	26,400

All things then being in readiness, a simultaneous movement was made along the frontier, as if merely to break up the winter quarters and assemble the army. The troops in quarters nearest to Mons marched straight on that fortress; those cantoned towards the sea joined d'Humières, whose force was designed to keep in check the Allied garrisons between the Lys and the sea; and at the same time M. d'Harcourt assembled a body of three thousand cavalry near Trèves, which had the effect of detaining the Brandenburgers from swelling the army at Brussels. With such secrecy and promptitude was all this done that de Boufflers invested Mons before the Allies had any notice of his design. The swarm of pioneers were set vigorously to work at the lines of circumvallation: the weather was fine, and therefore favourable to the besiegers. The Allies, from the comparative fewness of their numbers, could do no more than cover Brussels should it be threatened after the capture of Mons: William therefore continued to assemble his army, and occupied the troops meantime in entrenching the town of Halle which lies between Mons and the capital.

After a very weak defence Mons capitulated on the 31st of March. The French lost only ninety-two men in the siege. The garrison, which amounted to nearly six thousand, probably opined that ultimate surrender was unavoidable; for a strong force covered the siege, which was itself directed by MM. de

Vauban and de Megrigny the two principal engineers of France. It should however have held out longer, seeing that every day's delay was of advantage to the Allies in their then circumstances.

The position of the Maréchal d'Humières's corps on the Lys had deterred the garrisons of Ghent and Bruges from re-inforcing the Allied main army, but other re-inforcements had come in gradually during the time of the siege of Mons, and among them some English regiments.

The British contingent during this campaign was not large by reason of the employment of so many regiments in Ireland ; and as to the War Office administration, it was such that in May the Artillery and Ordnance stores had not yet left the Downs,⁴³² and scarcely any of the Commissariat Transport had been shipped ; the cavalry were deficient in horses, and recruiting for the infantry was only just beginning. The following corps were serving in Flanders in April, in which month several of them arrived from home :—

Brigade.	Corps.	Colonel.
Duke of Ormond	Life Guards, 1st Troop	Earl of Scarborough.
	Do. 3rd do.	Earl of Marlborough
	First Foot Guards, 2nd Bn.	Warcup.
Douglas ...	Second do. 1st Bn.	Bridgeman.
	Third do. 1st and 2nd Bns.	Jas. Douglas.
	and a Battalion Dutch Guards.	
	1st Foot "Royals" (Ill. LIII), 2 Bns....	Sir Robert Douglas.
	21st ,, "Scots Fusileers"	O'Farrell.
Ramsay ...	26th ,, "Cameronians"	Earl of Angus.
	Mackay's regt.	Mackay.
	Ramsay's ,,	Ramsay.
	7th Foot, "Royal Fusileers"	Earl of Marlborough.
Churchill ...	10th ,,	Earl of Bath.
	16th ,,	Hodges.
	Fitzpatrick's regt. of fusileers	Fitzpatrick.

The TWENTY-SIXTH CAMERONIANS derived its name from the religious sect from which it was originally recruited.

The Cameronians, sometimes called the Hill-men from their places of worship,⁴³³ were a party that segregated from the main body of the Scotch Presbyterians about the year 1680 ; they were first called Cameronians after Richard Cameron, one of

⁴³² Letter, Whitehall, 18 April and 9 May, 1691, Blathwayt Secry. of War, to Clarke ; Clarke MSS.

⁴³³ There is a full account of this sect in Crighton's Life and Diary of Lt. Colonel Blackader who belonged to the regiment from its first formation.

their itinerant preachers, who was killed at Airs-Moss. Their main principle was liberty of worship without license of any sort, whether from Kings or Bishops. For many years they were much persecuted as opponents of the King's authority, and were compelled to secrete themselves, being excommunicated and outlawed by the civil and religious authorities.

On the Revolution of 1688, the Cameronians prayed King William for redress of their grievances, and they openly by public prayers and such-like means, espoused his cause as being opposed to that of "Popery and Tyranny."⁴³⁴ They even offered to take up arms on William's behalf; and accordingly, upon their offer being accepted,⁴³⁴ they "did make up the Earl "of Angus's regiment of eight hundred men, all in one day, "without beat of drum or expenses of levy-money."

On the 14th of May, 1689, the Regiment mustered⁴³⁴ one thousand two hundred strong, under their Colonel the Earl of Angus a lad under twenty years of age and only son of the Marquis of Douglas. It was expressly stipulated by the regiment that it should have a Minister of its own persuasion, and an Elder to each Company. The Cameronians retain the distinctive badge of a Scotch regiment to this day.

There had been in the service of the States for upwards of a century prior to William's accession to the crown of England, several independent Companies originally composed of Scotchmen.⁴³⁵ These companies were highly thought of in Holland: in 1578 they fought at Reminant in their shirt sleeves and contributed not a little to the victory; and they had been engaged in all the wars waged under the Princes of Orange. They were at length embodied into three regiments, which, under Colonels Balfour, Mackay, and Ramsay, accompanied William the Third on his expedition to England in 1688, and which had since done good service in Scotland and Ireland. These regiments were lent to the States-General of Holland in 1701, and after suffering very shameful neglect at the hands of the British Government on the rupture between England and Holland in 1781, they were recalled in 1793 and subsequently

⁴³⁴ Memorial of the sufferings &c. of the Presbyterians in Scotland, particularly of those nick-named Cameronians.

Royal Warrt. 18 Decr., 1689, confirmed the establishment of the Regiment.

Scotch Acts of Parliament authorise the raising of the Regts., 1,200 strong on 19 April, 1689.

⁴³⁵ An Historical account of the British Regiments employed in the formation and defence of the Dutch Republic particularly of the Scotch Brigade: Lond. 1795.

shared the glories of the "Peninsula" campaigns under the title of the NINETY-FOURTH REGIMENT. As however this distinguished and ancient Corps was disbanded in 1818 I shall not speak of these Scotch regiments as the Ninety-fourth, but shall mention them in the same way as other Corps that have died out. Nevertheless, with this clue the curious will still be able to trace for themselves the history of the Old Ninety-fourth.

The British General officers were the Earl of Marlborough in chief command of the Contingent, and Lieutenant General Kirke of Tangier notoriety. The Contingent numbered about ten thousand men. Besides the British, there were Dutch, Spanish, and German troops; the strength of the whole army being Nineteen thousand Horse and Dragoons and Thirty-one thousand infantry. Prince Waldeck commanded the Dutch; and under him were Field-Marsals the Prince of Nassau-Saarbruck and the Prince of Nassau-Friedland, and General Count Solmes. Prince Vaudemont was the Spanish commander. At a meeting of the Allied Powers it had been decided that King William should take the command of the whole army.

On the surrender of Mons the Allies occupied a camp at Anderlecht close to Brussels. This camp was situate on a peninsula formed by two tributaries of the Senne (Ill. LIV), one of which ran immediately in rear of the position while the other circled round the front: the front was also protected by several ravines through which the stream flowed.

The next move in the campaign rested with the French, for the Allies could not quit the neighbourhood of Brussels so long as a French army remained in the vicinity of Mons. The French King, who had himself been present at the late siege, bore a grudge against the citizens of Liège for having disappointed him of their expected neutrality during the war, and the check now held upon the Allied army by the possession of Mons afforded an opportunity of gratifying Louis's desire for vengeance. Besides Liège was a principal dépôt for arms and munitions, and if a bombardment should not frighten the inhabitants into submission, it would at least damage the Allies by destroying magazines and their contents. The plan was that de Boufflers should undertake the bombardment, while de Luxembourg should deter the Allied army from interference by threatening Brussels.

With this object de Luxembourg assembled an army near

Courtrai beyond the Lys. De Boufflers at the same time marched on his expedition with twenty thousand men, twenty-four guns and twelve mortars, and he was joined *en route* by ten field-pieces and a quantity of siege material from Dinant.

It must be recollected that although the Allied Army at Anderlecht was not large, there were yet thousands of men in garrison towards the coast and along the Sambre and Meuse, who only awaited a favourable opportunity of combining in the operations of the main army. Now, the road from Namur and Charleroi to Brussels, between Nivelles and Brussels and only three or four miles from Halle, crossed a small river and then ascended high grounds between two forests. Were the Allies to get possession of this pass and the connexion it would afford with their garrisons of Namur and Charleroi, the aspect of affairs would be decidedly in their favour: de Luxembourg being drawn eastwards, the garrisons of Ghent and Bruges would be released: de Boufflers would be in danger, while upon his retreat the Allies would receive large re-inforcements from Liège, Namur, and the Brandenburg Contingent: and the probable result would be to confine the French to their own frontier and to expose Mons to re-capture.

To prevent all this it was necessary for de Luxembourg to threaten the capital very closely. On the ninth of May he marched to Hauterive, but had to halt there to await his artillery from Douai: his strength, on its arrival, was about forty thousand men and eighty guns.⁴³⁶ On the fifteenth he crossed the Scheldt and marched to Renaix, thence to Lessines, and on the eighteenth to Enghien, where he encamped with the right at Hoves and the left at Herinnes, the river Marck being in rear and the front being covered by the woods and ravines which surround the town of Enghien.

The next day the Duc advanced on Halle with every precaution, and halted just beyond Halle between the Senne and that tributary of it which encircled the front of the camp at Anderlecht. The French lay right across the direct road from Halle to Brussels, and should they throw a body across the Senne the garrison of Halle would be entirely cut off. De Luxembourg indeed lost no time in having two bridges of boats laid over the river, and troops were detailed to cross that night as soon as the bridges should be perfected. The works at Halle were still imperfect; on the side of Mons especially the only defence

⁴³⁶ Foot 25,000; Horse and Dragoons 14,000; and a battalion of gunners.

consisted in some wretched palisadoes in bad repair. There were five battalions in the place, but in the bad state of the defences it would have been useless to attempt to hold it; even now escape was very doubtful. An order was promulgated throughout the town, that any inhabitant stirring out of his house after the beating of retreat that evening would be instantly shot: the strictest secrecy and silence was enjoined upon the troops, and in the night the garrison marched out, and by keeping along the right bank of the river reached Anderlecht in safety early in the morning. Many of the men were so filled with alarms on the road that they threw away their arms as incumbrances.

De Luxembourg was not without hope of actually entering Brussels, and when he found his birds flown from Halle, he proceeded to reconnoitre the camp. His idea had been to fall upon the Allied right between the rivers, and he moved his troops in that direction; but he found that the streams were not so shallow as might have been expected so near their sources, and that while the enemy lay on a rising ground the waters formed a marsh at the foot of it. To attack the Allies in their present position would be equivalent to attempting to force a defile defended by a numerous army. De Luxembourg was obliged to content himself with the destruction of the works at Halle.

On the 23rd of May King William arrived to take the command at Anderlecht, but he could not venture to attack de Luxembourg until he received certain intelligence of the Brandenburg and Hesse troops. If he should be defeated he had no supports, and Brussels would be exposed; whereas, should de Luxembourg be beaten, he had merely to retire on Mons which lay only a hard day's march directly in rear of him.

Meantime de Boufflers had not met with his usual good fortune. It had been a trying spectacle to some ten thousand men, mostly Liégeois, drawn together hurriedly by M. de Cerclaes, to see shells and red hot balls hurled unceasingly, day and night, on to the dwellings of their kinsfolk, while they were compelled to stand tamely by. But beyond the destruction of a large number of houses, no important result was obtained by the bombardment.

The French had failed in this month's operations as signally as they had succeeded in the siege of Mons. De Boufflers had failed to do any damage proportionate to the great expense

incurred, and de Luxembourg had failed to do more than hold the Allied army at Brussels.

De Boufflers was reduced to a mere party of observation to detain the Brandenburg Contingent beyond the Meuse ; and de Luxembourg was as anxious to get clear of William as William was to have more room in which to work.

William could not make the first move, while de Luxembourg was aware that an attack on him when he should retire might be fatal to his army.

On the twenty-sixth the Duc retreated with the greatest precaution on Braine le Comte, as well to find a better vantage-ground in case of attack and in a central spot for future movements, as because his Commissariat would be nearer to their dépôt at Mons. Several parties of cavalry were dispatched overnight to the high points between St. Peters Leeuw and the mill on Castres hill so as to observe and report any anticipatory movement of the Allied troops: a whole battalion was sent forward, and the men posted at intervals through the forest of Houssiere: and parties (of a company each) were also stationed overnight along the Senne to prevent any occupation of the woods by the enemy, or any attack on the left column during the march. In the very early morning the army moved off in nine columns, fused into six *en route*, passed the river near Tubise by six pontoon bridges, and continued the march to Braine in three columns, the one on the present left passing through the wood of Houssiere: the rear was protected by strong bodies of cavalry and twenty guns. The Allies, however, made no attack; the chief reason of their quiescence was that the scouts brought word that the French had detached a large body to Enghien, and it was therefore suspected that the retreat was merely a feint designed to draw the Allies from their present secure position: this false report most likely arose from the fact of the column that was on the right in the retreat making a considerable *détour* in the direction of Enghien on its march towards the bridges. The French army encamped between Estinkerke and the Bois de l'Houssiere; the village of Braine-le-Comte and the river Petit-Rœux in rear; the left on the Sennette, which river also with the Bois de Faye protected the left front; the right and right front were covered by the thick forest of Houssiere.

William now moved to Vilvorde and thence to Parck for the convenience of forage, until something fresh should be determined upon. The French were no longer in the ascen-

dant: if they moved towards the Allied fortresses beyond the Scheldt William might invade the French frontier across the Sambre; if de Luxembourg threatened the places on the Sambre the Allies could attack the French lines towards the sea. In either case the balance of advantage would be in favour of the Allies, and in either case they might execute their own plans and return in time to frustrate de Luxembourg's.

This was the first year in which William had taken the sole charge of the campaign. Idolised by his own countrymen, narrowly scanned by his new subjects, with many waverers and semi-jacobites among the latter, regarded by all Europe as the only bar to French supremacy and as the only champion of national freedom, it was imperative that he should do something to uphold his character as a general, and to remove the war nearer to the French frontier. As it was, both armies were eating up the very core of his supplies.

William, then, resolved to march towards the Sambre; and on the eleventh of June, leaving a force under the Marquis de Gastanaga to protect the country between Louvain and Ghent, he marched from Parck to Bevecum, on the thirteenth to Maleves, and on the sixteenth to Gemblours. The route of the different columns could be traced for miles through the rye and the growing corn, for the unfortunate boers had planted their crops before the capture of Mons and the consequent ebb of the tide of war northwards.

At Gemblours the Landgrave of Hesse joined with his quota of six thousand five hundred men. His Artillery created a great sensation among the lovers of the artistic, for the whole well-equipped train was drawn by milk-white oxen.

The duc de Luxembourg could now be sure that the designs of the Allies were directed against the French frontier beyond the Sambre, and he could now determine on his own course of action. The opinion at Versailles was strongly in favour of a bombardment of Brussels, as being likely to draw the Allies back again, while the French could meanwhile do much mischief by levying contributions and by carrying off or destroying supplies: but de Luxembourg argued that while he was at Brussels the Allies would take Dinant, and perhaps Philippeville and Charlemont; that he himself would be much weakened by detaching troops to the frontier or to watch the Allies; and that, while thus enfeebled, William might by a skilful movement cut him off from his detachments and force him to a pitched battle: in no case could the mere bombardment of the

capital, however gratifying to the political gossips and frequenters of the wine-shops at Paris, recompense the country for the loss of an important frontier fortress, and for the raids of an enemy into the rich provinces of Champagne and Picardie. So convinced was the French general of the soundness of his own views, that he lost no time in making arrangements to forestall the enemy on the frontier: he ordered de Boufflers to cross the Meuse at Givet, and, after re-inforcing Dinant and Philippeville, to move towards Beaumont holding himself in readiness to join the main army: de Luxembourg himself was to march step for step with the Allies so as to reach the frontier as soon as they would, and yet be able to alter his course if any change in William's plans should unfold itself. On the day after the Allies halted at Gemblours the French marched to Haisne-Saint-Pierre.

But while at this camp, de Luxembourg received imperative orders from Versailles to bombard Brussels, and he accordingly marched to Soignies. To prevent mischievous consequences to the best of his power, he ordered M. de Villars, who commanded in the lines of the Scheldt and who in the weak state of the garrisons of Oudenarde and Ghent had already ventured as far as Bellœil, to come to Baudour close to Mons; and he left Lieutenant-General M. d'Auger between Mons and Maubeuge with four regiments of Foot and a large body of cavalry.

The Allies were waiting at Gemblours for supplies and munitions, and happened at this time to make a very large detachment to Brussels as escort to a Commissariat train expected down. This fact, being interpreted as a reinforcement of the garrison, combined with the urgent representations of de Luxembourg to induce the French King to allow that general to follow his own plans. There can be little doubt that, had the Court insisted on the advance to Brussels, the result must have been most disastrous to the French arms. Dinant, Philippeville, and Mons might have been lost; while de Luxembourg would have been cut off from rendering any assistance to these places, without exposing himself to be attacked in rear by de Gastanaga's corps swelled by detachments from the garrisons beyond Brussels.

De Luxembourg therefore retraced his course on the fourth of July to Estinnes; and as the Allies had still two days' start of him towards Dinant, he proceeded on the sixth to Merbes-Potterie close to the Sambre: three bridges were laid over the

river; parties were sent out to observe the enemy; and d'Auger's reserve was called in. Orders had been dispatched by William to de Gastanaga to encamp at Gavres on the Scheldt, and this movement had had the desired effect of withdrawing de Villars's force back to the lines between that river and the Lys.

On the night of the ninth William advanced to Fleurus; and on the eleventh crossing the Sambre he encamped with his right at Sombzé on the road from Charleroi to Philippeville (Ill. LV), and his left at Villers-Potterie on the road from Charleroi to Dinant, his right and rear protected by the river Heure, deep ravines, and thick woods. A large reinforcement from Namur made its way at the same time to this camp. On the same day de Luxembourg, having intelligence of William's movements, crossed the river near La-Bussiere, and encamped between the forests with his right on Slenrieu. The river Heure and woody and difficult ground separated the two armies, which were now only five or six miles apart.

The Allies were at this time, notwithstanding detachments, about fifty-six thousand strong, owing to reinforcements from the garrisons on the Meuse: also a corps under Generals Fleming and Cerclaes formed a reserve of some ten thousand more between Namur and Liége. The French army numbered only about forty-six thousand, besides about ten thousand reserve under de Boufflers. The inequality had been rendered less overwhelming because de Villars had been desired to dispatch from the garrisons beyond the Scheldt every man he could spare, notwithstanding the possibility of troops being detached by William against the lines of the Scheldt without the Duc's cognisance; about seven thousand men had been thus added to the army of the Sambre. But still the Allies could muster for an engagement about ten thousand stronger than their opponents.

On the twelfth the French moved to Florennes, and camped on high ground with the left at Emptine and Florennes in front of the centre; the front was strengthened by the steep ravines through which flowed the tributaries of the Heure: the line was so placed that the left could, in case of attack, wheel back upon Philippeville, which by its fire and by sorties would be able to afford material assistance: thick woods were between the camp and the Allies. At the same time de Boufflers advanced from between Charlemont and Philippeville, and took up a position some distance to the right front of the main army; but, fearing

an attack by Fleming (who was now on the Orneau), he afterwards retired to Rosoi to the right rear of de Luxembourg's army, and close to it.

The French were now between the Allies and the threatened fortresses; but William had this time out-manceuvred de Luxembourg. William's scheme, which he had kept profoundly secret, was to tempt the Duc to his present position or even nearer to the Meuse, and then to march himself on Mons or on the lines of the Scheldt: to these he was now nearer than de Luxembourg, and his route lay through a far easier country.

But it was imperative to commence some definite operation forthwith; for the Commissariat of either army was beginning to experience difficulties. As the transport of an army, intimately connected as it is with the question of supplies, is the most important of the many responsibilities of a Commissariat, so the supply of forage becomes a duty of scarcely inferior consideration; for not only is the efficiency of the cavalry and artillery impaired or altogether destroyed by dearth of forage, but the maintenance of the immense numbers of animals required for the transport train itself of an army in the field becomes impossible. Both armies were straitened greatly for lack of this important sinew of war. Campaigns are not won by battles alone, nor even altogether by skilful tactics. The general who, *cæteris paribus*, possesses the most efficient Commissariat, prompt, perfect, and harmonious in all its multifarious branches, will eventually be the winner. William, unfortunately, paid insufficient attention to this branch of the service: de Luxembourg, on the contrary, devoted more of his mind to the perfection of his Commissariat arrangements than to any other of the accessories of victory. And this difference between the two generals was one of the principal reasons of de Luxembourg's triumphs and William's failures throughout every campaign in which they were opposed to each other. De Luxembourg saw William's weak point, and now strove to cripple him through his Commissariat. De Boufflers went out with four thousand cavalry, and carried away or destroyed all forage bewixt the Allied army and Dinant: M. de Vertillac, the Governor of Mons, was ordered to consume the forage in his stores, and to send out parties to prevent the enemy from foraging towards his command. De Luxembourg, meantime, was drawing his own supplies from the dépôt at Philippeville, and, to eke out this, the heavy transport was parked beyond Philippeville, on the Mariembourg road. The Allies were thus

compelled to send their transport to Charleroi. Had William entertained any design upon Dinant ; or, what was more feasible, had he intended to move about between the rivers until he should find a favourable moment for attacking the French army,⁴³⁷ he must now have abandoned his plans. The Allies had no reserve dépôts along their frontier, while the French Intendants had not ceased throughout the past winter to store supplies in every frontier town : William would have to move first.

A change occurred in the English army while at this camp of Tarsienne, which had no inconsiderable effect on the future prospects of the war. The Earl of Marlborough was superseded in the command of the English Contingent by Count Solmes of the Dutch Foot. Of the Earl's military abilities it would be superfluous to speak in comparison with those of the Count. Count Solmes⁴³⁸ was a Dutchman ; his manners were not calculated to inspire affection, and he had no control over his temper ; he had seen much service, but had displayed no special genius ; and he disliked the English, while the English troops detested him. For this man William had removed the only real general in his whole army, a commander far superior to himself, and one more than equal to the difficult task of foreseeing and frustrating de Luxembourg's clever tactics.

At length William, seeing no prospect of luring de Luxembourg farther east, or of engaging the French army at an advantage, marched to cut off the Duc from Mons and the Scheldt. The army marched in two columns to the Heure ; and, breaking into four columns as it descended the steep banks of the river, crossed by four bridges between Thille and Bersée ; then, opening out, the army took up a position on the plateau between the Heure and the Sambre : the left lay between Marbaix and Cour, the right stretched as far as Chatillon.

It would now be impossible for the French to return by the way they had lately gone, for the pass of Slenrieu on the main road from Philippeville to Beaumont was but a league from the Allied camp.

The little town of Beaumont was just within the French frontier. The plateau of the camp of Cour sur Heure, extended

⁴³⁷ Letter, Camp at Gerpines, 27 July, 1691, Dr. Birch to Clarke ; that the King is trying to get battle, but that the enemy is too strongly posted, terrible defiles, two little rivers, cannon planted over them, and breastworks for infantry under the cannon ; Generals unanimous against an attack : Clarke MSS.

⁴³⁸ Burnet ; hist. of his own times.

in an irregular form to the little river of Beaumont, and Beaumont stands high just above this stream and on the extremity of this plateau. So that on the side towards Cour the place was easy of approach by the road from Thuin, while on the other sides it stood on precipices; even on the more open side, access to the town was rendered difficult for a large army by the thick woods which on that side almost surrounded it. From Beaumont to Mons ran a direct and almost straight road.

William's intention was to possess himself of this little fortified town, and of the heights opposite to it on the other side of the stream. By halting at Cour he was within a couple of hours' easy march of Beaumont, and he thus commanded the Heure at Slenrieu, prevented the possibility of de Luxembourg getting in rear of the Allied army, and compelled him, in marching to the Sambre, to make a great circuit round the Bois de Chimay by way of Mariembourg. Thus the war would be carried within the French frontier; the Allies could be reinforced largely from their garrisons in rear no longer threatened by an enemy; Mons might be re-taken; and, if no further advantages ensued, the Netherlands would at least be freed from the burdensome presence of two large armies for the rest of the year. The scheme was a good one, and worthy of a great general. The execution of it was frustrated by William's unaccountable procrastination, a procrastination which, displayed as it was on more than one other occasion, stamps William as the general by education alone, and not by innate genius or disposition.

De Luxembourg had foreseen the possibility and the probability of this manœuvre, but was powerless to prevent it. However, there happened to be in his army an officer who had spent his youth amidst the woods and streams of this district: this M. d'Albergotti learned that the general was at his wit's end to discover some nearer road to Beaumont than by Mariembourg, now that Slenrieu was held by the Allies. He at once volunteered to show the general a dozen paths to Beaumont; whether they were practicable for an army was doubtful; it was certain that no army had ever yet traversed them. The Duc sent M. de Puysegur, Maréchal Général, with d'Albergotti to inspect these routes: the Maréchal reported that he thought them just practicable, and de Luxembourg resolved to keep as close to the Allies as he could.

It was the old story of the hare and the tortoise. William, feeling assured that none of the French army could now reach

Beaumont for three days, contented himself with sending the Comte de Lippe with two thousand men to occupy the town and the passes on the Sambre at La Bussière and Thuin. He took no other precautions; he sent out no patrols or reconnoitring parties to watch the enemy's movements. He made sure that de Luxembourg was not approaching by a way now absolutely barred to him; but he was at no pains to discover what manœuvre would be resorted to in so desperate a crisis.

De Luxembourg, after in person reconnoitring the movements of the Allies from the heights of Slenrieu and Walcourt, and after detaching troops to harass them, made arrangements for his own march.

This march is deserving of attention by the student of warfare, not only on account of the influence that it exercised on the campaign, but also because it is one of the most extraordinary marches on record. The country between Philippeville and Beaumont was one succession of dense forest, roadless ravines, and bridgeless streams. Through such a country de Luxembourg purposed to lead his army direct to Beaumont: by a forced march he might arrive as early as the Allies if they halted at all at Cour, where the French general had seen them safely encamped as if for a stay.

On the day after the move made by the Allies to Cour, the French marched from Florennes to Cerfontaine. The troops marched in five columns. The left wing of the cavalry formed the right column; it crossed the stream which flanked the camp above Tamagne, passed Jamelle, crossed the Philippeville and Walcourt road and then made a *détour* to the right to avoid wood. The left column went down close to Philippeville. The other columns made a way through more difficult country, but by a more direct route. De Bouffler's reserve, avoiding the Bois du Pré, marched round Philippeville by a much longer but less arduous road than the rest of the army. The whole halted in the small open of Cerfontaine.

The worst was yet to come. Cerfontaine was distant from Florennes as the crow flies about seven miles: Beaumont was distant from Cerfontaine another seven miles, but these seven miles were of a far more deterrent character than the seven already accomplished; the forest was thicker and more continuous, the ravines were as frequent but wider, circuits would be necessary to enable the artillery and transport train to avoid water. While some of the troops could accomplish the journey

by a march of fifteen miles, others would have to make twenty-three miles.

At dusk the men struck their tents, harnessed their guns and wagons, and fell in in strict silence; at ten the army marched in five columns. The first and second on the right crossed the stream that joins the Heure at Walcourt: the first column was of infantry, the second of cavalry: the infantry passed through the Bois de Folemprie by bye-paths, and so through the village of Ranly and direct to camp at Lugny: the cavalry evaded the woods as much as possible, but rode straight through all such impediments as gardens and farms, and came through the Bois du Bosquet to camp. The third column, which was also cavalry, crossed the little stream, picked a way straight through the forest; then, striking to the left in order to avoid Lake Faubrechis, crossed near the head of it, emerged on to open ground; and, making a circuit, struck into the road that leads direct to Beaumont from the south through the Bois de Ranse.

The fourth column consisted of the Artillery and Commissariat; and this column was of course the great difficulty of the march. For it a lane was literally hewn through the Bois de Chimay; it then skirted the forest by the open of Froide Chapelle, and at Ranse came in rear of the third column on to the Beaumont road. The fifth column accompanied the fourth through the forest, clearing a way for it, and on leaving the wood it kept continually to the left of the Beaumont road but parallel to it. The ways were so difficult, and the labour of the pioneers so heavy, that it was not until morning that the whole army was on the camping ground.

The camp was on the heights that overlook Beaumont from the opposite side of the stream; the right rested on the stream, and the left on the village of Solre. De Boufflers had been left at Cerfontaine to see the rear of the army safely cleared, as well as to observe General Fleming's force; but, lest the Allies should offer battle, de Boufflers judged it prudent to advance to Ranse where he could act as a reserve to the main army, and (now that the ways had been cleared) could easily regain Cerfontaine, if necessary.

Throughout the day of the French march, William, quite unsuspecting, was placidly resting at Cour. Parties were out cutting a glade in the woods between Clermont and Beaumont, an operation that could have been very well spared inasmuch as there was already one road between the two places.

This day's delay decided the fate of the campaign.

De Luxembourg's forced march would have availed him nothing had William not wasted the twenty-ninth. On the thirtieth, as the Allied army was on the march, news was brought that a detachment of French troops had by some means been got to near Beaumont, and was occupying the heights of Consolre. William hurried his men along; for this detachment must be driven off or made prisoners. It was whispered that the detachment was quite a *corps d'armée*, and that there would be a fight for it: the Allies pushed on: the day was wearing, and no one could tell what further accessions the Frenchmen might receive during the night.

At length the columns emerged from the forest; the long grass and the stumps of felled trees no longer impeded the march. M. de Vaudemont had ridden on, and had reported on his return that it was but a portion of de Luxembourg's army that was at Lugny; William was confounded and anxious, but he still hoped to be able to beat off the Frenchmen before night and to occupy the heights opposite Beaumont: as the troops approached Beaumont he spurred to the front.

His chagrin was great to discover the whole of de Luxembourg's troops encamped beyond the stream: the tents were all regularly pitched, the guards were mounted, the men off duty were idling about either reposing or else coolly regarding the movements of William and his escort: they had evidently been there the whole day: and the campaign was lost to William. The only question now was as to the advisability of attacking the French position. The troops were kept under arms throughout the night, and until noon of the next day. The general opinion was against an attack: however, on the first, early in the morning, parties were sent down to lay bridges over the stream. De Luxembourg, who had been indefatigable in observing his adversary's movements, stationed a large body of men on the heights in the angle of the stream betwixt Chaudeville and Lugny: another detachment was sent to the hill in front of the Bois d'Hurtebise, and guns were brought to bear upon all those spots on the river where the Allies were at work. William finally made up his mind to retire: a strong force was left at Beaumont to cover the retreat, and at noon the army returned to the camp of Cour.

On the evening of this day the Allies experienced a narrow escape from a most serious disaster. A Frenchman ⁴³⁹ secreted

⁴³⁹ Burnet says that this man was "one that belonged to the Train of Artillery, who was corrupted."

himself in the camp amongst the powder-wagons: possessing himself of a couple of shells, he waited until it was quite dark and the camp was quiet. Then, lighting the fuses he cast his bombs into the nearest powder-wagon, and bolted. Two gunners happened to perceive the lights inside the wagon, and rushing up they both with surpassing courage dashed into the cart, seized the live shells and threw them to the ground: as the shells touched the ground they burst, and had the nearest wagons been loaded with loose powder or with cartridges instead of with shell, the whole train might have exploded. In such a case there is no saying what the consequences might have been, not alone from the immediate effects of the explosion, but from the confusion that would have arisen and of which the French army so close at hand might have taken advantage.

The shouts of the gunners and the bursting of the bombs had caused an alarm in all the nearest posts. By the bright light of the moon the incendiary was seen running for his life, but some dragoons started in pursuit and the man was captured. Whether the attempt was incited or connived at by the French general was never known. The man was tried, and a few days afterwards a fearful punishment was inflicted upon him as a spy and an incendiary. Detachments from every regiment in camp were paraded around a space, in the centre of which stood a tall stake surrounded with faggots. The unfortunate criminal was then brought to the front, and the faggots were set afire: a provost's man stepped forward, and, striking off the man's right hand, held it in the blaze to burn before its owner's eyes: after this the maimed wretch was tied to the stake alive, more fuel was heaped on, and to the hellish tune of his agonised shrieks the troops filed off the ground.

The first Act of the year's campaign had closed with the capture of Mons by the French: the second had closed when de Luxembourg succeeded in forestalling the Allies at Beaumont: the third and last was now about to begin, and as regards the Allies it was but a sort of epilogue, a hasty and futile apology for the weakness of the two first.

At this time the armies were thus distributed. The Allied main army was at Cour: General Fleming had crossed the Sambre and encamped near Marchienne: M. de Gastanaga was still on the Scheldt.

The French main army was at Lugny close to Beaumont: de Boufflers was at Ranse: M. de Ximenes was at Maubeuge to maintain the passage of the Sambre at that spot.

The Allies, after a forward movement merely to bring off the troops left at Beaumont and to destroy the defences of that place, marched to St. Gerard as if bound for Dinant, measures being taken to secure behind them the pass formed by the river and the Bois de Sart at Ham-sur-Heure. De Luxembourg had notice of the movement almost before it was begun, and he advanced to Strées, encamping with his right reaching as far as the extremity of the camp just quitted by the Allies. De Boufflers moved up also. To guard against a surprise of Mons, the Duc had already sent d'Albergotti with M. de Puysegur to discover a direct route to Charlemont and Dinant. On the fourteenth de Boufflers went to Givet with five battalions of infantry and some Artillery as a corps of observation. William now experienced the disadvantage of not being a good Commissary-General, for when he found himself forestalled at Beaumont he might still have troubled the enemy's frontier towards the Meuse, had he possessed ample supplies in his own frontier magazines: as it was, the want of forage compelled him to an imbecile retreat on Brussels; he re-crossed the Sambre to Fleurus.

The same day de Luxembourg, fearful of allowing him a start towards the Scheldt, made a march of upwards of thirty miles to Felluz; and, aware that the frontier as far as Mons was now safe⁴⁴⁰ by reason of the scarcity of forage, he continued his route to Ninove on the Dender.

The Allied army was now reduced to a mere corps of observation. William marched to Bois Seigneur Isaac, and the Brandenburg and Hesse troops were detached to their own territories again. De Luxembourg marched to Gamage. William employed the opportunity of his enforced proximity to Aeth to throw into the place men and supplies for the winter: with this object he moved thither by Enghien and Ghislenghien. After completing this service the army marched to Leuse, where William and other Generals quitted the army, the Prince de Waldeck being entrusted with the duty of conducting the troops into winter quarters.

De Luxembourg, not yet certain of William's intentions, the better to assure the safety of the Lines of the Scheldt, marched

⁴⁴⁰ De Villars insinuates that de Luxembourg marched to encamp at Ninove solely because he could there get Campine chickens, Ghent veal, English oysters, and other dainties. It can only be said that the General who can make the calculations and chances of a campaign subservient to his individual appetite must be a very skilful tactician.

by Lessines to Espierre: M. de Villars with the right wing of the cavalry lay close to Tournai.

The Allied army was encamped about twelve miles distant, close to Leuze, on a plateau between the Dender and a tributary stream known as the brook of La Catoir. De Luxembourg's scouts brought him word that de Waldeck was preparing to break up his camp next day.

De Luxembourg had been awaiting this decampment in the hope of striking the final blow of the campaign. Four hundred men of the Household cavalry had already been pushed forward in readiness for any emergency; at night fall M. de Villars was sent on with four thousand more men, and during the night the Duc himself started with another five thousand Horse and Dragoons (Ill. LVI).

De Waldeck had no reconnoitring parties out, the morning was foggy, and the French troops arrived near Leuze without arousing suspicion. After halting beyond the village to close the ranks and prepare for action, the French galloped as fast as they could spur towards La Catoir.

When the French cavalry first appeared de Waldeck took them to be only a small reconnoitring party from Tournai or Ghilain, and he took no precautions beyond ordering back five battalions to take post in the hedges about Capelle, a little hamlet between Leuze and La Catoir: he was even forgetful enough, or ignorant enough, to place no regular supports beyond the river to receive these five battalions and the cavalry of the rear-guard if they should be driven in. The cavalry of the rear-guard had been in the act of crossing the bridges, though in a negligent and unsoldierly way, when it was commanded back to oppose the enemy.

De Luxembourg perceived that the longer he deferred the attack the stronger the opposition would be; and, first dismounting two regiments of dragoons to amuse the infantry at Capelle, he advanced his troops rapidly into the plain, and as they formed up they charged. The first line of the Allies was the only one in a state of formation fit to offer resistance; and this line was, after a protracted and gallant combat, forced back: the other squadrons had not yet formed a front, and some were still on the bridges: there was no infantry in support at the passes over the river: the troops did not want for courage but for generalship; and, for lack of guidance, all soon became confusion. At length the main body of the Allied infantry returned to the stream, and formed up on the other side; the

rear-guard got across with great loss ; and, as de Luxembourg had none but cavalry with him, he could do nothing further.

The English Life-Guards were in the thick of the fight : indeed, one private gentleman of this Corps cut his way right through the enemy, galloped into the very midst of de Luxembourg's staff, and was made prisoner barely in time to save the Duc's life. This, however, was the only English regiment engaged, for which reason the action has not been recounted in greater detail.

Nevertheless, this is one of the most instructive combats on record. The secrecy with which de Luxembourg executed his scheme ; the shrewdness with which he covered it by the march of his infantry to Herinnes ; the preparation made by advancing de Villars ostensibly to protect Tournai ; the general readiness to take instant advantage of de Waldeck's errors should he commit any, even though there could be no certainty that he would do so ; all this contributed to de Luxembourg's success. On the other hand, de Waldeck's remissness in not having scouts beyond Leuze ; his inattention to the first appearance of the enemy ; and above all his neglect in not posting infantry at the passes on the stream to support and receive the cavalry of the rear-guard on their retirement ;—these are as much warnings as de Luxembourg's measures are examples.

The result of the action was a loss to the Allies of fifteen-hundred men and many horses and standards : Count de Lippe and several other officers were taken prisoners, and the campaign closed with *éclat* to the French arms. Both armies retired in a few days into winter quarters.

CHAPTER XIII.

THE WAR IN FLANDERS. CAMPAIGN OF 1692.
FROM THE COMMENCEMENT OF THE CAMPAIGN TO THE
BATTLE OF ESTINKERKE.

1692. MAY TO 23 JULY.

Preparations for the Campaign.—Opening of the Campaign.—Investment of Namur by the French.—Movements of the Allies.—Capitulation of Namur.—The attempt of the Allies on Mons.—French plans and movements.—Expectations of the Allies.—Description of the Field of Estinkerke.—Capture of a French spy.—King William's opinion of British troops.—List of the British Contingent.

[*For Illustrations, see Note on p. xiii.*]

IN its commencement this campaign resembled the last; the same forethought, decision, activity, union, and promptitude on the part of the French;⁴⁴¹ the same unsettled tardiness and disunion, and the same consequent inactivity, on the side of the Allies. The latter had suffered the winter to pass on the principle that sufficient to the day is the evil thereof; the former had been turning to account the lessons of the campaign of 1691. The French did not forget that, had they enjoyed entire control of the district between the Sambre and Meuse, they would have escaped the anxieties of last August, and that de Luxembourg might have been bombarding Brussels or besieging Ath instead of making forced marches through thick forests for bare safety.

The district between the Meuse and the Sambre comprises a triangle of which the base is formed by the line of French fortresses Maubeuge, Philippeville, and Charlemont, while at the apex and at the confluence of the rivers stands the fortress of Namur: on the rivers which formed the sides of the triangle the French possessed Dinant on the Meuse, and the Allies Charleroi on the Sambre.

The city and fortress of Namur were also in the hands of

⁴⁴¹ D'Auvergne.

Besides the quotations in the notes of this chapter many other general authorities have been consulted, such as the London Gazette; De Quincy; Saint Simon.

the Allies who thus held a complete frontier in the Sambre, a frontier whose value had however been greatly deteriorated by the loss of Mons. The castle and fortifications of Namur were situate on heights in the angle of the two rivers: the town was on lower ground on the left bank of the Meuse, the Sambre running between the castle and the town.⁴⁴² To the acquisition of this stronghold the French government had directed its attention during the winter. With Mons and Namur in the hands of the French Charleroi must follow, and the French frontier would be advanced to the Sambre. Into Maubeuge, Philippeville, Dinant, and the other towns about the rivers, supplies had been pouring throughout the winter; and the Intendants in Hainault had received instructions to assist M. de Vauban, the French Engineer, in every preparation for a long and difficult siege. An immense siege and field train⁴⁴³ had been quietly collected on the Meuse and the Scheldt.

On the seventh of May the French King arrived in the camp of a large army assembled on the Haisne, near Givey, and three days after his arrival he held a grand review for the delectation of his Court. The troops were drawn up in four lines,⁴⁴³ the two front lines being of greater extent than the others on account of the ground: there were one hundred and fifteen thousand men present and the front covered nine miles of country.

While de Luxembourg had thus got together the main army near Mons, de Boufflers, with a force of ten thousand infantry and eight thousand Horse,⁴⁴³ had encamped beyond the Meuse at Rochefort on the river Lesse. De Joyeuse with another corps⁴⁴³ was on the Moselle to distract the Hesse and Brandenburg contingents. The lines of the Scheldt were left defended by three battalions and about four thousand cavalry: and in order not to render the line of operations too extensive for the number of troops, orders were given for the evacuation of Courtrai, Furnes, and Dixmude in case of attack.⁴⁴³

All was thus matured for the projected siege. The siege train consisted of one hundred and ninety-six guns and sixty-seven mortars and pierriers or patteraras. The Commissariat

⁴⁴² I do not here describe Namur further because its siege did not concern the British troops of whom there were none in the garrison, besides that in a future chapter it will become necessary to give a detailed account of the defences of the place.

⁴⁴³ De Beaurain, Hist. Mil. du duc de Luxembourg.

was prepared with huge dépôts,⁴⁴³ and a transport train of six thousand wagons. Nothing was left to be desired.

On the thirteenth of May the French army marched on Namur,⁴⁴³ the King camping always to the right so as to keep de Luxembourg betwixt him and the enemy: the major portion of the Commissariat and Artillery trains marched direct towards Namur by way of Philippeville (Ill. LVII): the main body of the army marched the first day to the Piéton, the next day to Sombref, and thence to the Orneau. De Luxembourg lay along the Orneau with Gemblours⁴⁴³ in rear of his centre, and the King's corps encamped at Le Masy on the Namur side of the river and across the Brussels and Namur high road. At the same time a body of four thousand cavalry was detached to the Upper Mehaigne to observe and retard any advance of the Allies from the side of Brussels; and another detachment was made towards Chatelet⁴⁴³ to prevent any annoyance from the garrison of Charleroi, and to ensure communication with the dépôt at Maubeuge.

The next day Namur was invested on all sides. The King's *corps d'armée* undertook the investment of the North side; M. de Ximenes,⁴⁴³ who had escorted the trains by the Philippeville route, formed the link between the rivers; and de Boufflers came up to complete the chain. M. de Vauban directed the siege operations. Bridges were laid over the rivers; the passes around the place were occupied; field ovens were erected at Flauven; and the Artillery parks were established at Bouge and between the rivers (*See* Ill. LXXX).

The King of England had striven to impress upon his allies the advantages that would accrue from taking the lead in the campaign⁴⁴⁴ and thus reducing the French to the defensive: he urged upon them the warning afforded by the loss of Mons in the previous spring. But selfishness, arrogance, avarice, diversity of opinions and of interests, were all at work to hinder William and to favour Louis Quatorze. The French King had merely to signify his pleasure that an enterprise should be entered upon, and in a few hours an army marched to its performance: William had to enter into negotiations and correspondence before he could undertake any operation of importance; politics and generalship had to make mutual concessions, and valuable time was wasted in adjusting their respective claims.

⁴⁴⁴ D'Auvergne.
De Beaurain.

It was, however, imperative on William to act without waiting for the arrival of all the expected Contingents, for it became daily more manifest that the French were nourishing designs on Charleroi or Namur. Hastily assembling a force of thirty thousand men at Anderlecht, William sent orders⁴⁴³ to Generals Cerclaes and Fleming to hasten up with the Brandenburg and Liége troops; and in order to be nearer to them, and at the same time *en route* to the expected seat of war,⁴⁴⁵ he marched eastwards by Bethlehem and Parck to Meldert, where he halted on the twenty-fifth of May after sending back the heavy baggage to Arschoot.

The manifestation of the grand design of the French had the effect of startling the sluggish Dutch and Germans and the lazy Spaniards into life and a now futile activity. The Contingents came in fast. The Dutch from the western garrisons had joined on the nineteenth⁴⁴⁵ bringing with them sixteen thousand British troops that had wintered about Bruges and Ghent. The Danes⁴⁴⁵ under Prince Wirtemberg also came in about six thousand strong.

Both because the French had destroyed all the Spring forage about Gemblours,⁴⁴⁵ and because there was reason to fear that the expected Brandenburgers might be cut off *en route*, William did not march direct towards de Luxembourg but kept away to his left to Elixen (or Heylissem), where Baron Fleming and Count Cerclaes de Tilly with fourteen thousand Brandenburgers and Liégeois safely effected a junction.⁴⁴⁴

The siege of Namur was all this time proceeding apace. Twenty thousand peasant navvies⁴⁴³ had been set to work at the trenches. De Boufflers had possessed himself of the Faubourg de Jambe, and a lodgment⁴⁴³ having been also effected on the Bouge side, the town had capitulated on condition that no firing should take place from the town⁴⁴⁶ on the Castle or from the Castle on the town.

The surrender of the town by contracting the lines of investment released a number of troops to swell the covering army under de Luxembourg.⁴⁴⁴

The river Mehaigne (rising north of Namur and only four or five miles from the Sambre) by its course to enter the Meuse

⁴⁴³ D'Auvergne.

⁴⁴⁶ De Beaurain.

De la Colonie.

at Huy furnished an advanced semi-circular line of defence to cover the besieging force at Namur. So long as de Luxembourg could keep William on the other side of the Mehaigne, so long the siege must remain uninterrupted. The duc accordingly marched to Emptine within the Mehaigne at the same time as William advanced towards that river;⁴⁴⁴ and when William halted at Thine, de Luxembourg took ground to the right in the Plaine d'Accoche.

The right of the Allies was at Thine and the left at Latine⁴⁴⁴ so that the whole of the left wing lay close to the river. The right of de Luxembourg's army was opposite the Allied left but was some distance from the river: the left was on Emptine. The main body occupied a rising ground clear and roomy: between this ground and the river was a little plain not a mile square, and on it were two or three villages girt about with thick hedges and copses. These villages would make good advanced posts, while the main body would have the advantage of the incline and of plenty of space for the cavalry to act in. The thick woods in rear would offer facilities for covering a possible retreat.

Notwithstanding the apparent advantages of the French position William was desirous of attacking it. Parties were sent out to collect wood⁴⁴⁵ for building bridges over the Mehaigne: some went to cut down trees, others pulled down houses and carried off the beams: large detachments went to work to form the bridges, while others guarded the workmen and the nearest fords: the artillery lent its aid by keeping up a fire from the heights upon any French parties that approached the river. The work was heavy; for in order to render success possible many bridges were requisite for the army to pass over in a strong front instead of in two or three columns. The country people looking on told the soldiers that their labour was in vain, for that the twenty-ninth of May⁴⁴⁵ was St. Médard's day; and a few drops of rain having already been felt, it would surely rain for forty days and forty nights consecutively. The soldiers laughed at the prophecy as the day wore on and the rain held up: but St. Médard, though come, was not yet gone. The sun had not long set when the rain set in;⁴⁴⁵ the wind rose also, and the water poured down like a second deluge. It was ordered that the completion of the bridges should be deferred for a day or two:⁴⁴⁵ but for eight days consecutively the down-pour continued without cessation. The Mehaigne, usually a narrow though deep stream, became a broad flood: the meadows

were turned into knee-deep swamps.⁴⁴⁷ The bridges must needs have been half a mile long now instead of only a few yards. It was perhaps a fortunate circumstance for the Allies that they were thus prevented from attacking de Luxembourg in so good a position. There would have been hard fighting after crossing the river, for de Luxembourg was exceedingly strong in cavalry, and he had taken care to preserve space for it to work in.

William did not confine his operations to the Mehaigne: he sent Count Cerclaes⁴⁴⁸ by Huy across the Meuse to try to surprise the French between the Upper and Lower Meuse. Unfortunately de Boufflers was forewarned, and the enterprise was abortive. The garrison of Charleroi, too, was most active in harassing the French convoys: one convoy they almost entirely destroyed⁴⁴⁹ at the Pass of Slenrieu, capturing or burning more than twenty wagons of flour on this one occasion.

The want most felt by the French army was that of forage:⁴⁵⁰ their force of cavalry was very large, their transport was enormous. The number of horses and oxen in the covering army alone was such as to require thirty thousand bushels of oats daily.

On the seventh of June William took up fresh ground between Perwez and the bridge at Branchon,⁴⁵⁰ as if with the hope of circumventing the sources of the Mehaigne should he still find it impossible to cross it in the face of the enemy.

De Luxembourg the same day shifted his camp⁴⁴⁸ so as to lie between the plain of Bonef and Temploux, and thus covered the whole of the country between the Sambre and the sources of the Mehaigne. But William so manœuvred his right wing⁴⁴⁸ in search of an opportunity for engaging, that the French general deemed it advisable to seek a position which should be too formidable to invite attack or which should at all events afford room for his cavalry. As the siege was now confined to the ground between the Meuse and the Sambre de Luxembourg had no hesitation in quitting the Mehaigne, and he took up fresh

⁴⁴⁷ D'Auvergne.

Carleton.

Letters 1st, 5th, and 6th June from Mr. Vernon (Tindal).

⁴⁴⁸ De Beaurain.

⁴⁴⁹ De Beaurain.

Vernon says 130 wagons of wine, meal, &c.

⁴⁵⁰ D'Auvergne.

De Beaurain.

Vernon, Letter 8 June.

ground⁴⁴⁸ between Daussoir and the Orneau, Namur being in rear of his right.

On the twelfth William marched to Sombref,⁴⁴⁴ and on the fourteenth to Saint Amand, as if with the design of crossing the Sambre and so approaching Namur from between the rivers, drawing reinforcements from Charleroi *en route*. To thwart this possibility,⁴⁴⁸ de Boufflers was ordered from Namur to take post on the Sambre on the heights of Auvelois: de Luxembourg secured communication with him by throwing three bridges over the Sambre between Jemeppe and Floref,⁴⁴⁸ and he at the same time posted bodies of picked cavalry on the heights of Ham as well as along the Orneau. Thus the French could cross and recross the Sambre to forestal the Allies on either side of the river.

Had Namur made the defence that was to be expected of it, William might possibly have raised the siege by mere perseverance in harassing the enemy and in cutting off his supplies. But every accident and circumstance favoured the French. Even the rains, that rendered the work of the siege tiresome and difficult, at the same time raised an insurmountable obstacle to William's endeavours to cross the Mehaigne.

The garrison of Namur numbered about eight thousand of all arms,⁴⁴⁸ some Dutch, some Spanish, and some German: but these troops did not fraternise,⁴⁵¹ the Spaniards especially being regarded with disfavour by the others. Colonel COEHORNE, Chief Engineer to the States, conducted the defence and exulted to be pitted on his own ground against his great French rival DE VAUBAN in the new-born science of modern military engineering; but M. de Coehorne was wounded and placed *hors de combat*; and his voice, when raised singly to deprecate surrender, was not listened to.⁴⁵¹ The Lieutenant-Governor was a traitor, and having thrown himself into the way of being taken prisoner, he entered the French service and assisted the besiegers.

The French played the part of treacherous savages instead of chivalrous soldiers; for when it was found that the treaty by which the French had bound themselves not to take any action from the side of the town was condemned by de Vauban and the other engineers as likely to be fatal to success,⁴⁵² the French King deliberately sanctioned the unconcealed violation of the agreement, and batteries were erected in the town itself.

⁴⁵¹ D'Auvergne.

⁴⁵² De la Colonie.

Thus treason and disunion, breach of faith, evil example, and luke-warmness supplemented the vigour and generalship of the enemy; and on the twentieth of June, after only little more than a month's siege, Namur capitulated.

But while blaming the garrison for their weak defence, it would not be right to forget the graver faults of administration committed by William himself. While the French Intendance had been straining every means at its disposal to prepare the frontier for the campaign, William's Commissariat⁴⁵¹ had left even such places as Namur with ill-stored magazines: and while de Luxembourg had formed his plans, and was thus prepared to act decisively the moment the season should commence, William went drifting into the campaign ignorant and innocent of anything beyond the day's operations.

Louis Quatorze, having thus successfully opened the campaign and having gained great honour at the expense of little personal labour, forethought, or risk, departed gaily for Versailles with all his train of ladies, fops, and beaux,⁴⁴⁸ amid the discharges of cannon and *feux de joie*.

There was truly much reason for exultation, but rather on the part of de Luxembourg than of the King. The besieging army could not but succeed ultimately if the covering army could keep off the Allies. The siege, for the reasons already recited, was an easy one, while the task of the covering army was peculiarly difficult.

To carry on an offensive war on defensive principles was the problem committed to de Luxembourg. He was to drive his enemy back and to keep him back without pushing beyond certain natural strategical defences: he was to constantly offer battle but on such ground that no engagement would really be hazarded: he was ever to be beforehand with the enemy, yet was ever to regulate his movements by those of the enemy. All this, and more also, had been executed by de Luxembourg, with such consummate ability that there had been hardly a shot exchanged between the two armies. The result had been that the Allies were compelled to be spectators of their own humiliation; the boasted "Maiden fortress" of the Meuse was captured almost within their sight. William's soldiers could distinctly hear the cannon as they fired on the citadel,⁴⁵¹ and sometimes the whole camp turned out at the fearful sound of some exploding magazine. It was in this close neighbourhood of King William's army that Louis found his chief triumph; but it was to de Luxembourg's generalship that this triumph was chiefly due.

William now hoped to surprise Mons, as well for the sake of Charleroi now so perilously situated within the French pale, as to recover something of his lost prestige. The garrison of Mons had been reduced in order to swell the French main army: the inhabitants were mostly Spaniards⁴⁵¹ or natives of the Spanish Netherlands, and were therefore ill-disposed towards the French.

One company⁴⁵¹ was detailed from each battalion of the Allied army, and the duc de Wirtemberg undertook the command. Starting late, he marched all night and halted within three or four miles of Mons.⁴⁵¹ Here again de Luxembourg's omni-vigilance was manifested. When the Allied army marched westwards as if to get round the Mehaigne, the French general had not suffered the double possibility of result to escape him: in anticipation of any attempt upon Mons he had dispatched thither a considerable body of cavalry.⁴⁵¹ The garrison was therefore on the alert, and de Wirtemberg's party⁴⁵¹ had to return without having sighted the enemy. But although not a shot was fired, the French took two distinguished prisoners. Sir Robert Douglas of the Royals, and Colonel O'Farrell of the Twenty-first,⁴⁵¹ were returning after dusk from a council of war at their Chief's quarters; the road was new to them, and the darkness was dense; hearing voices to their right they bore off in that direction, and found themselves not in the English camp, but amid a French patrol, who carried them off at once to Mons.

King William's sole chance of rehabilitating his own reputation, and of compensating the Allies for the loss of Namur, lay in either retaking the place or in defeating the French in a decisive battle. The latter appeared to be the more feasible scheme of the two.

The second act of the campaign opened. The Brandenburg forces under Fleming and the Liégeois⁴⁵¹ under Count Cerclaes de Tilly were sent back to the Meuse to camp near Huy, and protect the country now exposed to the enemy's incursions from Namur, the troops of the Elector of Cologne, and others, co-operating also in this service. On the twenty-sixth of June William marched to Genappe.

The intention of the French leader was to rest satisfied with the acquisition of Namur and for the remainder of the season to act purely on the defensive, as long as he could do so without forfeiting the material advantage of consuming his adversary's country, and without permitting any scheme of

William's to draw to a head. Having completed his precautions for the safety of the late conquest, de Luxembourg had nothing further to do on that side of the country: his next step must be to get between Mons (and the Lines) and the Allies, for he was not in a condition for any fresh offensive action. Not only had fourteen battalions⁴⁴⁸ been left to garrison Namur, and forty-one more been sent to re-inforce⁴⁴⁸ the army of the Rhine, but the Commissariat Train was dreadfully reduced by the late siege, and both the men and horses of the whole army imperatively required a rest.

The position of the Allies at Saint Amand had prevented de Luxembourg from marching straight on Mons; he had therefore crossed the Sambre, and after halting for some days at Saint Gerard, he marched to Ham sur Heure. So worn out were the soldiers with continual trench duty or night alarms, exposure to wet, and irregular supplies, that it was with difficulty that they could get through a day's march: the stragglers were so numerous⁴⁴⁸ that strong bodies of troops had to be thrown out towards Charleroi and in rear in order to prevent serious loss.

On the twenty-seventh de Luxembourg re-crossed the Sambre between Thuin and La Bussiere and halted at Merbe-Potterie. M. d'Harcourt⁴⁴⁸ had been left on the Meuse to observe Fleming's corps; and de Boufflers remained always between the main army⁴⁴⁸ and the Sambre, regulating his movements by the distance of the Allies from the Sambre, and holding himself in readiness to strengthen de Luxembourg at any moment.

On the twenty-ninth de Luxembourg moved to Le Rœulx, and on the first to Soignies.⁴⁴⁸ Here he encamped with the Sennette and the town of Soignies in front, his left at Cauchie-Notre-Dame, and his right on the Bois de Naast.

De Luxembourg's motive in thus marching northwards appears to have been to prevent, by threatening Brussels, any attempt at a recapture of Namur;⁴⁴⁸ for news had arrived that preparations for such an enterprise were on hand at Liège; and the condition of the French Transport Trains rendered it impossible for de Luxembourg to stay at a distance from his dépôts for any length of time in a country devoured as was the district about Namur. While the French remained in the vicinity of the western garrisons William could not march to the Meuse.

William's plans on the other hand were to cause disquiet for

Namur by the reported preparations at Liège, leaving it at the same time uncertain whether he would not make a movement into the Sambre and Meuse district similar to that of last year ; by these and other means inducing de Luxembourg to weaken his army by corps of observation, and to then give battle.

One unaccountable move was made by William. He detached Comte d'Horne⁴⁵³ with eight thousand men to Ghent ; but if this step was taken in the hope of leading de Luxembourg to further weaken his army William should have made sure of the Comte's return in time for the expected battle. De Luxembourg did indeed make a detachment to observe d'Horne ; but, having a suspicion of William's intentions, he recalled it⁴⁵⁴ almost immediately : nevertheless, Comte d'Horne's corps did not rejoin until after the battle that shortly took place.

On the twenty-first of July William quitted Genappe for Halle.⁴⁵⁵ It was a long and wretched march ; rain fell throughout the day⁴⁵⁵ and the roads were made yet worse than before. The following day the march was continued to the other side of the Senne ;⁴⁵⁶ and the army encamped on the heights along the river, the left touching the Sennette at Tubise.

De Luxembourg⁴⁵³ upon this marched the same day to Enghien.

Ascending the river Sennette from Tubise, where the Allied left lay, about five miles up is the little village of Estinkerke.⁴⁵⁶ About three miles north of this village, and of the river, is the town of Enghien. The high road from Halle to Ath ran almost parallel with the river (*see* Ill. LIX), though a long way from it and from Estinkerke, until it passed through Enghien. It was in the space between the river, the village, and this high road that the battle which is now to be described was fought.

The right of the French camp rested at Estinkerke ; and the centre lay between Enghien and the village of Hoves on the Mons road.

The camp between Hoves and Estinkerke was on high ground with one long ravine stretching along the front as far as Enghien. On the extreme right of this ground, just above the

⁴⁵³ D'Auvergne.
De Beaurain.

De Quincy.
⁴⁵⁴ De Beaurain.

⁴⁵⁵ D'Auvergne.

⁴⁵⁶ Pronounced Steen-kaerk.

Sennette, was a wood called the Bois du Feuilly, and it was here that the ravine was at its narrowest: on the opposing hill were the Bois de Zoulmont and the Bois de Rouskou. Behind the eminences, on which stood these two last-named woods was another ravine, having three smaller ravines branching from it towards the French position, or rather towards the woods of Rouskou and Zoulmont. From the head of this ravine stretched a plateau of irregular form but nearly a mile across, dotted with farm houses, and relieved by hedges and small woods.

A glance at the plan will better convey an idea of the ground than any amount of written description.

The English King had all along been waiting a fair opportunity to attack de Luxembourg. It would be a great point to do this on ground where the cavalry, on which the French leader placed so much dependence, could not act: the ground about Enghien and Estinkerke was so uneven, and the few plateaux between the numerous ravines were so covered with fences, cottages, and wood, that any action in that vicinity would be a combat of infantry alone.

As if to tempt William to his destruction, an opportunity was just at this moment thrust upon him of surprising the French army by a ruse. The Elector of Bavaria had amongst his attendants a man named Jacquet.⁴⁵³ This fellow had become a great favourite, chiefly on account of his musical talent. His extraordinary compass of voice, and probably also his assuming manner, had procured him the nickname of "le Chevalier de Millevaix." The Elector had gradually permitted Jacquet to occupy the position of secretary or fac-totum rather than that of musician alone; and it was not without design that the wily Frenchman had thus striven to ingratiate himself with one of the Chiefs of the Allied army, for he was simply a spy.

It so happened that while the Allies lay at Halle, this Jacquet gave to a peasant a letter to carry to de Luxembourg. The peasant suspected some roguery, and, either from patriotic or mercenary motives, he took the letter to William's tent. He was bidden to keep a quiet tongue, but to bring anything more entrusted to him by Jacquet; and in a few days he accordingly produced another letter. The unsuspecting Jacquet was sent for to the King's tent; he was ushered in, and saw his own letters lying open on the table, and the peasant standing by. Upon this he fell down and begged for mercy: the reply was that he should be forthwith led out and shot if he did not instantly write whatever might be dictated to him.

Under these circumstances a letter was penned to de Luxembourg, informing him that on the morrow large bodies of the Allies would be on the move, but that he need not feel alarmed as they were only intending an extensive foraging expedition.⁴⁵⁷

De Luxembourg received in due course the letter from his spy. He had hitherto found him invariably well informed, and he did not doubt him now.

William, meantime, occupied himself in maturing the details of the purposed surprise, and it was not until evening that the orders for the morrow were made known.

This occasion affords an instance (and we may find many others) of the high opinion entertained by William of the superiority of his British soldiers as regards fighting qualities.⁴⁵⁸ Throughout the wars conducted by our Dutch King it is a prominent fact that wherever the hardest fighting was to be expected, wherever the most enduring courage or the most dashing gallantry would be required, thither William sent Englishmen. If the post of danger be the post of honour, the English troops assuredly occupied both at Estinkerke as well as in most of the general actions of this war.

The English regiments present with the army at this time were as follows:—⁴⁵⁹

HORSE.

The Life Guards.

„ Horse Grenadeer Guards.

„ Third Dragoon-Guards or Berkeley's (Ill. LVIII).

„ Fourth „ „ or Godfrey's.

„ Sixth „ „ or Wyndham's.

Langston's.

De Ruvigny's (Lord Galway).

DRAGOONS.

The Fourth Dragoons or Fitzhardinge's.

⁴⁵⁷ Berwick.

D'Auvergne.

De Feuquiere.

This did not save the wretched Chevalier de Millevoix, for he was hanged a few days later; D'Auvergne.

⁴⁵⁸ William III thus spoke in Parliament 23 Novr., 1695; "Upon this occasion I cannot but take notice of the courage and bravery the English troops have shewn " this last summer, which I may say has answered their highest character in any age: " and it will not be denied that without the concurrence of the valour and power of " England, it were impossible to put a stop to the ambition and greatness of France.

Foot.

First Foot Guards, 1st and 2nd Bns.	19th Foot, or Erle's.
Second „ „ 1st Bn.	21st „ „ O'Farrell's.
Third „ „ 1st and 2nd Bns.	25th „ „ Leven's, ^{488a}
1st Foot, or Douglas's (Two Bns.)	26th „ „ Angus's.
3rd „ „ Churchill's.	Fitzpatrick's regt., fusiliers
4th „ „ Trelawney's.	Castleton's „
6th „ „ Hesse's.	Cutts's „
7th „ „ Hamilton's.	Mackay's „
10th „ „ Bath's.	Graham's „
16th „ „ Hodges.	Lauder's „

^{488a} The TWENTY-FIFTH FOOT to the number of 800 men, was raised, armed, and appointed to guard Edinburgh, in a couple of hours: Gazette 28 March, 1689. The succession of Colonels, 1742. The Regt. was brought on to the Scotch Est. 19th March, 1689: Scotch Acts Parl. 19 and 21 March, 1689.

CHAPTER XIV.

THE WAR IN FLANDERS. CAMPAIGN OF 1692.
THE BATTLE OF ESTINKERKE.

1692. JULY 24 TO END OF SEPTEMBER.

March of the Allies to Estinkerke.—Preparations of the French.—Confusion of the Allied Column of march.—Commencement of the Action.—Death of General Mackay.—Effect upon the French.—The charge of the French and Swiss Guards.—Death of Sir Robert Douglas.—Conduct of Count Solmes.—Retreat of the English.—Charge of the Allied Dragoons.—Charge of the Lunenburg regiment.—Charge of the Tenth and the Buffs.—The combat on the Allied right.—The Retreat of the Allied Army.—The reasons of the failure at Estinkerke.—Losses of the two armies.—Conduct of the Princesse de Vaudemont.—Close of the Campaign.—Bombardment of Charleroi.

[For Illustrations, see Note on p. xiii.]

AN hour before day-break the advanced guard marched off while the rest of the army was falling in.⁴⁵⁹ First stepped off about one and thirty pioneers⁴⁵⁹ from Churchill's brigade, equipped with axes, picks, and spades, besides their arms and accoutrements. These men were to clear the way, to open fences, to cut down trees and chop away brushwood, so as to admit of at least one column marching unimpeded the whole way: all these pioneers⁴⁶⁰ were to receive a fatigue money of a ducat each. Following the pioneers came the second battalion of the First Foot-Guards,⁴⁵⁹ all armed with fusils and plug-bayonets as well as swords (except those who carried pikes). Next were two crack Danish regiments called the Guards and the Queen's.⁴⁵⁹ Then came the first battalion of the Royals, the Twenty-first or Scots Fusileers and Fitzpatrick's regiment of Fusileers.⁴⁵⁹ The Duc de Wirtemberg commanded the whole of this Division, which formed the van-guard.

Scarcely had the sun's first rosy streaks appeared on the horizon,⁴⁵⁹ when the whole army (with the exception of a small

⁴⁵⁹ D'Auvergne.⁴⁶⁰ The duties of pioneers were at this time considered degrading to the soldier because sometimes ordered by way of punishment; hence the payment: See Chap. XXVI on Punishments.

body left in camp as a baggage-guard) was in motion. Throughout the lovely summer morning, over the charming fresh meadows glittering with dew, that huge force moved along, like an enormous snake winding through the hedgerows, on its direful errand of violent death and bloodshed.

Numbers of those gallant English soldiers, as they tramped cheerfully onward, were going to their execution. The chatting was as free, the ribald jest and the thoughtless oath as unrestrained as usual: yet hundreds of those men were witnessing the glorious sun-rise for the last time, and were for the last time hearing the woods awake to a fresh day with a fresh song from amongst the branches. Now in the opening dawn they were a splendid band of strong and fearless men, exulting in their might and in their profession;—that night either in agonised suffering, with burning wounds and parched tongues, or in the rigidity of death, they would be lying helpless in the mire, trampled upon by horses and oxen, and stripped by miscreants, and none would heed them. Perchance in that bright morning march some few saw these things as in a vision; perchance here and there one whispered to a comrade a parting message for the home in England that neither would ever see more. Ah War! Glorious War! like Janus it has two faces: it has one magnificent in its manly beauty lit up with the consciousness of power and pride of victory; but it has another scarred, disfigured, bleeding, pitifully contorted with suffering, and full of supplication and reproach. When we enter Westminster Abbey, let us not forget to honour also the *unsepulchred* soldier.

De Luxembourg was not the general to be taken entirely by surprise: and notwithstanding his faith in his spy's information,⁴⁶¹ he had several parties of observation out. One of the largest of these was commanded by M. de Trassy or Tracey;⁴⁶² this party was stationed on the heights near Tubise. De Trassy sent word to his chief⁴⁶³ that the Allies were quitting their camp in silence; neither trumpet nor drum was to be heard,⁴⁶¹ and the circumstance was suspicious. They are foraging,⁴⁶³ thought de Luxembourg. The enemy marches towards Sainte Reynele, de Trassy advised.⁴⁶¹ They go to Ninove, decided de Luxembourg.

⁴⁶¹ De Luxembourg Dispatch of July 25/Aug. 4, 1692.

⁴⁶² D'Auvergne.

De Luxembourg.

⁴⁶³ De Bonneval, Mémoires, Lond. 1737.

De Feuquiere.

Berwick.

Another party sent to say that a large body of cavalry had appeared towards the Sennette, but that they had out mowers ;⁴⁶¹ the mowers were indeed at work, but only as a blind. It is then certain that they are bent only on foraging, was de Luxembourg's very natural conclusion. However, the duc, who happened that morning to be sick and disinclined to rise, got on horse-back and with his staff rode to the hill in front of his right,⁴⁶⁴ in order to decide whether there were danger of an attack or not.

A trooper rode up with a note from de Trassy⁴⁶¹ stating that the enemy had certainly guns out, and almost, if not quite, the whole of his army ; and that the direction taken was unmistakeably towards the French camp. Scarcely had de Luxembourg read the note when the English Guards⁴⁶⁴ appeared through the trees, making towards the very spot on which the French general was standing.

It was now nearly eleven o'clock.⁴⁵⁹ The Duc de Wirtemberg's Division debouched on to the plateau of the Bois de Rouskou (Ill. LIX). Pushing on across the ravine, de Wirtemberg stationed the Guards⁴⁵⁹ and the Danes in the Bois du Feuilly, and he placed the other three English battalions⁴⁵⁹ in front of the Bois de Zoulmont ; the two parties were thus separated by a ravine, the Guards and Danes being on a spur of the same plateau as the enemy, and the others having between them and the enemy the long ravine full of hedges and fences.⁴⁵⁹ De Wirtemberg posted some guns he had with him, one battery betwixt the woods, and one to the right of his Division.

De Luxembourg, having first sent an express to de Boufflers⁴⁶¹ to bid him come up speedily, had galloped away to stimulate his troops and to hasten the arrangements for checking the enemy. The French soldiers stood hurriedly to their arms : powder-horns were shaken and *gibecières* felt to make sure that they were full ; grass and rubbish were hastily pocketed for wadding. The officers moved briskly along the ranks, marshalling the men with pikes and partisans. Staff officers rode hither and thither, their plumes and sashes streaming to the wind, bringing up troops to the right : all was hurry and anxiety. But no confusion was there, in this the finest army in the world. De Luxembourg, energetic but never too excited, inspired his troops with confidence in him and in themselves.

⁴⁶¹ Berwick.

De Luxembourg.

The two regiments of Bourbonnois infantry had turned out first,⁴⁶⁵ they took up position slightly in advance of the right wing, just where they had their camp, and immediately facing the English regiments. A battery was brought to near the same spot to reply to de Wirtemberg's fire.⁴⁶⁵

On both sides there was displayed considerable skill in the working of the guns. A Captain Mackracken, of the Royals, proved a capital shot and had great success in laying the guns; he made one marvellously good aim,⁴⁶⁹ enfilading a whole rank of a French battalion so that nearly every man of it fell. On the other hand the left battery of the French (for more guns had come up) under an officer of the Commissariat named Roussel,⁴⁶⁵ never threw away a shot. For nearly two hours the firing continued.⁴⁶⁹

De Luxembourg lost not a moment of this valuable respite. The three regiments of Champagne⁴⁶⁵ and the French Household were brought up to the left of the Bourbonnois, so as to line the whole length of the ravine as far as the enemy extended on the other side of it. A second line strengthened the front,⁴⁶⁵ and in some places even a third and a fourth. On the extreme right were some regiments of dismounted dragoons which reached nearly to the brink of the river.⁴⁶⁵ In rear of the whole was a strong body of cavalry. Between the right and Enghien⁴⁶⁵ was more cavalry, prepared to cross the long ravine and act on the plateau beyond it.

The left of the position was not unprotected. The whole of the cavalry of the left wing was drawn out on advantageous ground: and as much infantry as could be spared from the right defence⁴⁶⁵ was posted behind Enghien in readiness to support on either side of the town.

Wherever it was possible in the time,⁴⁶⁶ trees were felled and laid as a sort of breastwork, and full advantage was taken of the hedges and copses⁴⁶⁷ which covered the face of the country. Meantime, the Allies were debouching from the narrow lanes, and through the gaps cut by the pioneers, at the Bois de Stordoi.

But a very grave oversight had been committed, and one which could not be rectified: the left wing of the cavalry had

⁴⁶⁵ De Luxembourg.

⁴⁶⁶ Sterne.

⁴⁶⁷ De Luxembourg.

De Bonneval.

D'Auvergne.

marched in front of the army, notwithstanding that William's desire had all along been to seek a combat of infantry and to evade one of cavalry. He had at much trouble sought an engagement at this particular spot because the ground did not admit of the action of cavalry, except in a very limited degree. Yet now that the time for action had arrived, the infantry could not get to the front, because the narrow ways were blocked up with masses of cavalry:⁴⁶⁸ the main body of infantry was a mile off when the battle began.

Fortunately there were several English Foot regiments interlined with that portion of the English cavalry which was leading; and these were brought to the front, the Horse drawing up aside to suffer them to pass.⁴⁶⁸ The Cameronians, with Cutts's, Graham's, and Mackay's, were advanced to the right of de Wirtemberg's Division;⁴⁶⁸ and the Sixth, and Twenty-fifth, with Lauder's, supported the front line.

The whole of the rest of the English cavalry was also ordered to the front,⁴⁶⁸ and it formed up on a small hedge-intersected plain to the right rear of the infantry.

This was the first occasion on which a whole brigade of British regular cavalry was engaged on the Continent, and a finer body there was not on the field. To the right were the Life Guards (Ill. LX) in their scarlet clothing covered with gold and silver lace, carbine on knee, and all superbly mounted: the Third and Fourth Dragoon-Guards,⁴⁶⁸ the Carabineers, and Langston's Horse, made up the heavy brigade; the Fourth Dragoons being there also.

Thus nearly the whole of the troops upon whom the burden of the fight devolved were English.

About half past twelve de Wirtemberg gave orders for the attack.⁴⁶⁸ The Guards and the Danes led off. Almost at the same time the Royals,⁴⁶⁸ Twenty-first (Ill. LXI), and Fitzpatrick's fusileers advanced. With that advance (slow, steady, and cool), for which our soldiers have since become so famed, the red line moved unhesitatingly forward, a dark gap appearing every moment at each discharge of the enemy's cannon. The slope was covered with hedge-rows:⁴⁶⁹ the French guns were so near the brow of the hill that a terrible fire could be poured down point blank: the Frenchmen, sheltered behind fences or felled wood, were enabled unhindered to rain bullets upon their advancing foe.

⁴⁶⁸ D'Auvergne.

⁴⁶⁹ De Feuquiere.

The Danes and the Guards,⁴⁶⁸ being nearest the enemy, were first engaged; and with such mettle did they charge that they drove the French dragoons⁴⁷⁰ and the Brigade Bourbonnois back on to the second line, and even held their supports in check; ⁴⁷¹ the Guards capturing a battery which they proceeded to turn on to its late masters.⁴⁷²

The Royals and the two Fusileer regiments were also by this time face to face with the enemy: the summit of the slope was reached: a thick fence only separated the combatants,⁴⁶⁸ who fired at one another through it. It was a frightful duel at ten paces on a multiplied scale. This sort of work did not suit Englishmen, and Sir Robert Douglas (who had been ransomed since his capture at Mons)⁴⁶⁸ bade the Royals fall on, and himself led the way through the hedge: the men readily followed⁴⁶⁸ and drove the enemy before them. The remaining regiments of English infantry supported, and presently extended the attack to the right.⁴⁶⁸ The retiring French regiments had soon become possessed of another line of fences, and thus the battle continued for two hours,⁴⁶⁸ each hedge being contested at arm's length: the muzzles of the musquets met in the branches,⁴⁶⁸ and the slaughter was terrific. The young Earl of Angus, Colonel of the Cameronians,⁴⁶⁸ fell in the *mêlée*, and so sharp was the strife that none could tell when or where he was slain: the poor lad was but twenty years of age. Lieutenant General Mackay⁴⁶⁸ also fell at the head of his regiment: when the orders came for the attack, he had sent back his opinion⁴⁷³ to Count Solmes that to attack such an immense force without having any infantry ready to support, would be to sacrifice life for no object. The aide-de-camp returned to say that he was to advance. "The will of the Lord be done"⁴⁷³ was all the remark the stern Scotchman made as he obeyed. Colonel Wacup⁴⁶⁸ who led the Guards also fell here, as did many other principal officers.

The men were not deterred from pushing on by the sight of so much bloodshed. The French fought bravely, but could not overcome the bull-dog tenacity of the British troops. The latter had again formed one line, although that line was much thinned; and the better to hold their ground until supports

⁴⁷⁰ De Feuquiere. Berwick. De Bonneval. Lord Colchester in House of Commons 21 Nov., 1692.

⁴⁷¹ D'Auvergne. De Feuquiere. De Bonneval. Burnet. Berwick. Carleton.

⁴⁷² De Feuquiere. Burnet.

⁴⁷³ Burnet.

should arrive, they had protected part of their line by *chevaux de frise*.⁴⁷⁴ They were but thirteen battalions against an immense army.

Yet de Luxembourg⁴⁷⁴ found it necessary to fuse two battalions into one in order to render it strong enough to make a stand against these Islanders, who fought like demons and who would not retreat one yard so long as they could hold it, even though their annihilation was certain. A large gap was caused by this fusion of battalions,⁴⁷⁴ and other regiments were ordered up to stop it. These regiments had witnessed the whole combat from their posts in rear, and such an impression had the chivalrous bearing of the English made upon them, that they absolutely refused to advance against such men.⁴⁷⁵

One of the Colonels,⁴⁷⁴ Colonel Paulier, who also commanded a brigade, rode to the front, and by gesture and speech begged and prayed his men to come on: it was in vain, and the unfortunate Colonel was shot whilst still in the act of urging his own regiment at least to follow him. The Prince de Conti⁴⁷⁴ had a second horse shot under him while adding his entreaties to those of Colonel Paulier.

The English were almost in the French camp.⁴⁶⁸ The Royals had pushed on until they pierced a fourth line of fences.⁴⁶⁸ If only the main body of the Allied infantry should come up, it would go hardly with the French. It was imperative even now that de Luxembourg should make a grand effort to revive the failing spirits of his troops,⁴⁷⁴ and drive back the English 'ere reinforcements arrived to sustain them. The French Generals, and even the Princes,⁴⁷⁶ were obliged to head the awe-stricken soldiers, and the picked regiments of the army were hurried to the front.⁴⁷⁵ The brigades of the French and Swiss Guards came gaily to the charge; the duc de Bourbon, the Princes de Conti and de Turenne,⁴⁷⁶ and even the young duc de Chartres, headed the line. Not a musquet was fired by these regiments: ⁴⁷⁴ with pikes advanced and swords drawn, they came on against the weak line of red-coats now reduced to half its original strength. But the red-coats did not quail; ⁴⁷⁴ they fought as only Britons do fight against overwhelming numbers.

⁴⁷⁴ De Luxembourg.

⁴⁷⁵ De Luxembourg.
Berwick.

D'Auvergne.

⁴⁷⁶ De Luxembourg.
D'Auvergne.

The struggle was man to man. The Foot-Guards were opposed to the three regiments of Swiss Guards, and found in them foes worthy of themselves. Lord Cutts, ever to the front, was wounded,⁴⁶⁸ as was Colonel Lauder and several other field officers, while many were killed. An equal number fell on the French side ; and the Prince de Turenne was mortally, and the Duc de Chartres slightly, wounded.

A party of Frenchmen having charged through a hedge, succeeded in capturing one of the Colours of the Royals. Sir Robert Douglas observed them making to the rear with their prize.⁴⁷⁷ Dashing through the hedge the brave Scotch gentleman attacked the party single-handed, cut down the officer who possessed the Colour, and was re-crossing the fence when a ball struck him. Feeling himself sinking, the last thought of his life was for the honour of his regiment : with all his remaining strength he flung the Colour over to his men, and fell to the earth dead.⁴⁷⁷

All this while the Allies were still disengaging their main body from the defiles. The want of room for formation, on debouching on to the open, rendered the delay the more serious.⁴⁷⁸ Count Solmes, who commanded here, had at first ordered the cavalry forward⁴⁷⁹ instead of at once getting the infantry to the front. As soon as the King heard of this error he rectified it, but it was too late.⁴⁸⁰ The mischief had been done. However, a Brigade of Foot was got to the right of the Bois Rouskou⁴⁸⁰ and other regiments were re-inforcing Count Solmes at every moment.

Several messages were sent to this General from the front asking for support. It is said that he refused,⁴⁷⁸ saying, "Damn them (the English) they are very fond of fighting ; now let them have a belly-full of it."

Why he did not send forward supports has never been satisfactorily explained ; whether from over-caution, from error of judgment, or from a base indulgence of his feelings of hatred to the English, and as an act of revenge for their unconcealed dislike to him, is uncertain. What is certain is, that he neglected to send aid when it lay in his power to do so ; and it is equally sure that his conduct, if it did not forfeit a victory that was to

⁴⁷⁷ Carleton.

⁴⁷⁸ Proceedings of Ho. of Commons, 21 Novr., 1692.

Carleton.

⁴⁷⁹ Sterne.

⁴⁸⁰ D'Auvergne,

be fairly counted upon, did at all events ensure the defeat that ensued.

The pressure of so many troops^{480a} upon the gallant men whose deeds have been so feebly recounted, could scarcely overcome their indomitable resolution. Close in front of them half obscured by smoke, lay the French camp: it was theirs if they could but hold on a little longer, and they kept their ground hoping on for the supports that never came. More and more scanty grew their ranks, and at length the mere weight of the enemy sufficed to push them back. Fresh troops were coming up⁴⁷⁶ from the enemy's rear at every instant, and de Boufflers's reserve added volume to the human waves that came rolling overwhelmingly on to the battered wreck of the British battalions.⁴⁷⁶

All was done that the arm of man, or the heart of heroes, could accomplish. Slowly the Englishmen fell back. The batteries were perforce left to the enemy. The passage through the wood forced into disorder the shot-riddled ranks; and even now the remnant of this band of martyrs to a sense of duty, and to the stupidity or brutality of an individual, would have been cut off, had not relief been at hand.

The use of Dragoon or Mounted Infantry regiments was forcibly illustrated at this juncture. Until the enemy gained the open the cavalry could not charge: there was no infantry near. The Fourth and Eppinger's Dragoons, together with the Horse Granadeers,⁴⁸⁰ rode forward and dismounted: while every eleventh man took charge of the horses, the rest advanced to the right of the wood and charged the enemy, thus gaining time for the Foot to come up. They even broke the regiment of Orleans⁴⁸¹ and the Dauphin's Dragoon's, Eppinger's men taking a standard from the latter.⁴⁸⁰

The Baron Pibrack's regiment of Lunenburgers⁴⁸⁰ was brought up, but the enemy also received re-inforcements. The dragoons re-mounted and retired. The Lunenburgers were thrown into disorder.⁴⁸⁰

Prince Casimir of Nassau hurried two English regiments⁴⁸⁰

^{480a} Procs. Ho. of Commons, 21 Novr., 1692: Lord Colchester stated that he had seen the French defeated, but "that their very weight of men bore us down."

⁴⁸¹ De Luxembourg. "Le regiment d'Orleans et les Dragons (Dauphin) qui s'étaient ralliés ensemble." To "rally" they must have been broken. D'Auvergne mentions that these regiments charged on foot and took a standard, but does not say when they charged. The time of their going into action is proved by a comparison of D'Auvergne (who mentions the Dauphin's Dragoons) and de Luxembourg's dispatch.

to their support, one being the Tenth (Ill. LXII) and the other the Buffs. Sir Bevil Granville who led the Tenth ordered both regiments to withhold their fire⁴⁸⁰ until they were muzzle to muzzle with the Frenchmen. Coolly as if on parade the Buffs and the Tenth marched down the slope and into that valley of death, never firing a musquet⁴⁸² until the enemy's fire had been given: then delivering a fearfully destructive volley point blank, they so staggered the French battalions that they were able to hold the ravine⁴⁸⁰ until the retreat of the Lunenburgers and Wirtemberg's Division had been made good.

During this combat in the ravine two sergeants of the Tenth,⁴⁸⁰ seeing the Colonel of the Lunenburgers shot down in trying to rally his men, made a rush in the face of the enemies' fire, and bore off the wounded Baron from under their very feet.

When King William saw the shattered fragment of his splendid British regiments⁴⁸³ appear on the plateau beyond the ravine, he exclaimed with tears in his eyes, "Oh my poor English, how they have been left to die!"

William could not but see that all was over, and he proceeded to make his arrangements for a retreat.

It had been necessary towards the close of the action to distract the enemy's left⁴⁸⁴ which had been advanced in front of Enghien under cover of the smoke of some burning farm-houses, and might have overlapped the Allied right. The cavalry was ordered to retire⁴⁸⁴ and some Dutch and Danish infantry engaged the enemy, keeping him in check and at one time gaining considerable advantage.⁴⁸⁴ These battalions were now withdrawn, and William drew up in line on the plateau beyond the ravine as many battalions as the ground would permit of;⁴⁸⁰ and again the English were selected for the post of difficulty.

The First battalion of the Coldstream Guards, the Seventh Fusileers,⁴⁸⁰ and the Sixteenth Foot, were among the regiments forming the line of protection.⁴⁸⁵ Under cover of this line the rest of the army retired, and entered again the narrow ways by which the morning's march had been accomplished.

⁴⁸² D'Auvergne.

Sterne.

⁴⁸³ Tindal.

⁴⁸⁴ De Luxembourg.

D'Auvergne.

⁴⁸⁵ It is more than probable that the line consisted wholly of English battalions; for the English troops were always kept together in Brigades, and we find the retreat afterwards covered by the Granadeers of the different English regiments.

The enemy brought up a battery of ten guns⁴⁸⁰ to fire on the covering line, and a good many men were knocked over; Colonel Hodges of the Sixteenth being killed as he rode in front of his regiment.⁴⁸⁰

As soon as all the columns of march had been got under weigh, the covering line also struck on to the road, and the Granadeers⁴⁸⁰ of the different English regiments brought up the rear. The French followed till dark,⁴⁸⁶ and every now and again the British Granadeers would face about and compel them to halt,⁴⁸⁰ whenever they pressed too closely on the retreating army. The retreat was admirably conducted⁴⁸⁴ and in the greatest order: and at length the long day closed in. The last tint of summer twilight stole imperceptibly from the face of the landscape. The din of fire-arms ceased. The uproar and smoke and strife and carnage of the battle-field gave place to the long, dim, and deserted vistas of forest-trees, or the quiet stillness of dewy country lanes. No noise was heard except the clink of accoutrements, and the monotonous tramp of the wearied men. Even the horses hung their heads and moved stiffly with fatigue: several guns had been abandoned⁴⁸⁰ because the animals were too tired to drag them back to camp.

The army arrived at the camp in the coldest and most dispiriting hour of the twenty-four,⁴⁸⁰ and at nearly the same hour at which de Wirtemberg had started on the previous morning.

Several grave faults had been committed by King William in this action. The design of surprising the French by the perversion of their most reliable source of intelligence was excellent. The dispositions for the march were equally good with the single exception already noticed. No undertaking could be more promising. The best generals of the day opined that, had William proved as able in executing the details as in sketching the general outline of the enterprise, defeat must have inevitably fallen to de Luxembourg.

William's errors lay; firstly, in not obtaining more accurate information as to the nature of the ground,^{480a} which was believed to be much less broken and difficult than it proved.

⁴⁸⁶ De Luxembourg.
Berwick.
D'Auvergne.

^{486a} Proc. House of Commons, 21 Novr., 1692: Colonel Earle, who was a M. of Parlt. and present at the action, gave this as the chief cause of the defeat. Lord Colchester was of the same opinion.

Secondly, in permitting his advance-guard to get too far to the front, thus necessitating a choice between two evils: either the advance must attack without certainty of support, or the advantage of an immediate surprise must be foregone. Thirdly, in making the march with a large body of cavalry in front. The ways were known to be strait and difficult: it was so much expected that the combat would be one of infantry only, that this was one of William's principal grounds of hope of success. Yet the battle was in great measure lost, because the Foot could not be brought to the front unless through masses of cavalry. Fourthly, in attacking in a front instead of in several columns: the ground in rear of the French camp was even more cut up and intersected by ravines and fences than that in its front. The French general naturally looked upon the front of his camp as his fighting ground; and, deprived of this, the evils of his situation would have been greatly aggravated: columns of attack would, by the nature of their strength, have pierced the enemy's position and thus deprived him of the advantage of forming a front of resistance. The question would have become one, not of giving battle, but of avoiding annihilation. Fifthly, in attacking the enemy at one point only, and thus enabling him to concentrate all his force at the one point of defence:—no threatening of the French left; no batteries flanking the enemy from the heights beyond the river; no skilful concealment of the main attack! only a stupid concentration of the several lines of march into one long unmeaning column converging on a single point of attack, to be reached only through narrow defiles opening on to a plateau where scarcely three regiments could form a front.

The fault of not supporting the regiments that did so much and suffered so dreadfully, was in great part a consequence of the more primary errors. That Count Solmes could, however, have afforded better assistance to the English, if he had chosen to do so, was certainly the general opinion.

The English soldiers were furious with Solmes; they declared that his behaviour was too strange to be accounted for except by the presumption of selfish and wicked malice. Bitter and lasting was the hatred against him. Even the King himself was so disgusted⁴⁸⁷ that he could not bear the sight of the man for months afterwards; and no measured

⁴⁸⁷ Sterne.
Tindal.

censure was passed upon the Count in the English House of Commons.⁴⁸⁸

Truly, in this the first battle of the British Standing Army on the Continent, prophetic type was given of the "army of lions" too often to be "led by asses."⁴⁸⁹ When we review the action at Estinkerke we know not which prevails, the admiration evoked by the valour and heroic tenacity of the British soldiers, or the exasperation and contempt aroused by the incapacity of those who commanded them.

The total loss of the Allies was about three thousand killed,⁴⁹⁰ about the same number wounded, and thirteen hundred taken prisoners. Almost every individual captured had been badly wounded.⁴⁹⁰ The English regiments lost two colours, and the foreign battalions some three or four more.

The loss of the French was scarcely less severe,⁴⁹¹ amounting to at least seven thousand killed and wounded.

This battle is, for the numbers engaged, one of the most bloody on record. Of the Allies there were but twenty-six battalions⁴⁹² actually engaged besides two regiments of dragoons, in all about fifteen thousand men, of whom eight thousand were English: and it was by so small a body of men that all this mighty loss of life was caused or suffered. The regiments which had crossed the ravine were reduced to mere skeletons. Some battalions had to be sent into garrison⁴⁹² for the remainder of the campaign, so sadly had they been mauled. Among the worst sufferers were the First Foot-Guards,⁴⁹² the Sixth, and Cutts's regiment.

⁴⁸⁸ Proceedings of the House of Commons, 21 Novr., 1692.

⁴⁸⁹ This was the cutting and too well founded criticism passed upon the British army by the Russians during the late Crimean campaign.

⁴⁹⁰ De Luxembourg.

D'Auvergne.

R. Waring (Life Gds.) to Ellis 8 Aug., 1692, Brit. Mus. Add. MSS. 28,926 gives a detailed list of killed and wounded by ranks, as follows:

Colonels	K.	10	W.	11	
Other F. Offrs.		17		18	
Other Offrs.		139		281	
N.C. Offrs.		138		105	
Ptes.		4,409		3,130	
		<u>4,713</u>		<u>3,545</u>	Total
				<u>8,258</u>	

⁴⁹¹ De Beaurain.

D'Auvergne.

De Quincy; Detailed lists.

⁴⁹² D'Auvergne.

The next few days were occupied in removing the wounded and burying the dead. The brave Douglas was interred within the camp at Halle. The body of the youthful leader of the Cameronians was not to be found anywhere; ⁴⁹² it had probably been overlooked and buried on the field with his more humble comrades. The wounded were carted off to Brussels. The hospitals were soon filled, and by the evening after the battle the poor men were lying about the streets, waiting to be cared for.⁴⁹²

It does not appear that the curdle-blooded inhabitants bestirred themselves greatly to relieve the tortures incurred in their defence. It came, however, to the knowledge of the Princess of Vaudemont ⁴⁹² that the gallant soldiers, whose deeds were still fresh in her ears, were lying wounded and neglected on the public pavements. This lady immediately herself set off in her coach to seek out the sufferers. The light of the torches borne by her servants revealed many a dark nook whither some poor mourning red or blue-coat had crawled to die. The coach and the servants made repeated journeys, carrying each time to the palace of the Princess a fresh load of wounded men. Doctors had been summoned; and the Princess and her ladies themselves nursed their guests, tearing up their linen to furnish bandages, and doing all that nobility of disposition aided by the gentleness of woman could accomplish towards assuaging the sufferings of the heroes of Estinkerke. Many a blessing was invoked on these kind women in Danish, Dutch, or English. Doubtless for years to come, by many a cottage fireside in Devonshire or across the Tweed was the tale told of the gentle Princess who did not disdain with her own soft hands to dress the wounds of the rough private soldier, and doubtless many a lassie and many a wife sent up prayers in after days for the saviour of her sweetheart or her husband.

The French, by their unexpected success in repelling the Allies at Estinkerke, were relieved from further apprehensions for the safety of Namur: but so desirous were they of avoiding another brush at present with such foes, that when they quitted their camp at Enghien, they marched in the strictest silence, the troops getting under arms without beat of drum,⁴⁹² and the pikemen trailing their long pikes lest the glittering points should attract the attention of the enemy's scouts.

It is not worth while to detail the movements of the next few weeks, for virtually the campaign was at an end, both

armies marching to the Scheldt only in order to occupy advantageous winter quarters.

Ten English regiments,⁴⁹³ joined by fifteen more which had just arrived from England under the Duke of Leinster, possessed themselves of Furnes and Dixmude, and the garrisons were set to repair the fortifications.

Two curious circumstances are recorded as having occurred during the repairs at Dixmude.

One afternoon, while parties were at work on the fortifications, a violent earth-quake took place. The soldiers thought the French were blowing up the whole place with hidden mines,⁴⁹² and the peasants employed as navvies were terrified almost out of their senses. It is worthy of remark that this earth-quake, which was felt over the whole of Europe, happened in the same year as did the frightful earth-quake at Port-Royal, though considerably later.

A few days after this an incident occurred of a far more pleasing character to those affected by it. Parties of the Royal Fusileers and the Tenth were hard at work enlarging and deepening the ditch of the place.⁴⁹² Suddenly a shout was heard from a little knot of diggers. Those nearest ran up to see what was the matter, and found gold and silver glittering in the dirt. As may be imagined, the men fell pell-mell in a heap, clutching and scrambling, pulling and yelling. The money was soon all scratched rather than dug up, and some of the soldiers secured a good deal. Altogether there were about five hundred pounds. It was an odd thing that the treasure should have been thus discovered accidentally and by strangers ; for it had been buried a great number of years before by a man named Elfort, and Elfort had in his will bequeathed this money and had left instructions to guide his heirs to the spot where it was concealed. Many searches had been made, but in vain. There was little chance now however of any Court of Law recovering the money for the heirs : in every likelihood it all found its way that same night into the sutlers' shops, and equally probably purchased for the lucky treasure-trovers a night in the provost-guard and a morning ride on the wooden horse.

⁴⁹³ D'Auvergne. The regts. from home were : The 2nd, 5th, 8th, 12th, 13th, 14th, 18th, 23rd, 24th, and 27th ; besides Sir David Collier's regt., the Earl of Argyle's, and three regts. of French Protestants.

The French closed the campaign by a bombardment of Charleroi, the sole object of which was to furnish matter of triumph to the Paris papers. The mischief done however, especially by destroying great quantities of forage and other stores, exercised considerable influence on the fate of Charleroi in the ensuing campaign.⁴⁹⁴

⁴⁹⁴ In addition to the authorities quoted in detail, the following have been consulted ;

London Gazettes.

De Quincy.

De Beaurain.

CHAPTER XV.

THE WAR IN FLANDERS. CAMPAIGN OF 1693.
FROM THE COMMENCEMENT OF THE CAMPAIGN TO THE
BATTLE OF NEERWINDEN.

1693. JANU. TO JULY 18/28.

Operations during the winter.—Capture of Furnes and Dixmude by the French.—Opening of the campaign.—Plans of the French.—Movements of the Allies.—The camp at Parck.—The British Contingent.—Change in the enemy's plans.—Movements of the French.—The expedition against the Lines of the Scheldt.—The battle of Dottignies and forcing of the French Lines.

[*For Illustrations, see Note on p. xiii.*]

OUR attention is again first claimed by the French.

They had made their customary good use of the winter. Not only had large supplies been stored in the dépôts between Tournai and the Sambre,⁴⁹⁵ and an Artillery train amounting to more than two hundred pieces of Ordnance been collected on the Meuse and the Scheldt; but also twelve fresh Foot regiments had been raised,⁴⁹⁶ promotions and rewards had been dealt out with no niggard hand, and a new military Order had been instituted.⁴⁹⁶ Every thing had been done that might be calculated to raise the spirits of the troops and to inspire both officers and men with confidence in the result of the coming campaign.

The vigour of the French executive did not limit itself to these preparatory measures. De Boufflers⁴⁹⁵ had during the winter been sent to take Furnes. He had swooped down upon the place in his customary sudden manner. Huy was invested at the same time by M. de Guiscard,⁴⁹⁵ and M. de Villars created a further distraction by feigned movements⁴⁹⁵ on the Dender. The weather was at its worst; the roads were thigh-deep in mud and slush.⁴⁹⁷ The Allied regiments marching to

⁴⁹⁵ De Beaurain.

⁴⁹⁶ The Order of St. Louis.

⁴⁹⁷ D'Auvergne.

De Villars.

De Beaurain.

the relief of Furnes from Bruges, Ghent, and the coast, could scarcely make a day's march in four days. The Artillery and wagons could barely be got along: every few yards there was a halt⁴⁹⁷ while some wagon or gun was being extricated from the slough. In several instances the traces had to be cut, and the animals left to flounder out or actually to sink and die stifled in the mud.

Under such circumstances no relief was possible,⁴⁹⁷ and Furnes fell again into the hands of the French, Count d'Horn with the Dutch garrison marching out with honours (*see* III. LXXVIII).

Dixmude followed, being of necessity evacuated upon the loss of Furnes,⁴⁹⁷ seeing that the French also occupied the Fort of Knocke.

These things had occurred at the beginning of the year, and the rains continued until late in the Spring.⁴⁹⁸ The consequent impracticability of the roads, and lateness of the forage-harvest, deferred the commencement of the active operations of the season. It was not before the middle of May that the armies took the field.

The French assembled two armies; one under de Boufflers at Tournai,⁴⁹⁹ the other under de Luxembourg at Givries: the latter numbered about twenty-four thousand cavalry and forty-seven thousand Foot;⁴⁹⁵ the former seventeen thousand cavalry and thirty-one thousand infantry. Besides these, a corps of four thousand five hundred men⁴⁹⁵ was left with M. de la Valette to guard the Lines: and a body of cavalry under the Marquis d'Harcourt was stationed beyond the Meuse for purposes of observation.⁴⁹⁵

The French plan of campaign was to confine the war to the Meuse. To threaten Huy and Liège would be advisable, not alone because these places might possibly be captured, but also because it would have the double effect of removing the war from the vicinity of the Lines of the Scheldt, and of weakening the enemy's main army both by withdrawing from it the Liège and Brandenburg Contingents (for the defence of their own frontier) and by confining the large garrisons of the Meuse to the walls of the endangered fortresses.

The experience of the previous year suggested the adoption

⁴⁹⁸ D'Auvergne.

⁴⁹⁹ De Beaurain.

D'Auvergne.
Berwick.

of the same arrangement as had been found so effective in the case of Namur. De Boufflers was to execute the enterprises that might be resolved upon, while de Luxembourg fended off the Allied army.

On the twenty-third of May de Boufflers marched to Gemblours,⁴⁹⁵ which he reached on the twenty-eighth, de Luxembourg moving also, and on that day marching from Bassy to Tourine-les-Ordons (Ill. LXIII). The army had been delayed for a few days, waiting for the King⁴⁹⁵ who was prevented by indisposition from joining before the twenty-third.

The Allies had rendezvoused between Louvain and Brussels;⁴⁹⁸ de Wirtemberg at the same time collecting a force at Ghent, and a small force of cavalry being also retained on the Meuse. As soon as the enemy was well on his route eastwards,⁴⁹⁸ King William called in all his forces; and, without waiting for the junction of those most remote, marched at once to Parck in order to cover Brussels and Upper Brabant. Whether the lessons of Mons, Beaumont, and Namur, had made a deep impression, or whether false information had been obtained respecting the enemy's movements, does not appear; but William was at all events so determined not to be late on this occasion⁴⁹⁸ that he made the whole march from Dieghem in one day. Those who have been in the neighbourhood of Brussels in summer can testify to the intensity of the heat there. The heat this year was greater than usual,⁴⁹⁸ and its effect upon the atmosphere was the more oppressive because of the unusual moisture of the earth. Numbers of men in this march fell out and became stragglers, and several fell dead in the ranks.⁴⁹⁸

The camp at Parck occupied a very inaccessible position. The right of the camp touched the river Dyle⁵⁰⁰ about four miles above Louvain, forming an acute angle with the river: the left was thus equally distant from Louvain. In front of the right was an impenetrable forest called generally the Bois de Merdael, and this was bounded by the Louvain-Namur road which passed through the centre of the camp. The extreme left lay on a rising ground and was also covered by woods: in front of the left wing ran a stream with very deep banks, and beyond this stream was the Bois de Bierbeck. The only ways into the position were by a break that existed in the Bois de Bierbeck and by the Namur road. The former was commanded

⁵⁰⁰ D'Auvergne.
De Beaurain.

					Battns.
Churchill's Brigade.	{	1st Foot or "Royal Regt."...	...	...	2
		2nd „	...	...	I
		3rd „	...	...	I
		4th „	...	...	I
		7th „ or "The Fusileers"	...	...	I
		10th „	...	...	I
Erle's Brigade.	{	14th „	...	...	I
		16th „	...	...	I
		19th „	...	...	I
		Collingwood's regt.	...	...	I
Ramsay's Brigade.	{	21st Foot, or "Scot's Fusileers"	...	...	I
		25th „	...	...	I
		26th „	...	...	I
		Graham's regt.	...	...	I
		Argyle's „	...	...	I
		Lauder's „	...	...	I
		Mackay's „	...	...	I

23

Totals : Cavalry, 22 Sq. at 150	=	Men. 3,300
Infantry, 23 Battns. at 600	=	13,800
Total British Contingent	-	<u>17,100</u>

The total strength of the Army at Parck was twenty-three thousand cavalry, and thirty-eight thousand infantry.⁴⁹⁸ The Elector of Bavaria and the Prince of Nassau-Saarbruck commanded the foreign cavalry; the duc de Wirtemberg, Prince Casimir of Nassau, and Count Solmes, the infantry.

The difficulties in the way of the designs on Liège and Huy gradually assumed such magnitude as to compel the French to change their plans. Louis Quatorze was disappointed. He had come to Flanders intending to take Liège as he had taken Namur. He had brought his ladies with him⁵⁰¹ and for these there was to be a grand spectacle; there would be a theatrical siege, or rather blockade, of a picturesque and not dangerous nature, while de Luxembourg kept the stage clear. A magnificent success would be achieved. The King would return to Versailles in all the triumph of a Roman Emperor. Epic poems would be composed by the Court poets; Liège scarfs or gauntlets would supersede the fashionable Estinkerke handkerchiefs and gloves; and the King would sit for another year to receive the easily earned flattery of those who pretended to esteem him the greatest of modern warriors. But Liège could not be taken unless Huy were captured first. At Liège was a vast intrenched

⁵⁰¹ Burnet.
Berwick.

camp full of troops ;⁵⁰² at Parck was William with sixty thousand men ; and the Allies also held Charleroi and Maestricht. Huy was well prepared for a siege ; there was no traitor within the walls ; the garrison would certainly fight, and William would as certainly strain every nerve to relieve the place, which would be much more difficult to cover than Namur had been. Perhaps the Grand Monarque, this modern *Veni Vidi Vici* conqueror, might get hurt. This was not what he came for : it was altogether better to leave all these vulgar hazardous details of warfare to de Luxembourg. The French King went home with the ladies.

The pretext made use of was that it had become necessary to prosecute the war in Germany with greater vigour, and the Dauphin⁴⁹⁹ was sent thither with thirty thousand of de Luxembourg's troops. After this, although still superior in force to the Allies, de Luxembourg was compelled to a more cautious line of action.⁵⁰³ He does not appear to have had any fixed plans, when on the fifth of June he moved nearer to the Allies and encamped between Meldert and Bossu.

A very difficult ravine and the Nethe river covered his front, and by bowing his centre rear-wards a fair ground for cavalry was secured.

De Luxembourg had hoped to be able to attack the Allied left by filling the woods with skirmishers and advancing the cavalry under cover of their fire,⁴⁹⁵ a diversion being made at the same time on the Namur road. But the forests were too dense, the defiles too strait, the sides of the stream on the Allied left too steep. Moreover, the Allies had so many bridges over the Dyle that, if they wished it, they could avoid an engagement altogether.

Both armies remained thus at bay for some time. Nothing of importance occurred : the troops suffered a good deal from wet weather,⁴⁹⁸ especially one night when there was a terrific thunder-storm. Where the camp lay low the tents were set swimming, the baggage was ruined, and the stores of the sutlers were swept away or spoiled.

The forests between the armies afforded great facilities to deserters from either side. The Swiss especially deserted from the French,⁴⁹⁸ and the Irish Roman Catholics from the Allies.

⁵⁰² Berwick.

D'Auvergne.

⁵⁰³ De Beaurain's account of his plans does not appear to me to be borne out by the facts.

To such an extent was desertion carried on, that William offered ten pounds and a free discharge to any soldier bringing in a deserter ;⁴⁹⁸ and de Luxembourg had to take like measures on his side.

Charleroi was the one restraining cord which tethered the French to their own frontier and prevented them from remaining longer encamped in front of the Allies. The difficulties of either army arose solely from their Commissariat. William's forage was obtained from the middle of Holland.⁴⁹⁸ As for the French, every loaf of bread consumed by them, every truss of hay, every bushel of corn, had to be brought from the Meuse ; every chest of money had to be drawn, and every bullock had to be driven, some forty miles through a country patrolled by the garrisons of Huy and Charleroi. The garrison of Charleroi was able to cut off convoys from Mons as well as from Namur, but the dépôt at Mons had been early exhausted. The governor of Charleroi had been most energetic : not only did he harrass the French Commissariat,⁴⁹⁸ but he even pierced the enemy's new lines between Mons and the Sambre, levying contributions, driving off cattle, and doing much damage.

The French escorts were small armies,⁴⁹⁸ and posts had to be established on the road from the frontier to the camp. But notwithstanding every precaution the convoys suffered great losses. The major portion of the supplies might eventually reach camp, but the troops were harrassed and fatigued ; and, what was worse, the wagons and horses or oxen were often captured or rendered unserviceable. The roads in this district were not good,⁴⁹⁵ and the heavy rains made them still worse. Soon the French Commissariat Train was unfit to maintain the supplies,⁴⁹⁵ much less to move the army further into the enemy's country.

But de Luxembourg still held on. He was gaining doubly by remaining where he was. He held the Allies in check on their own ground ; and the country was being so consumed that it would presently become difficult for the Allies to follow him if he should attempt anything on the Meuse.

The French general tried to counteract the defects of his train by forming a dépôt at Judoigne. Commissariat works were set up there,⁴⁹⁵ and six hundred vehicles were impressed about Mons to bring up a large stock of flour from that neighbourhood.

The want of money⁴⁹⁵ and forage was however not less felt than the necessity for bread, and the bad quality of the water at

Meldert was filling the camp with sick men. When a month had elapsed since the arrival of the French at Touraine it became imperative to make a move. Whither? was the question. If de Luxembourg marched to the Meuse, William might do incalculable mischief on the Scheldt. If the French went westwards, the Allies would forthwith be re-inforced by the huge garrisons of Liège, Maestricht, Huy, and Leuw. De Luxembourg had been in correspondence with the Court at Versailles, and had submitted a project which was now approved.

It was proposed to threaten Liège or Huy; ⁴⁹⁵ thus tempting the Allies both to quit their present unassailable position, and to weaken their army by re-inforcing the threatened fortresses: then, when they were diminished in numbers, unsuspecting of attack, and on ill-tenable ground, the French were to fall upon them and overwhelm them by numbers and surprise.

The acme of military skill in the earnest game of war is to be able to forecast every move on the board so as to prophecy—At such and such a time my opponent shall be checkmated. In this scientific delicacy of generalship de Luxembourg has never been surpassed, except by the genius of the great Marlborough. Marlborough, the only general fit to cope with de Luxembourg, was not with the army; and as de Luxembourg foretold, so in due time it came to pass.

On the night of the twenty-eighth of June the French marched to Judoigne between the two Geetes, ⁵⁰⁴ the march being conducted in the utmost silence for fear of interruption.

William thereupon lost no time in calling in all his detachments of observation. ⁵⁰⁴ General Tettau came in from the Meuse; Fleming from seeing off the Dauphin's corps; and Count Tilly with three thousand Horse from Tongres. This last detachment was nearly cut off by the French, ⁵⁰⁵ and only escaped by taking refuge in Maestricht, with the loss of the baggage and three colours. General Tettau's Division, ⁴⁹⁵ which fell not far short of ten thousand men, would have fared even worse, had not the spy, who carried information of the intended movements to the French camp, proved too faithful. He had been directed to de Guiscard, and he would not deliver his

⁵⁰⁴ D'Auvergne.

De Beaurain.

⁵⁰⁵ De Beaurain.

D'Auvergne.

De Feuquiere.

Berwick.

message to any one else:⁴⁹⁵ de Guiscard was absent, and when he returned it was too late.

William had some hope of benefiting the Meuse fortresses by creating a diversion on the Scheldt. To this end he made a large detachment in that direction. The duc de Wirtemberg commanded,⁵⁰⁶ and with him were Major-Generals Wymberg and Ellenberg and the Marquis de la Forest. The strength⁵⁰⁷ of the detachment was eight thousand infantry and six thousand cavalry. The English regiments were four, the Tenth Foot, and Argyll's and Castleton's regiments, and the Seventh Dragoon-Guards (Ill. LXIV).

On the first of July this body, accompanied by twelve guns, marched westwards. The weather was very bad. At Oudenarde the cavalry, which had pushed on ahead of the infantry, was joined by six thousand Foot⁵⁰⁴ from the garrisons on the Scheldt (including Lord Castleton's English regiment); and the march was continued to near Coveghem in front of the French Lines.

The French Lines of the Scheldt and Lys had been formed in 1688 for the defence of the frontier. The Lines ran from the village of Espierre on the Scheldt to Menin on the Lys, and thence they extended to the sea (*see* Ills. LXXVII, LXXXVIII). The works at this portion, termed the Lines of Espierre,⁵⁰⁴ consisted of a long earthen rampart with an outer ditch connecting redoubts and small redans (Ill. LXV); these being all within musquet shot of one another, and strengthened by stout palisadoes and a widening of the ditch. Besides this, the stream of Espierrette flowed along the front of the lines, at once feeding the ditch, and forming of itself a second ditch.

The defending force amounted to eight thousand infantry and two thousand Horse and Dragoons, being just half the numbers of de Wirtemberg's Column.

The infantry from camp, which had been left to follow under Ellenberg, quitted Oudenarde on the sixth to march to Coveghem, whereupon de Wirtemberg moved to his right, leaving only a few squadrons of cavalry at Coveghem.

Ellenberg called a halt about three miles from Coveghem. Count d'Horn's regiment, being to the front, and in the act

⁵⁰⁶ D'Auvergne, who is my authority for most of the details to the end of this Chapter.

⁵⁰⁷ Throughout this work I give round numbers, except where it is of importance to be very exact. Thus here, 13 battalions at 600 gives 7,800 men; adding for officers and allowing for vacant men, I give 8,000 in round numbers.

of crossing a ravine which lay between it and Coveghem. During the halt it began to rain in torrents: the dry ravine became a rapid river, and that so speedily, that some of Count d'Horn's men were drowned before they could get clear of the low ground. The guns and wagons were immoveable, and the march could not be continued that day.

The situation was serious; for, should the enemy come to a knowledge of the circumstances, they could destroy d'Horn's regiment and the cavalry that was with it; they might even attempt to cut off de Wirtemberg. Recourse was had to a ruse. D'Horn's regiment lit fires as if for the whole of Ellenberg's force, the drummers going out after dusk and making as though playing fresh regiments into camp from across the ravine: at tattoo the drums beat at distances, some the English sounds, some the Scotch, and others the Dutch or Danish: during the night the sentries, placed at long intervals, challenged loudly and as if far more numerous than they were, while the Quarter-Masters (to whom this duty then appertained) kept going the rounds several times over as if the chain of sentries was very extensive. The trick was successful, and the troops were unmolested.

The unfortunates who had been cut off by the flood spent a most wretched night, without tents, compelled to lie down where they stood with mire beneath and rain above, and momentarily expecting to be fallen upon by the enemy.

Before morning the rain had ceased, and the torrent had in a very short while exhausted its borrowed strength. The forces were joined, and preparations made for action. While the men busily cleaned their soiled musquets and furbished up their rusty swords, rations of the country brandy were served out to them to counteract the ill effects of the night's exposure. But, before all was ready, clouds had gathered again and the rain re-commenced. The attack had to be deferred for another night. Speculations were rife as to the result of the expedition, and the anxiety of the chiefs communicated itself to the troops.

Happily the rain ceased during the night, and as the darkness lifted the day declared itself dry and fine.

De Wirtemberg was early abroad, making his dispositions for the action. He himself took the left, while Wymberg directed the right attack, and d'Alfeldt the centre.

The mode of advance was to be as follows: Thirty pikemen had been drawn from each battalion to make a passage over the river and ditch; their pikes tied together in fours, were

to be laid across the trench, and a quantity of fascines that had been already collected were then to be thrown upon them until a strong level crossing was obtained. In front of these pikemen there was, at each point of crossing, a company of granadeers to prevent interference on the part of the enemy: and the rest of the granadeers followed the pikemen in one body to support. Then came the main body of infantry in columns. The Horse formed up in rear of the right attack and the Dragoons in rear of the left. A battery of six guns, and another of three, were stationed on the hill of Bray between the left and centre attacks, and the remaining three guns covered the right attack. In rear of all were strong parties of peasant-pioneers to destroy the works as soon as captured.

The enemy had manned the lines all along the threatened portions, and his cavalry were stationed in line some distance in rear. The redoubts threatened were Beau Verd redoubt on the left, then Pont David, Haute Plante, and l'Haverie. The point of most importance was Pont David, for a road ran straight through this redoubt offering the attacking party a bridge over both river and ditch. For this reason the Marquis de la Valette bestowed especial pains on the defence of Pont David redoubt, and here he posted a battalion of the famous Swiss mercenaries.

When all was ready on the right, Wymberg fired three guns: three guns replied from Bray Hill, and the batteries opened fire. Under cover of this fire, the right and centre columns advanced.

In the centre Argyll's granadeers led the way along the road. Across the bridge they kept steadily on in the face of the enemy's fire, and without wincing gained the parapet of Pont David redoubt: the French fire was tremendous: both the subalterns dropped; and, before the main body could reach the redoubt, Argyll's granadeer company was reduced to a few scattered men, still however fighting on against thirty times their number. A quarter of the company's roll never answered to their names again.

Castleton's regiment led the right attack on Beau Verd redoubt, and here also the French fought stoutly and made their opponents pay for their success.

On the left affairs did not go so smoothly. The Tenth Regiment was to the front in support of the granadeers. The pikemen bearing their fascines in front got well enough to the

Espierrette in spite of the showers of bullets that came crashing into the faggots : but the rains had turned the little torpid ditch into a swift-rolling river, and as fast as the fascines were cast into the water they floated and were whirled off down the stream. The enemy kept up a hot fire, and when the granadeers of the Tenth arrived at the brink of the river it seemed as though the attempt to cross must be abandoned. Accustomed to regard themselves as the *élite* of their regiment and to consider it their duty to set an example, the splendid tall fellows with a loud English huzza rushed into the water. The other granadeers followed. The tallest were up to their necks and many were out of their depth ; but they got across and advanced on the ditch of the fort. The orders were not to fire until the palisadoes of the fort were reached, and meanwhile the French were able to sweep their whole front. The battalion companies of the Tenth being nearest the fort, and flanking its right face, returned the enemy's fire, and in some degree covered the advance of the granadeers.

In the meantime Count d'Alfeldt had by word and deed encouraged his party to persevere. His four battalions had well supported the gallant onset of Argyll's granadeers. The Swiss displayed their proverbial firmness and obstinate courage in vain, for British soldiers are even more firm and even more obstinately courageous ; and they gave way after half an hour's as tough fighting as they had ever experienced. The moment the Pont David was captured the cavalry trotted over the bridge and formed up within the French lines.

At about the same time Wymberg had mastered the Beau Verd redoubt.

De la Valette, seeing that de Wirtemberg's success was assured, drew off his troops from the Haute Plante redoubt. The battalions manning the connecting ramparts first retired, a good deal harrassed by the batteries on Bray Hill. The allied granadeers, still trying to cross the ditch, emboldened by this, swam or waded across, and chopping or tearing down the palisadoes rushed into the redoubt as the French quitted it. The men of the Tenth were the first in, and were rewarded by finding in the guard-room a hogshead of capital cognac, of which they took immediate possession in the name of their regiment.

De Wirtemberg restrained his men from pursuit until all had crossed the captured lines. Detachments were then

sent in pursuit, and the boers were brought up to level the works.

The French cavalry had paid greater regard to its own safety than to its duty of covering the retreat, and de la Valette had to make haste to gain the bridge at St. Leger on the Tournai road. The possession of this pass secured his further retreat; and, with the exception of the loss of some baggage-wagons, he suffered little or no damage after the abandonment of his position.

De Wirtemberg moved to DOTTIGNIES the same evening, and encamped there.

Now began one of those scenes which so frequently succeed, and so sadly contrast with, the heroic deeds of the battle field.

The very men who in the morning would have risked their lives for a comrade, who would have endured all and dared all for a point of honour, were in the evening plundering inoffensive cottagers, insulting helpless women, and wantonly destroying property unprotected except by females and children or at the most by unarmed men.

The village of Dottignies, and every cottage and farm in the district, was in flames. Soldiers ran wildly from house to house, damning, cursing, and robbing, mad with drink and with the intoxication of blood. Throughout the summer night the shrieks of miserable women and the cries of frightened children were to be heard mingling with the hoarse voices of the shouting soldiers. The darkness was scared away by the flames of burning homesteads and churches; a lurid reflection was cast upwards on the sombre night, and the whole country for thirty miles round was in a state of alarm and wonder. At the little village of Evergnies every house was gutted: the people had in the morning removed their stores of flax and other goods to the church, their propinquity to the Lines causing them to take timely measures. The soldiers entered the church, and, after taking all they wished and more than they could possibly carry, set fire to the building. The most daring or the most desperate amongst the unfortunate peasants made an effort to save their little property: the exit of the church became choked, and they were burned to death, scarcely more miserable in their death than were their families and friends in living thus bereft of all their petty wealth, their prospects ruined for life, and in many cases their very subsistence taken from them in one day.

Alas, that among these soldiers drenched with wine, and glutted with such brutalities, were to be seen, mingled with the foreign troops, the red coats of Argyll's Scotchmen, the purple-faced grey of Castleton's men, and the blue coats of the Tenth.

Daylight alone ended the hellish scene. De Wirtemberg issued orders prohibiting plunder and violence, but at the same time ensuring abundant and free supplies to his troops.

CHAPTER XVI.

THE WAR IN FLANDERS. CAMPAIGN OF 1693.
THE BATTLE OF NEERWINDEN.

1693. JULY 8/18 TO 19/29.

Movements immediately preceding the battle.—Surrender of Huy.—Description of the Field of Neerwinden.—The French Advance.—Preparations of the Allies.—Disposition of the Allied army for battle.—Disposition of the French army.—Commencement of the Action.—The first Left attack.—Capture of the Duke of Berwick.—The second Left attack.—The first Right attack.—The final General attack.—The rout and the retreat.—The losses of the two armies.—Movements of both armies subsequent to the battle.—Surrender of Charleroi and close of the Campaign.

[For Illustrations, see Note on p. xiii.]

ON the same day on which the attack on the Lines took place, de Luxembourg moved nearer to Huy⁵⁰⁸ and encamped on the following day between Vignamont and the Mehaigne. At the same time troops were detached to invest Huy, bridges over the Meuse having been constructed in anticipation.

William fell into the doubly-baited trap: he quitted his secure position at Parck and marched to Tirlemont,⁵⁰⁹ and the next day to Neerhespen, in the hope of raising the siege. On the thirteenth he marched to St. Tron.

On the thirteenth Huy surrendered after the poorest of defences. The governor and the chief officers of the garrison were tried for the surrender and were all punished,⁵¹⁰ the governor's sentence being three months' imprisonment and a year's suspension of his commission.

De Luxembourg, after this easy success, was at liberty to pursue his original scheme. He therefore marched towards Liège, halting at Lamin. William, naturally fearing for the safety of this important fortress, re-inforced it with six thousand men from his army; he also further weakened himself by throwing two thousand men into Maestricht; and he then returned to Neerhespen.

⁵⁰⁸ De Beaurain.

⁵⁰⁹ D'Auvergne.

Relation of the battle of Landen, published by Authority, Lond. 1693.

⁵¹⁰ D'Auvergne.

The French general was delighted to see his hopes so fully verified, particularly as upon reconnoitring Liège he found the intrenched camp that had been formed on the heights in front of the citadel⁵¹¹ too strong to be forced. He was the more desirous to bring on the crisis, because he had news of de Wirtemberg's success and of the mischief he was doing around Lille. The better to keep up the delusion about Liège he continued to make apparent preparations for a heavy siege, and William's scouts brought in news that an enormous quantity of fascines were being manufactured by the peasantry for the use of the French army.

The position now occupied by the Allies between Neerhespen and Neerwinden was a likely spot to tempt a general into accepting an engagement, but it was vitiated in one or two essentials (Ill. LXVI). The camp of the Allies lay in the triangular space formed by the lesser Geete and the little stream known as the Landen-Beck which joins the Geete at Leuw. The ground in the angle of the confluence of the rivers was marshy, but gradually rose higher and higher towards the base of the triangle and the sources of the Landen-Beck.

A ridge of high ground ran close to the Beck as far up the stream as near Rumsdorf, where a promontory jutted out from the ridge to the river's edge and formed with a smaller promontory a ravine.

From Rumsdorf the Beck circled outwards, thus leaving a space of about a mile between the Beck and the heights. About a mile from the promontory the ridge terminated just above the village of Oberwinden.

From Oberwinden there ran a little stream about two miles in length, joining the Geete at Elixheim; and on the left of this stream, and a mile and a half from Oberwinden, was the village of Laer. Two miles down the Geete from Elixheim was the village of Neerhespen.

From opposite Laer and parallel to the Geete went a second ridge as far as Neerhespen. Between this ridge and the other ridge along the Beck was a space of half a mile; and in this space, near to the stream of Laer, was the village of Neerwinden.

NEERWINDEN was the key of the Allied position.

From Dormael on the Landen-Beck round to Neerwinden the position was naturally defended by the ridges, as well as partly by the Beck itself. From Laer to Elixheim the stream,

⁵¹¹ De Feuquiere.
De Beaurain.

and similar ridges beyond it, formed likewise a defence. On the one side the villages of Neerlanden and Rumsdorf, and on the other side that of Laer, offered the additional security of advanced posts. The space between the two ridges, in which the village of Neerwinden stood, was alone destitute of any natural defence. Neerwinden itself might be made useful by the Allies, but it stood within the position; and, if once mastered, its captors would be enabled to take in rear the other lines of defence.

It must not be imagined that the ridges here described could in any wise be termed heights. To the casual observer the locality appears almost flat and void of ground of vantage. But the rich heavy country lies in long rolling waves of loamy soil; and, gradual though they be, these slopes offer no inconsiderable advantages to a defending force.

De Luxembourg knew the country well. More than once he had encamped at Elixheim and along the other bank of the Geete. He knew the faults of the position, and he determined to attack William if he could do so unawares, or if William should be deceived into accepting battle by the apparently favourable nature of the ground he occupied.

The flaws in the Allied position were: first, that the line of defence was far too long; the left was too far distant to be able to re-inforce the right, and from no central point could troops be withdrawn without risk: second, there was too little depth to the position; the cavalry would be only an embarrassment in so limited a space, and the front once beaten in, there was no room to rally. Again, the bridges over the Geete were too few to admit of a simultaneous retreat, and there were no passes between the front and the river where a gradual retreat could be covered after the front was forced.

On the night of the sixteenth it came on to rain heavily,⁵¹² and all the next day it continued to pour.

De Luxembourg resembled the sportsman who has marked down his game, and, delayed by some accident, fears lest meanwhile his prey should take flight. His anxiety was intense: but towards evening the weather cleared, and the sun set in a most promising bed of crimson.

The Maréchal de Joyeuse marched towards Warem and Avesnes in the afternoon with ten thousand men, and the report was industriously spread that his destination was the Scheldt.

⁵¹² D'Auvergne.
De Beaurain.

Before daylight the next morning, the whole French army was in motion without beat of drum.⁵¹³ De Luxembourg rode forward with most of the cavalry, in order to reconnoitre and to tell off the ground to be taken up by the several columns as they should arrive.

Ere he had well left the camp a scout came pricking up with the provoking intelligence that William was even then retiring across the Geete : but at Waremen who had come that morning from Landen⁵¹⁴ stated that not only were the Allies not gone, but that they showed no tokens of suspicion of an attack.

About four o'clock in the afternoon de Luxembourg arrived at Saint-Gertrud near Landen ; and forthwith occupied this village as well as Oberwinden with his dragoons. De Joyeuse, whose long start enabled him to come up very shortly afterwards, relieved the dragoons on his arrival.

The main body did not reach Landen before dark. It was considerably delayed by one of those incidents which testify that the leaven of heroism ever pervades the rank and file of those armies in which an *esprit de corps* is fostered. As the French infantry trudged along the muddy roads the men became wearied with the heavy walking and the length of the march. The July sun poured down its hot rays, all the more suffocating from the moisture of the earth. The chatting grew less ; the occasional song became rarer, the voices joining in the marching chorus fewer and more monotonous. Men began to move along with that dogged indifference, that mechanical progress, which is a sure sign of fatigue among soldiers. Scarcely would a man take the trouble to push back his flapped hat to wipe his brow ; scarcely would a soldier whose accoutrements were galling him be at the pains to shift them.

It got bruited along the ranks that the army was being led against the enemy. In a moment every man forgot that he had been marching for some ten or eleven hours. The regiments in rear remembered only that they happened to be senior to all others, and they begged and insisted that they might go to the front. They asserted that the front was their right by precedence ; and though they did not mind being in

⁵¹³ De Beaurain.
Relation of the battle.

⁵¹⁴ D'Auvergne.
De Beaurain.
De Feuquiere.
Relation of the battle.

rear on a mere day's march, yet, when there was question of fighting, to the front they would go. The value of such a spirit of heroism and self-sacrifice, especially on the eve of a battle, was too fully appreciated by the experienced Generals of France not to be encouraged by them even at the cost of an inconvenient delay, and they wisely offered no opposition to the change.

The French army bivouacked for the night about Landen and Saint-Gertrud.

During the day William had received notice from a patrolling party that they had met at Wareem a large body of French cavalry; and by the afternoon no doubt remained that this was the van of the whole French army led by de Luxembourg in person. Several reasons conduced to William's decision to hold his ground. In a retreat the rear of the army would have been considerably exposed; and a retreat on Brussels would have left de Luxembourg free to carry out his designs on the fortresses of the Meuse. William would however have sought better ground for fighting, had it not been for his error in generalship in fancying the position at Landen capable of defence against an army half as strong again as his own.

Throughout the night⁵¹⁵ men were employed in throwing up a breastwork along the ridge from Neerwinden to the promontory beyond the ravine. It was imperative however not to over-tire troops before whom lay such a day's fighting as the morrow must bring, and only thirty men per battalion were detailed as pioneers:—fifteen hundred men to intrench a front of upwards of two miles, without reckoning the sinuosities of the ground or of the intrenchment itself, and all to be done in the dark! It may be imagined that the work was of a very slight character: it did not cover the troops from the enemy's shot; and so insignificant was it that a man, if unhindered, could easily jump the work, ditch and all. Nevertheless it would serve to detain the enemy's infantry, and would prove an even more serious impediment to the entrance of cavalry: it was of use also as a protection to the guns, of which a large number were posted along the ridges.⁵¹⁶

⁵¹⁵ De Beaurain.
D'Auvergne.
Relation of the battle.
Berwick.
Saint Simon.

⁵¹⁶ De Feuquiere.
De Beaurain.
De la Colonie.
Burnet.

The Commanders of either army were on horseback till a late hour visiting the several points of attack or defence, and encouraging their troops.

King William got into his coach late at night to snatch three or four hours' sleep.⁵¹⁰ At an early hour in the morning, after having sent for his chaplain and shut himself up with him for prayer, he set hopefully to work to dispose his forces.

From the Geete to the village of Laer the defence was entrusted to Brigadier-General Ramsay,⁵¹⁰ whose brigade consisted of the Twenty-first or "Scots Fusileers,"⁵¹⁷ the Twenty-fifth, the Cameronians now under the leadership of Colonel Monroe, and Mackay's and Lauder's regiments. This post was rendered the better tenable⁵¹⁸ because of the very thick hedges which covered the ground about the village and the river; and before the action commenced Ramsay was re-inforced by the Buffs and the Fourth from the left.⁵¹⁰

Between Laer and Neerwinden, were six battalions of Brandenburgers.⁵⁰⁰ Neerwinden itself was defended by the Hanoverians with the first battalion of the First Foot Guards, the second battalion of the Scots Guards, and a battalion of the Dutch Guards.

The defences⁵¹⁹ of the villages of Laer and Neerwinden consisted in the well-set hedges and mud fences about four or five feet high, that in Belgium mark off the villagers' plots of property, as well as in the outer hedges and the ditches with which it was usual to surround a village. At Neerwinden the ditch had been enlarged, and a low parapet thrown up on the inner side. Of course all the fences had been rendered as impenetrable as possible on so short notice, and to the last moment men were engaged in stopping gaps or in loopholing cottages and orchard-walls.

The value of such simple defences as these natural obstructions was greater at the period of the battle of Neerwinden than it would be now. At any time they could not be insignificant where victory depended solely upon tiring out the enemy and preventing him from coming to close quarters with the whole army at once, in short where the battle was to be a

⁵¹⁷ Of this title the 21st was afterwards deprived by the Third Foot-Guards, who at this time were termed the "Scots Guards," but it was restored to them a few years ago (1889).

⁵¹⁸ De Feuquiere.

⁵¹⁹ Relation of the battle.
Berwick.

defensive one: but in these days,—when cannon has such enormous power and when artillery gallop over ground scarcely passable to infantry, when soldiers are taught to kill their man if they can but catch a glimpse of his sleeve button, and when there are as many bayonets as men,—such defences would not be regarded as sufficient to stem the torrent of an army whose whole force could be brought to bear upon a small defending body having no prospect of re-inforcement. In 1693, however, a nine-pounder field gun was not a plaything to be run about with the ease of a boy's toy-cannon on a table; the gun partook of the respectable and solid character of the age; it was a work of time and toil to get it into position, and once fixed it must not be moved unadvisedly. None but dragoons, granadeers, and fusileers (besides such troops as the Guards) carried the bayonet, and even these seldom used it, because it put a stop to their firing: and men without bayonets would be at the mercy of their antagonists when in the act of pushing through thick hedges or using their hands to climb a wall: while the swing of clubbed muskets would be greatly impeded by the low branches of orchard trees.

The Seventh Royal Fusileers, now about to fight for the first time under their new but experienced Colonel, Edward Fitzpatrick,⁵¹⁰ lined the intrenchment on the immediate left of Neerwinden.

On the left two advanced posts were occupied,⁵⁰⁹ Neerlanden being held by the first battalion of the Royals, and by the Second Foot, together with Fagel's and Prince Frederick's Danish regiments; while in Rumsdorf was Erle's brigade⁵²⁰ composed of the Fourteenth, Sixteenth, and Nineteenth Foot, with Collingwood's regiment.

The Coldstream and remaining British regiments⁵¹⁰ were posted between Neerwinden and the ravine, as were also all the remaining foreign troops.

Thus, without detracting one whit from the merits of the brave Brandenburgers and Hanoverians, it may be said with truth that the battle of Neerwinden was almost entirely British. Three out of the four principal points were altogether defended by British troops, and in the defence of the fourth they bore a large share.

In rear of the infantry was drawn up the whole of the Allied

⁵²⁰ Plans of the battle shew that Rumsdorf was occupied by English troops, and Erle's brigade are the only English regiments otherwise unaccounted for.

cavalry,⁵¹⁰ with the exception of most of the dragoons, which were posted between Dormael and Neerlanden⁵¹⁰ to keep the bridges on the Landen-Beck. The Fourth Dragoons was here, while in the left wing of the main body of Horse⁵¹⁰ were the Life-Guards, and the First, Third, Fourth, and Sixth Dragoon-Guards.

De Luxembourg had been abroad with the first gleam of daylight, earnestly reconnoitring every inch of his ground, and posting his troops.

He drew up his centre⁵⁰⁸ in eight lines on the plateau between Landen and Oberwinden. The majority of these lines were of cavalry,⁵¹² only the second and fourth being composed of infantry. The first line was under the leadership of General Phélippeaux on the left,⁵⁰⁸ and of the Duc de Chartres, who was with the Household troops, on the right of the line. In this first line were two thousand five hundred men, and the whole eight lines numbered upwards of thirty-six thousand men, half cavalry, half infantry. Generals de Villeroi, de Rosen, and de Feuquiere held commands at this spot;⁵⁰⁸ and here too were the Gardes Suisses and the Gardes Françaises.⁵⁰⁸

The infantry of the centre was thus in a position to succour both the right and left attacks, while the cavalry was equally in readiness to take advantage of any break in the Allied line on either flank. At the same time the presence of a large force in front of the enemy's centre would have the effect of prohibiting him from re-inforcing his flanks from his centre, and a number of his troops would thus be held in check and in effect rendered useless.

The French Commander was surprised when he saw the change in the ground which had been wrought in the night, and he had to modify his plans accordingly. His intention overnight had been to force the enemy's centre: there the ground was clear, and the ridge once carried the battle would lie with the cavalry, an arm in which the French superiority was overwhelming. But now the ridge was surmounted by an intrenchment, which must not only be taken, but levelled in the face of the enemy, before horses could readily cross it. Neerwinden carried, the abandonment of the intrenchment must follow. To carry Neerwinden, Laer must be simultaneously attacked.⁵²¹

The better to hold in check the Allied left, two thousand five

⁵²¹ A glance at the plans will render this reasoning clear to even the non-professional reader.

hundred dismounted dragoons crossed the Landen-Beck⁵¹¹ and threatened Neer-Landen: and another body of fifteen thousand Foot, under the Prince de Conti,⁵⁰⁸ took up position in front of and close to Rumsdorf. Among these last were the two regiments of Bourbonnois, which had last year had so sharp an experience of British valour at Estinkerke.

On the left, from Oberwinden to near the Geete, stretched a line of infantry in readiness to move on Laer and Neerwinden; two thousand out of the twenty thousand acting as a reserve to the remainder. In rear of these again was a body of about eight thousand cavalry to follow up any success gained by the infantry. De Joyeuse and de Ximenes commanded the cavalry at this spot,⁵²² and Generals de Rubantel and Montchevreuil the infantry. With the latter was the Duke of Berwick;⁵¹⁰ and here too was Patrick Sarsfield Lord Lucan,⁵⁰⁸ as Irish as ever, as uncalculating and hasty, as full of vanity, as fond of flattery, but as gallant and as daring as ever. Sarsfield was almost the only Irish officer respected by those opposed to him. This day was his last fight to be fought, his last loyal blow to be struck.

The French guns were posted over against Neerwinden and Rumsdorf, as well as on the plateau in front of the centre.

Shortly after sunrise the first shot was heard, and for two hours afterwards there continued to flash incessantly from end to end of the intrenchment one long stream of fire from the mouths of ninety cannon.

De Luxembourg got seventy guns into position, but the fire of the Allies was so heavy that he hastened to begin the attack, and the French artillery was not allowed time to do much mischief.

At about eight o'clock the whole of the French left advanced against the posts of Laer and Neerwinden.⁵²³

The attack on Neerwinden was made in three columns,⁵²⁴ de Rubantel leading the right column, de Montchevreuil the left, and the Duke of Berwick the centre. The centre column was to move on the head of the village and the others on its flanks.

⁵²² De Beaurain.

Berwick.

⁵²³ D'Auvergne.

De Beaurain.

De Feuquiere.

⁵²⁴ D'Auvergne.

Berwick.

General de Reynolds's brigade of six regiments was at the same time to attempt Laer ;⁵²⁵ and some of the dragoons were to attack the line between the villages, while the cavalry was held ready to follow up the success of the infantry.

The French columns came on. Their cannon hushed, and all braced themselves for the struggle. The village of Neerwinden projected into the plain, and thus Berwick's column was the first to attack.⁵¹⁹

Alas! that the son of a King of England, bastard though he was, the nephew of England's greatest general, though by a disgraced sister, should ever have led England's hereditary foes against Englishmen.

But if wanting in patriotism, Berwick did not lack conduct or courage. He made his men march quite up to the village before they fired: then when the muskets of the defending party were empty, the French rushed in and carried the outer trench. There ensued a prolonged struggle at the next line of fences: Germans, Dutchmen, and Englishmen alike stood firm. The First Foot-Guards (Ill. LXVII) was in the very front of the fight; and both it and the other regiments were suffering frightfully from the incessant fire, while the numbers of the dense columns of the enemy seemed never to diminish. Now the French were forced back⁵²⁶ almost to the trench, now they advanced as though carrying all before them.

Three fresh regiments were sent to lend greater weight to the seven French brigades already engaged at this spot. Even then their front⁵²⁷ was again and again swept down by bullets or annihilated by desperate charges, until at last the First Foot-Guards, quite disabled and broken by loss, gave way.⁵²⁸ The Hanoverians retreated also, and the enemy took fence after fence and house after house.

But British troops do not retreat for long. The English Guards and the Scots Guards met:⁵²⁸ hard pressed as they were, they rallied together and a rush was made upon the victorious Frenchmen.

De Montchevreuil and de Rubantel had made a grave tactical mistake. Instead of forming one united front with

⁵²⁵ D'Auvergne.

⁵²⁶ D'Auvergne.

De Beaurain.

⁵²⁷ De Beaurain.

⁵²⁸ D'Auvergne.

Relation of the battle,

Berwick by opening out and by beating down obstacles as they advanced,⁵²⁹ they had suffered their columns to become divided into several heads separated one from the other by the houses, walls and enclosures. This gave the Allies an advantage. There were now twenty-six French battalions engaged in Neerwinden against the nine battalions defending it. Notwithstanding such overpowering odds, the Guards came on again ably seconded by the Dutch and Hanoverians; and again the battle ebbed and flowed, and again victory smiled grimly now on one side, now on the other.

The battle was continued beyond de Montchevreuil's column by the dragoons of the Colonel-Général, and the whole of the reserve of dragoons of the left wing, besides de Reynolds's brigade of Foot. The Brandenburgers had as much work as they could manage between the villages, and the defence of Lacr itself fell to Ramsay's brigade.

The post was hotly contested, but the impetuosity of the French at length mastered the village; and not a British soldier remained in it, unless on the ground. General de Bezons, who commanded the cavalry nearest to this point of attack, had been awaiting this moment; and directly the Brandenburgers gave way, he pushed past the French infantry,⁵³⁰ and formed up within the Allied position. But the Elector of Bavaria, who led the right wing of the Allied cavalry, charging de Bezons's men vigorously, succeeded in driving them out again with great slaughter.⁵³⁰ Ramsay seized with avidity the opportunity afforded by the repulse of de Bezons. Pouring in a flanking fire on the French cavalry as they retreated in disorder, he led on his men to retake the village. Simultaneously with his advance, Prince Charles with his Brandenburgers pushed forward towards his lost post. King William, rallying the Guards and Hanoverians in Neerwinden, himself headed them.

The Allies were now attacking in one line⁵³¹ while the heads of the French columns were cut off from one another. It is notoriously more conducive to success to be the attacking than

⁵²⁹ De Feuquiere.

Berwick.

De Beaurain.

⁵³⁰ De Beaurain.

D'Auvergne.

Relation of the battle.

⁵³¹ De Feuquiere.

De Beaurain.

the defending party. An impetus and confidence is acquired by the charge that cannot fail to tell on those who have only to stand still: it is more inspiriting to have something to gain than to have solely to hold one's own. Thus the mere order to advance did much to cheer the hearts of the soldiers, as the whole of the Allied right moved forward together. A wild cheer from the Englishmen, a rush, a tremendous firing, a confused *mêlée*, and in a short time the French were utterly beaten from end to end of the line.⁵³²

The first Act of the battle of Neerwinden was ended, and, except to those who had fallen, everything was in the same state as before the action began. Both sides occupied their original positions.

The Duke of Berwick had stayed to face the Allied troops as long as he dared, and when at length he turned to retreat⁵²⁴ he found himself cut off from his men. Plucking his white cockade from his hat, he trusted to his English figure and tongue to save him; and attempted to ride across the Allied camp and so over the breastwork. Unluckily for him, his uncle, Brigadier Churchill, happening to pass, recognised the aide-de-camp with him, and instantly divining whom he was accompanying, he made both the Duke and the aide-de-camp prisoners and sent them to the rear.

De Luxembourg had met his defeated battalions as they returned to their original ground. He sent for seven thousand fresh troops under the duc de Bourbon, and was still occupied in rallying the broken regiments when he learned that affairs were going against him on his right also. Leaving orders for a renewal of the attack on the two villages, he hastened off towards Rumsdorf.

Again the French infantry advanced on Laer and Neerwinden; again their onset was irresistible; again they fought their way from fence to fence. Again the Guards, the Germans, and Ramsay's brigade returned to the combat, and strove with titanic efforts to dispossess the swarming enemy of the twice-won post: as before the leading French battalions being unable

⁵³² Saint-Simon.
Relation of the battle.
De la Colonie.
D'Auvergne.
De Feuquiere.
De Beaurain.
Berwick.

to form a line were attacked in flank as well as in front. A murderous fire was maintained on either side at point-blank, and the carnage amongst the crowded masses of the French was horrible. Then was experienced the advantage of furnishing the best possible arms to troops,⁵²⁷ for the superiority conferred by the fusils with which the English and Scots Guards and the Scots Fusileers were equipped was most keenly felt. Already appalled by the blinding fire, when musquets were clubbed and the charge came, the French, embarrassed by the numerous enclosures and their own numbers made a tumultuous retreat⁵²⁸ to the confines of the contested posts.

Meantime an attack was being made on Neerlanden by the dragoons who had crossed the Landen-Beck in the morning. The Royals occupied the head of the village on the Rumsdorf road,⁵²⁹ the granadeer company being posted in a house overlooking the entrance to the street. The Second Queen's occupied a similar station on the Attenhoven road; and the two Danish regiments were at the other end of the village. As the French had also four regiments, the assailants and the assailed were very equally matched in point of numbers.

When it was perceived that the French were coming up on the Rumsdorf road, Colonel Selwyn, who commanded the Second, barricaded the approaches on his side so as to prevent the enemy from taking the position in rear.

The French, on entering the street, were assailed by the grenades which the granadeers of the Royals showered from the windows. The house, however, was speedily rendered untenable, and when the granadeers quitted it they set it on fire. After a sharp tussle the Royals were forced to retire until supported by the Second (III. LXVIII), who were headed by the King himself.⁵²⁸ William had galloped across on the first sign of the attack, and, with his presence to stimulate them (had they required stimulation), the Royals and the Queen's held the four French regiments at bay until the Danes arrived in support; after two hours' hard fighting, the French were beaten off. As the troops emerged from the narrow streets, they opened into line and drove the French dragoons before them until it became imprudent to pursue them farther.

⁵²⁷ De Beaurain.
D'Auvergne.
Berwick.

⁵²⁸ D'Auvergne.
MS. Plans.

Rumsdorf was not much more than half a mile from Neerlanden, and it was therefore necessary that both should be attacked at once, to prevent one rendering assistance to the other.

The troops at Rumsdorf were simply overwhelmed. Colonel Erle of the Nineteenth, who commanded the Brigade occupying the post, had been lying sick of fever⁵³⁵ at Louvain when he learned that an action was imminent: he rose from his bed and managing to ride to camp, he now set a splendid example, and was dangerously wounded; the men of his brigade vied with him in gallantry. But the enemy was as five to one; three thousand men could not long stand against fifteen thousand. The Fourteenth Regiment appears to have had the hottest work.⁵³⁵ The English at length retreated towards the intrenchment, the enemy following closely until they reached the ravine. As the French mounted the slope in pursuit, the artillery from the intrenchment swept down their leading ranks: Erle's people were re-inforced by troops from the intrenchment, and the French were routed and pursued down the slope and into Rumsdorf. Here a mutual halt was made, each party occupying its own side of the village.

De Luxembourg, who had just come up, left instructions,⁵³⁶ and rode back to Neerwinden where he arrived to see his troops barely able to keep possession of the outermost fences of the village.

De Luxembourg had with his customary shrewdness reasoned out the whole battle beforehand; and, while anticipating such difficulties as he had encountered, he nevertheless still thought that the ultimate victory should be his.

He argued that the Allies, having more than twenty battalions betwixt Laer and Neerwinden, could have but thirty left along the whole of the rest of their line of intrenchment besides the posts of Rumsdorf and Neerlanden, and that the twenty on the right could therefore derive no assistance from the other battalions. At the same time he himself had ninety-three battalions, or with dismounted dragoons more than double the total infantry of the enemy.

Upon these premises he had laid down for himself three main principles on which to fight the action. First, the key of the position being at Laer and Neerwinden, these posts *must* be

⁵³⁵ D'Auvergne, return of killed and wounded

⁵³⁶ De Bonneval, Mémoires du Comte: Lond. 1737.
De Beaurain,

carried at whatever cost of men, or else the enterprise must be altogether abandoned. Second, the enemy's left and centre must be so distracted and threatened⁵³⁷ as to prohibit any re-inforcement of his right. Third, the cavalry must be got within the enemy's lines at the earliest opportunity.

The other French Generals were for withdrawing after the two failures already experienced,⁵³⁸ but de Luxembourg persisted in his own opinion, and prepared for a third attempt. So far the Allied troops had gained the day, but they were pitifully exhausted ; their numbers did not permit of any relief of those who had already fought without intermission for hours ; the weather was of the most trying, for there was not a cloud in the sky and the heat was intense ;⁵³⁹ and it was with much anxiety that they watched the march of fresh troops from Oberwinden to the French left. Twelve thousand men were seen moving across the plain, their unblooded arms glittering, and the brilliancy of their dress and their accoutrements testifying that these were the picked soldiers of France,—⁵⁴⁰the Gardes du Roi, the Gardes Françaises, and the Gardes Suisses. The young duc de Chartres and the gallant Prince de Conti rode at their head. With their characteristic air of joyous nonchalance these regiments marched to the front of their defeated countrymen. The Gardes Françaises were to attack Neerwinden in front, and the Gardes Suisses were to attack to their right : the troops already repulsed were to follow in support. Other infantry was simultaneously to attack the centre of the intrenchment. The Gardes du Roi led by the duc de Chartres, as well as the cavalry under de Villeroi, were to be ready to burst in on the left, while the Marquis de Feuquiere was to try to enter in rear of other infantry on the right.

M. d'Harcourt's two thousand dragoons who had just arrived on the field joined the left attack.⁵⁴¹

⁵³⁷ Both de Beaurain and de Feuquiere assert that the reason of the failure of the two first left attacks was that the Allies were enabled to re-inforce their right from their left and centre, because these were not attacked at the same time as Laer and Neerwinden. D'Auvergne most distinctly denies that any such re-inforcement took place.

⁵³⁸ D'Auvergne.

De Quincy.

⁵³⁹ Saint-Simon.

⁵⁴⁰ Saint-Simon.

De Beaurain.

D'Auvergne.

⁵⁴¹ Saint-Simon.

De Beaurain.

The posts from Neerwinden to Laer were originally held by fourteen thousand men.⁵⁴² Thirty thousand French infantry had already been defeated here. William, who had trusted to see the French draw off after their last repulse, must have had misgivings that he ought never to have offered battle. His troops were wearied out: it was now nearly two o'clock in the afternoon, and they had fought incessantly and unrelieved since eight in the morning. Of the fourteen thousand men originally posted on the right some five thousand had fallen: and the French had still about thirty-five thousand men, many of them being quite fresh, in front of this exhausted remnant of nine or ten thousand. William sent for several regiments from the left, but for reasons to be presently related they could not come up. In anticipation of the probable penetration of the position by the French Horse, the Allied cavalry took up a fresh position⁵⁴³ between Wange and the centre of the intrenchment, elbowing to the rear so as to leave a wider space for charging (Ill. LXIX).

To the troops of the right this was a trying moment. All knew that they were overwhelmed and virtually beaten, and all foresaw that the resistance now to be offered was but a forlorn hope and a mere oblation at the altar of military prestige. Yet all appreciated and imitated the high-spirited courage of their Chief. The ground was covered with the bodies of the brave Frenchmen who had fallen, and many a red-coat dotted the piles of slain; before all was done hundreds more must almost uselessly be added to the already heaped-up sacrifice. Yet not a single unwilling murmur was heard through the decimated ranks that occupied Laer and Neerwinden.

Nothing was now to be heard along the whole front except a dropping fire at Neerwinden, and the roar of the Allies' artillery which had been doing good service throughout the day.⁵⁴⁴

The last Act of the battle began with an endeavour on the part of the Elector to dispossess the French completely of the outermost fences of Neerwinden, on which they still retained an uncertain hold.

He brought up the Dutch and Scots Guards to charge the

⁵⁴² Twenty-two battalions at six hundred for the average strength of each.

⁵⁴³ De Beaurain.
MS. Plans.

⁵⁴⁴ De Bonneval.
D'Auvergne.

enemy in front, and three other battalions to attack his left flank; but now it was that the fresh French troops came up,⁵⁴⁰ the Gardes Françaises leading the assault on the village itself. The Dutch and Scots Guards fought till they had not a cartridge left,⁵⁴⁵ and they only retired after two of the Hanoverian regiments had quite given way overpowered by numbers.

The Gardes Suisses headed the attack on that portion of the intrenchment which adjoined Neerwinden, and they were opposed by the Royal Fusileers and the Coldstream Guards.⁵²⁵

Colonel Fitzpatrick, who commanded the Fusileers, ordered them to withhold their fire⁵⁴⁶ until they saw the Frenchmen actually on the top of the breastwork. Accordingly, as the French granadeers, granade in hand, appeared above the parapet they found themselves confronted by a thousand fusils, and a murderous fire was poured into their very breasts. Their front ranks were staggered, but the men in rear pushed forward, and the French got within the breastwork.

Immediately de Villeroi filed in the cavalry⁵⁴⁷ of the Maison du Roi, but before more than five squadrons had formed up, Count d'Arco with the Bavarian cuirassiers charged them, and notwithstanding a very spirited resistance, succeeded in clearing the intrenchment of the enemy.⁵⁴⁷

The contest at Neerwinden being now virtually over the Gardes Françaises were brought up to the right of the Gardes Suisses; and the attack was renewed upon the Coldstream Guards and Fusileers, who now not only had five brigades⁵⁴⁸ immediately opposed to them, but were also flanked by the fire from the enemy's troops in the village. William, who had returned from Neerlanden, twice led the Englishmen to the charge,⁵²⁸ and twice drove the enemy quite back to the breastwork; and here, as everywhere else, the British soldiers acted as if regardless of numbers⁵⁴⁸ or of the palpable sacrifice of themselves.

At length, when the French infantry had succeeded in levelling a way across the breastwork, the Maison du Roi

⁵⁴⁵ And D'Auvergne notices the delay in the arrival of fresh ammunition: how often have British troops run the risk of defeat for lack of a proper organisation of the mode of supply of ammunition in the field.

⁵⁴⁶ Hist. Record of 7th Foot. I cannot find an original authority for this statement, and give it only second-hand.

⁵⁴⁷ Relation by authority.

De Beaurain.

D'Auvergne.

⁵⁴⁸ D'Auvergne.

entered the position and formed a front under cover of the infantry. Even then the stubborn Englishmen refused to consider all as lost, and the French cavalry met with a stout resistance. Lieutenant-General Talmach (III. LXX), the Colonel of the Coldstream Guards, had his horse shot under him,⁵⁴⁸ but mounted or afoot he was ever to the front. In one of the charges of the French Life-Guards, a private of the Coldstream Guards captured the standard of the First or de Luxembourg's Own troop.⁵⁴⁸ Fitzpatrick of the Fusileers (III. LXXI) was borne off badly wounded; Lieutenant-Colonel Whalley had preceded him; the Major fell next; one third of the officers were either killed or wounded, and the men suffered in proportion; yet still the Fusileers maintained their post, still their yellow colours were reared defiantly in the face of the enemy, still their conical red and yellow caps were to be seen in almost unbroken line close in front of the overwhelming masses of the French.

Meantime de Feuquiere, seeing nine regiments marching from the Allied left towards Neerwinden, had hastened to take advantage of their movement. Waiting till they had gained some distance towards their right, he then sent forward M. de Créqui with the infantry, and himself followed closely with the cavalry. The place he chose for his attack was doubly weakened; it was the break in the intrenchment where wagons had been substituted for the earthwork,⁵⁴⁹ and it was the spot whence the troops had just been withdrawn for the re-inforcement of the right. Naturally, the attack on this point⁵⁵⁰ caused these troops to turn back, but, as de Feuquiere had calculated, they could not return in time to prevent the entrance of the French, and they were obliged to content themselves with forming square at a little distance in order to protect their own rear.

De Créqui⁵⁵¹ had encountered little if any resistance; the wagons had been dragged aside, and when de Feuquiere rode in he so arranged his formation that his rear was protected by the ravine, and that he held in check at once the extreme left of the Allied infantry and the nine battalions of the projected re-inforcement of the right. The news of this success on the right decided de Luxembourg to persevere on the left.

⁵⁴⁹ De Bonneval.
De Feuquiere.
De Beaurain.

⁵⁵⁰ De Feuquiere.

⁵⁵¹ De Bonneval.

The troops in and about Neerwinden had been swamped. The French infantry everywhere overflowed the defences like pent-up water when the restraining dyke has given way. The Allied position was at last forced.

The infantry abandoned the breastwork: the Brandenburg men retreated at the same time: the enemy's cavalry rode in on every side. The Hanoverian Horse received the first charge of the Maison du Roi, and was routed, carrying confusion amongst those behind them. The French seized the opportunity to charge again in one long line, and the whole body of the Allied cavalry of the right wing gave way. The Elector did his best to rally his men: he succeeded in drawing off a few squadrons of cuirassiers and inducing them to face the enemy:⁵⁴⁸ but it was too late, for the French troopers were already mingled undistinguishably with the flying army. The Elector did that which was wisest under the circumstances; he crossed the river and re-formed some of the cavalry to receive the fugitives and to form a rear-guard.

At Laer the final struggle had been fought out with true British determination. The same contempt for numbers, the same heroic devotion, the same ferocious daring were displayed by Ramsay's men now as earlier in the day. They managed to keep the enemy out of Laer until de Joyeuse had brought his cavalry through the gap left by the more timely retreat of the Brandenburgers, and then the retreat was commenced. But retreat had by this time become difficult: the French infantry pushed the British regiments in front, the cavalry galled them in flank and cut them off in rear from the rest of the army. Surrounded on all sides by the literally swarming squadrons thirsting for their blood, the brave little remnant of the Scots brigade sought no quarter, but continued with unquenchable valour to hew a path for itself through the masses of the enemy. The Fourth and the Buffs were worthy of their Scottish comrades. During the *mêlée* a set was made at the Colours of the Buffs (Ill. LXXII); most nobly were they defended;⁵⁴⁸ one young Ensign was killed, and hardly had another taken the Colour from the dead lad's hand before he also was slain; a third brave boy rushed to seize the Colour in its peril, and at length the enemy succeeded in capturing the flag only by carrying off the Ensign that bore it. The loss of this and of every regiment of the brigade was terribly heavy; and a large number of both officers and men were made prisoners before the river could be reached.

The whole army was now routed.⁵⁵² Victors mingled freely with the vanquished, sabreing them by scores, and Horse soldiers ruthlessly rode down friendly infantrymen in order to secure their own escape (III. LXXIII).

William himself remained in front of the foe making what stand he best could with broken ranks, in order to gain time for the retreat across the river. More than once he narrowly escaped death: one bullet passed through his wig⁵⁴⁸ so close to his ear as to cause a deafness, while another made a hole through the sleeve of his coat. "Never mind," he would say, "every bullet has its billet."⁵⁵³ When the Hanoverian and Dutch Horse were routed, he rode off to bring up from the left the English cavalry as a last resource. As his horse flew with him across the plain, another bullet struck him on the side, carrying away the knot of his sash⁵⁵⁴ and grazing the skin. The King returned at the head of six splendid regiments of Horse,—⁵⁵⁵the Life Guards, the Queen's Horse now the First Dragoon Guards, the Third, Fourth, and Sixth Dragoon Guards, and Galway's Horse.

Charge after charge was executed by these regiments⁵⁵⁶ in that brilliant yet steady style which has since made our English cavalry so renowned; and it was the English Guards and two other English regiments that had the honour of defeating⁵⁵⁷ in hand to hand combat the picked cavalry of France. The squadrons had no time to form and were obliged to charge as they arrived; and although the horses were blown with the rapid galop across the plain, yet was it numbers alone that enabled the French cavalry, the boast of the French army, to stand against them. Colonel Langston of the Fourth pierced

⁵⁵² D'Auvergne.

Sterne.

De Beaurain.

⁵⁵³ Sterne.

⁵⁵⁴ Sterne.

D'Auvergne.

Burnet.

Relation by authority.

⁵⁵⁵ It is necessary to repeat occasionally, for fear of misleading the reader, that throughout this history regiments are mentioned by their *modern* denominations for the convenience of identification to the mind of the modern reader. The term "Dragoon-Guards" was not used at this period, the heavy Cavalry being termed "Horse" in contradistinction to "Dragoons." (*See* Chaps. XXI to XXIII on Regimental Economy, Equipment, &c.)

⁵⁵⁶ D'Auvergne.

Sterne.

⁵⁵⁷ Saint-Simon.

so far that he was taken prisoner.⁵⁴⁸ The Sixth were among the first in and the last out, and Colonel Wyndham, with a few of the bravest spirits of the regiment, actually cut his way through the enemy⁵⁴⁸ and back again more than once. Galway's regiment was almost annihilated; the King himself led it⁵⁵⁶ against de Conti's brigade, and as it re-formed after the charge, he rode along the line addressing cheering words to the men, and headed them to the charge again.

The Duke of Ormond (Ill. LXXIV), Colonel of the Third troop of Life Guards, was so eager for battle that he would not wait for his own regiment to come into action,⁵⁴⁸ but charged with the Queen's. This regiment was the only one that found time or space to form squadrons before charging, and it did execution accordingly. Ormond sought the thickest of the fight; his horse was shot under him; and a French trooper riding at him disabled him by a cut⁵²⁸ on the wrist, and actually had his sword uplifted to hew him down, when a French officer, suspecting from Ormond's dress and appearance that he was a man of rank, saved his life by making a prisoner of him.

It was not in vain that the English cavalry had thus done its duty. General Talmach and the Earl of Athlone had taken advantage of the time so gained to draw together the infantry of the left, and to organise an orderly retreat towards Leuwe by way of Dormael: the brave countenance still maintained by the infantry⁵⁵⁸ that had occupied Rumsdorf and Neerlanden materially contributed to the safety of the rest of the army. Sir Henry Bellasyse commanded the rear-guard⁵⁵⁶ and both he and Talmach exhibited discretion as well as valour in their conduct of the retreat: so closely pressed were the English regiments, that they had constantly to face about and drive off the enemy before they could proceed further.

The nine battalions that had been threatened by de Feuquiere also managed to make good their passage across the Geete, aided by some squadrons of the left wing that yet remained unbroken. But while the retreat by Dormael was comparatively quiet, the scene on the side of the Geete was shocking. The artillery and munition wagons⁵⁴⁸ had reached the river at the same time as the infantry and cavalry, and had occasioned the greatest confusion.

Cumbrous guns and slow bullock-wagons choked the bridges; the infantry strove to press past them, and cavalry rode down the infantry.

⁵⁵⁸ De Beaurain.

William did all he could, and more than most men would have accomplished. Having seen Talmach safely off, he continued to cover the bridge of Neerhespen. But this one bridge would not suffice for the passage of a routed army. The other passes were abandoned to uproar and disorder. A mixed rabble of Horse, Foot, and guns poured over them, but by their very eagerness impeded their own progress: no cavalry protected their rear, and French dragoons and cuirassiers rode mingled with the fugitives cutting down all within their reach. The bridges became so utterly impassable that the soldiers frantically cast themselves into the river to avoid the death that pursued them on the shore. The banks of the river were not only steep but slippery: with difficulty could a man climb them, and a horse was almost sure to slip back into the water. It was a pitiful sight. The horses making wild efforts to climb up out of the water kept falling back on exhausted men, while the enemy was firing on the drowning soldiers from the other bank. It was a chaos of slaughter. The Officer and the Private, the General and the Drummer-boy, all fell to one level in the struggle for bare life: hundreds escaped being trampled to death by their friends or being slain by the swords of the French horsemen, only to be drowned in the river.⁵⁵⁹ Some of the soldiers were so terrified by this scene of horror that they never ceased their flight till they reached the other end of Holland.⁵⁶⁰

The King stayed so long to see the last of his unfortunate army safely off the field that, not for the first time that day, he was in imminent danger of being taken prisoner,⁵⁶¹ when the Honourable Hatton Compton, a Lieutenant in the Third troop of Life Guards (now fused in the Second Regiment) rescued him by a daring charge with very few men. Mr. Compton was made a Colonel on the spot.

William, having crossed the river, conducted the cavalry of the left wing together with the Guards⁵²⁶ and the remains of

⁵⁵⁹ De Beaurain.
D'Auvergne.
De la Colonie.
De Feuquiere.

⁵⁶⁰ D'Auvergne. Three weeks after the battle thirty English linesmen and six Guardsmen were returned from Holland by the Authorities, and being tried for desertion were condemned to die. The number to suffer was commuted to six Linesmen and three Guardsmen; and as was then customary the whole number of prisoners cast dice to settle upon whom the lot of death should fall.

⁵⁶¹ Hist. Record of the Life Guards.
Relation by Authority.

Ramsay's brigade to join the Elector *en route* to Boutechem near Tillemont.

The loss had been enormous on either side. One hundred and forty thousand men had paraded for action that morning: half of these had not been engaged, yet the number of killed alone was certainly not short of from twenty to twenty-five thousand,⁵⁶² of whom eight or nine thousand were French.

The French captured eighty guns,⁵⁶³ and nine pontoons, besides fifteen hundred prisoners. Nearly three thousand horses⁵⁴⁸ were taken or drowned, and such a prodigious number of captured Colours were forwarded to Paris that the duc de Luxembourg was dubbed by de Conti "le tapissier de Notre-Dame."⁵⁶⁴

Count Solmes had been mortally wounded; and the Prince de Brabançon,⁵²⁸ who had been disgraced by the facility with which he surrendered Namur, was slain in attempting to retrieve his tarnished fame.⁵⁴⁸

On the side of the enemy there had fallen Prince Paul of Lorraine,⁵⁶⁵ the duc d'Usez, General de Montchevreuil, and the Comte de Gassion: and Patrick Sarsfield the gallant Lord Lucan died of his wounds at Huy. Although the victors, the French had yet lost to the vanquished no fewer than fifty-six Colours and Standards.⁵⁴⁸

⁵⁶² D'Auvergne. De Feuquiere. De Beaurain. De la Colonie. De Quincy. Burnet. Berwick.

The accounts of losses were mutually exaggerated to a 'gross degree. While the French asserted the loss of the Allies to be eighteen thousand men and their own but five thousand, the Allies placed their own loss at six thousand, and that of the French at seventeen thousand. De Beaurain, however, who was an official compiler having access to all official records, has admitted the French loss to amount to from seven to eight thousand. D'Auvergne states that at the review held by William on the 5th of August only six thousand men were missing in all, besides camp followers drowned or killed during the retreat. We may fairly add five or six thousand to this for wounded then with the army. It was the interest of every Colonel and of every Captain of a Company to shew a fictitious strength, and that it was their practice to do so is a well established fact. (See Chap. XXIX, under Musters, Abuses, &c.) If the scrutiny could be eluded, or the Commissary of Musters could be blinded when a regiment was quietly at home in quarters, surely on such an occasion as this there would be no great difficulty in getting a few paper men admitted on to the muster rolls, for the Commissariat officers merely rode past with the King and took note of the front and depth of each regiment: battles did not occur every day, and such an opportunity of making "dead pays" would not be lost. A further three or four thousand may be therefore allowed for deceptive mustering.

⁵⁶³ De la Colonie.

De Beaurain.

D'Auvergne.

⁵⁶⁴ Voltaire, Siècle de Louis XIV.

⁵⁶⁵ D'Auvergne.

De Beaurain.

De la Colonie, &c., &c.

The French wounded were carried for the most part to Namur, which was crowded with them: at the windows of every house in the town were to be seen the bound-up heads or the pale faces of invalid soldiers, and for weeks the reveille and retreat were not permitted to be beaten out of consideration for the sick heroes of Neerwinden. At Paris it was said with some truth that there was better reason to chant the "De Profundis" than the "Te Deum."⁵⁶⁴

The loss of the English regiments was heart-rending. No detailed account of the Rank and File has been preserved, but some notion of the dreadful havoc may be formed from the following list of the casualties among their officers. The infantry regiments only are enumerated:⁵⁴⁸

List of Casualties among the officers of British infantry regiments engaged at Neerwinden, July 19/29, 1693.

Regiment.	Killed.	Wounded.	Taken Prisoners.	Totals.
<i>Engaged at Laer.</i>				
The 3rd Foot	4	4	5	13
" 4th "	2	3	2	7
" 21st " ... ..	...	5	1	6
" 25th "	2	1	8	11
" 26th " ... ..	...	2	3	5
Mackay's regt.	4	7	...	11
Lauder's "	4	1	4	9
	16	23	23	62
<i>Engaged at Neerwinden.</i>				
The 1st Foot Guards	7	7	1	15
" 3rd Scots "	5	6	...	11
	12	13	1	26
<i>Engaged at the Breastwork.</i>				
The 2nd Coldstream Guards... ..	1	6	...	7
" 7th Foot	5	6	...	11
	6	12	...	18
<i>Engaged at Rumsdorf.</i>				
The 14th Foot	5	7	1	13
" 16th "	2	...	1	3
" 19th " ... ..	...	1	...	1
Collingwood's regt.	3	...	...	3
	10	8	2	20
<i>Engaged at Neerlanden.</i>				
The 1st Foot	1	4	...	5
" 2nd "	3	1	...	4
	4	5	...	9

TOTALS.

—	Killed.	Wounded.	Taken Prisoners.	Totals.
Engaged at Laer, 7 regts. ...	16	23	23	62
„ Neerwinden, 2 regts. ...	12	13	1	26
„ Breastwork, 2 „ ..	6	12	...	18
„ Rumsdorf, 4 „ ...	10	8	2	20
„ Neerlanden, 2 „ ...	4	5	...	9
Grand Total, 17 regts. ...	48	61	26	135

De Luxembourg has been blamed that he did not follow up his victory more decisively. It was even said that his motives were of the most selfish nature; that, because his personal appearance and natural temperament did not fit him for courts, he was willing to protract a war which was the means of rendering him of importance. The Duke of Berwick wrote in great soreness about this presumed laxity. De Luxembourg appears, however, to have had good reasons for not pursuing the Allied army.

With the baggage many miles in rear, the troops fatigued by a long march and the ensuing battle, the regiments disjointed by casualties, it would have been dangerous to bring the Allied army to bay. De Luxembourg had no reserves, but William had large garrisons at hand upon which he could draw, and de Wirtemberg with more than twenty thousand fresh men was within a few days' march.

Moreover de Luxembourg was pre-eminently a good Commissary-General: indeed, without being so no general can become of more than ephemeral fame. He knew that the whole country from the Meuse to beyond Louvain was eaten up, and that even the Allies themselves were drawing their forage from Holland: how then could he go forward into such a country unless he possessed an efficient Transport Train, which he did not.⁵⁶⁶ What mischief, too, might not be worked during his advance by the garrisons he would leave in his rear: Maestricht, Liège, and Charleroi were full of soldiers; at Liège alone there were twenty thousand men.

Under such circumstances, the French general deemed it wiser to reap the certain fruits of his victory which awaited him on the Sambre and Meuse than to run great risks for less substantial possibilities.

⁵⁶⁶ So bad was his train that it was more than a week before the guns captured at Neerwinden could be got to Namur; De Beaurain.

Neither army moved for some few days, while the dead were being buried, the wounded cared for, and prisoners exchanged.

The Duke of Ormond⁵⁶⁷ was exchanged for the Duke of Berwick. The conduct of the former while lying at Namur deserves to be mentioned. Although scarcely able to speak or move,⁵⁶⁸ so ill was he, he sent for the other English officers who were prisoners, urged them to take care of their men, and desired them to draw upon him for any money required to obtain comforts for the wounded or necessities for the captives.

On the twenty-third the French marched from Landen to Warem. De Luxembourg, when sending dispatches to announce the victory of Neerwinden,⁵⁶⁹ had at the same time asked for instructions as to his next step, himself advising the siege of Charleroi: and at Warem he remained for several days awaiting the reply.

The Allies had rallied about Louvain and Malines, and when the army marched to Wemmél on the second of August it was joined by de Wirtemberg's Division.⁵⁷⁰

On the fifth the French marched to Bonef, and thence to Sombref, in order to get between the Allies and Charleroi. After some further delay, while awaiting re-inforcements and siege material, de Luxembourg at length invested Charleroi on the first of September.⁵⁶⁹

William believing it to be hopeless to attempt the relief, quitted the army; and on the first of October Charleroi surrendered, and thus another campaign closed with decided *éclat* and substantial gain to the French arms.

We are told that the battle of Neerwinden was known among the soldiers of the Allied Army as the battle of Fascines;⁵⁷¹ partly because of the fascines carried by the front ranks of the French for the purpose of filling in the ditches dug by the Allies; and partly in derision because it was said that the French might have saved themselves that trouble, for their own dead were soon numerous enough to fill up the trenches⁵⁷² (Ils. LXXV and LXXVI).

⁵⁶⁷ Berwick.

⁵⁶⁸ D'Auvergne.

⁵⁶⁹ De Beaurain.

⁵⁷⁰ De Beaurain.

D'Auvergne.

⁵⁷¹ De la Colonie.

⁵⁷² Among the authorities consulted and not quoted in detail are the London Gazette, St. Simon, De Quincy, the Paris Relation of the Battle by authority, &c.

CHAPTER XVII.

THE WAR IN FLANDERS. CAMPAIGN OF 1694.

1694.

Prospects of the campaign.—The British Contingent.—Strength of the Allies.—Plans of the French.—Movements of the two armies.—Strength of the French.—The march of both armies to the Scheldt.—The arrival at the Scheldt.—Capture of Huy by the Allies.

[For Illustrations, see Note on p. xiii.]

WHEN Napoleon Buonaparte was asked what three things he considered most necessary to a General to enable him to bring a war to a successful issue he replied ; “first money, and second *“Money,* and third MONEY,” of course implying all those accessories of warfare which money can procure.

The want of money or money’s worth turned the scale against the French in the campaign of 1694. For a quarter of a century had France been exhausting herself in wars, and now the Treasury was empty. It was impossible that fresh regiments should be raised, for those already serving could not be paid ;⁵⁷³ no supplies could be stored during the winter, nor the siege and Transport trains sufficiently recruited. Other circumstances also contributed to disturb the balance of success and to confer upon the Allies a greater share of prosperity than had hitherto fallen to their lot.

The French troops⁵⁷⁴ had necessarily been cantoned during the winter between the Sambre and the Meuse, and the subsistence of so large a body of troops for seven months precluded the formation of Supply depôts in the vicinity of the new

⁵⁷³ Burnet.

⁵⁷⁴ Among the authorities consulted for this campaign, and not quoted in detail, are the following :

De Beaurain.
D’Auvergne.
De Quincy.
De Feuquiere.
Berwick.
De la Colonie.

French frontier. Without such dépôts there could be no extension of French conquests on the Meuse. The farmers of Hainault, Namur, and Brabant had been so discouraged by the ruthless consumption or destruction of their crops during the past four years that they had left off sowing corn, and their grass they took care to cut early for fear of losing it altogether. The consequent dearth of green forage at first, and of corn later, while greatly impeding the operations of the Allies, had the effect of tethering the French to their own frontier, and of preventing them from undertaking any enterprise entailing a continued sojourn in any one locality.

Moreover, this season the Allies were earliest in the field. By the end of May the Allied army had assembled, and on the third of June it encamped at Meldert, having the woods which covered the front of the Parck camp of last year in rear of the present position (III. LXXVII). Owing to the dearth of forage the cavalry was unable to march in a body along with the rest of the army, but was distributed in cantonments in the surrounding districts as the army moved.

The following is a list of the British regiments serving in this campaign:—

HORSE.

General: The Earl of Portland.
 Major-Genls.: The Duke of Ormond.
 The Earl of Colchester.
 The Earl of Scarborough.

Brigadier.	Regiment.	Squads.
Leveson 	2nd Drag. Gds., or Leveson's	2
	3rd " " " Wood's	2
	6th " " " Wyndham's	2
	Galway's Regt.	2
Lumley 	1st Drag. Gds., "Queen's," or Lumley's	2
	4th " " or Langston's... ..	2
	5th " " " Coy's	2
	7th " " " Duke of Leinster's	2
L'Etang 	Life Gds., d'Auverquerque	1
	" Colchester	1
	" Ormond	1
	" Scarborough... ..	1
	" Horse Granadeers	1
	And some Dutch Life Gds. ... ..	...
Total Squads. of Horse 		21

DRAGOONS.

Brigadier.	Regiment.	Squads.
Matthews ... {	1st Drags., or Matthews's	4
	2nd " " "Scots," or Livingstone's	4
	3rd " " or Fairfax's	4
	4th " " "Essex's	4
	5th " " "Wynne's... ..	3
	7th " " "Cunningham's	4
	Total Squads. of Dragoons	23

INFANTRY.

Major-Genls. : Lord Churchill.
Sir H. Bellasyse.
Ramsay.

Brigadier.	Regiment.	Battns.
Brigade of Guards ... {	1st Foot Guards	2
	2nd " " "Coldstream"	1
	3rd " " "Scots Gds."	2
	And Dutch Guards ... ..	...
	1st Foot, "Royal" (1st Batt.), or Lord G. Hamilton's	1
Erle ... {	2nd Foot, or Selwyn's	1
	3rd " " Churchill's	1
	4th " " Trelawney's	1
	7th " Fusileers, or Fitzpatrick's	1
	12th " or Brewer's	1
	19th " " Erle's	1
	10th " " Granville's	1
	14th " " Tidcomb's	1
	15th " " Lesley's	1
	17th " " St. George's	1
Stuart ... {	Castleton's Regt.	1
	Lauder's "	1
	5th Foot, or Lloyd's	1
	16th " " Stanley's	1
	18th " " Fredk. Hamilton's	1
	23rd " " Ingoldsby's	1
	27th " " Tiffin's	1
	Collingwood's Regt.	1
	21st Foot, "Scotch Fusrs." or O'Ffarrel's	1
	25th " or Maitland's	1
O'Ffarrel ... {	26th " " Ferguson's	1
	Buchan's Regt.	1
	Mackay's "	1
	Graham's "	1
	1st Foot, 2nd Battn.	1
On command ... {	6th "	1
	Argyle's Regt.	1
	Strathnaver's Regt.	1
	Geo. Hamilton's Regt.	1
Total Battns. of Foot		35

TOTALS.

Horse, 21 Squads., at 150 men each	...	=	3,150
Dragoons, 23 „ „ 150 „	...	=	3,450
Cavalry	...		6,600
Foot, 35 Battns., at 600 men each...	...	=	21,000
Add for Artillery and Train, say	...		2,400
Total British Contingent...	...		<u>30,000</u>

The Seventh Dragoons, which appears in this list, had been raised as Horse in Scotland during the troubles of 1689–90, and converted into Dragoons in 1691.^{574a} The regiment had now for the first time been sent on active service. The regiment of Foot known as George Hamilton's⁵⁷⁵ was also a Scotch regiment, and appears to have been the first regiment of

^{574a} Scotch Parlt. Pro. 5 Octr. 1696; Petition by Officers of Lord Jedburgh's Regt.; Had been in H.M.'s service since the Revolution, and had been converted from Horse to Dragoons in Febry. 1691. List of Colonels of Regts. 1743, states that "the 7th Dragoons was formed from five of the ten troops of Militia Horse raised in Scotland in 1688, the other five being formed into a regt. of Dragoons under Lord Forbes of Scotland (Broke 1697)."

⁵⁷⁵ The case of the Officers of Lt. Genl. Hamilton's late regt. of Foot; Brit. Mus. 516 m. 18, 12; Levied in Scotland 1692; brought on to the English Est. in 1694; served in Flanders till 1697; sent over to the service of the States General in 1701; broke at Bergenopzoom in 1714.

Short History of the Highland Regiments, 1743.

It does not appear that this Regt. wore the Highland costume. There was however an independent Foot Company of "Highland men" on the Scotch Est. in 1678; Est. list, Scotch Treasury records, 1678.

The following creditable list of Infantry regts. contributed to the British Army by Scotland, during the war in Flanders, may prove acceptable; "Memorandum of Scots Regiments" (Home Office records):—

Foot-Guards	...	...	...	...	...	2 Battalions.
Royal Regiment	...	...	...	...	...	4 „
21st Fusileers (Row's)	...	...	...	...	...	2 „
25th Regt. (Maitland's)	...	...	...	...	...	2 „
26th do. (Ferguson's)	...	...	...	...	...	2 „
Sir D. Collier's	...	...	...	...	...	2 „
Wm. Collier's	...	...	...	...	...	2 „
Lauder's	...	...	...	...	...	2 „
Strathnaver's	...	...	...	...	...	2 „
Geo. Hamilton's	...	...	...	...	...	2 „
Murray's	...	...	...	...	...	2 „
Lorn's	...	...	...	...	...	1 „
Buchan's	...	...	...	...	...	1 „

In addition to these there was a troop of Horse Guards, and two regts. of Dragoons, the 2nd and 7th.

See also Chap. XXIV, Note 1391a.

The Scotch Forces were remodelled in 1689, and a list of the troops then disbanded, or retained, will be found in the Appendices (App. CXV).

Highlanders in our Standing Army. When ordered to Flanders the men had such a horror of leaving their own country that they formed the design of deserting in a body ⁵⁷⁶ and fleeing to the mountains: their intention was discovered, and they were surrounded, disarmed, and shipped off without delay.

Some time after their arrival in Flanders it was reported to King William that these Highlanders were in the habit of drinking to King James's health: turning to General Talmach the King asked how they behaved in the field: ⁵⁷⁶ "As well as any troops in the Army" was the reply. "Well then," rejoined the King, "if only they fight for me, why, let them drink my father-in-law's health as often as they please."

The British Artillery Train consisted of sixty guns and six mortars,⁵⁷⁷ four companies of Gunners and Mattrosses, and one company of Miners, of one hundred men each, besides Drivers: the Train was under the command of Colonel Goor and Lieut.-Colonel Brown.

Altogether the Allies had in the field a force of thirty-two thousand cavalry and fifty-seven thousand infantry. Besides these, there was encamped under Ghent for the purpose of watching the French Lines of the Scheldt a corps of seven thousand men. Moreover, the garrisons of the Meuse were very strong: at Liége alone there were twenty-four thousand men.

This year for the first time the Artillery, being about one hundred and thirty pieces in all, took post at the head of the several brigades, a proportion to each brigade, instead of marching in one body as had heretofore been done: this new practice had obtained in the French army two years previously.

The French army was at this time encamped at Gemblours, the Dauphin holding the nominal command, but tutored by de Luxembourg. The main hope of the campaign was the capture of Liége, and accordingly, on the eighth of June, the French marched to Jaudrain with the view of getting between the Allies and Liége.

William, from his present position at Meldert, could scarcely have prevented the interception, even if he had not had confidence in the strength of the Liége intrenched camp; but for his better observation of the enemy he advanced to Tirlemont.

On the tenth de Luxembourg marched to St. Tron, thus

⁵⁷⁶ Short History of the Highland Regiments.

⁵⁷⁷ D'Auvergne.

taking post almost directly between Tirlemont and Liège. At the same time de Boufflers, who had assembled a corps at Dinant, advanced across the Meuse, and encamped near Warem within a short march of the main army. The Marquis d'Harcourt, who was in the duchy of Luxembourg with another corps, was also ordered to approach the Meuse and hold himself in readiness to co-operate.

The French army in the field was now disposed thus :—

—						Horse.	Drag.	Foot.
Main army	...	...	...	...	...	20,500	3,800	47,000
De Boufflers' Corps	<i>d'Armée</i>	...	...	...	...	2,000	1,400	8,300
D'Harcourt's	do.	...	...	...	...	...	1,500	...
Total Foot	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	55,300
Do. Dragoons	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	6,700
Do. Horse	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	22,500
Grand Total	..	...	...	...	...	...	...	84,500

A comparison with the previous campaigns will exhibit a marked decrease in the numbers of the French. The explanation of this equalisation of the strength of the two opposing armies is to be principally found in the altered frontier. The French had now to find garrisons for Mons, Charleroi, Namur, and Huy; Namur alone would absorb from ten to fifteen thousand men. The Allies on the other hand had fewer garrisons to keep up, and had received large re-inforcements from England.

Both armies remained quiet for the rest of the month of June. The intervening country was so intersected by rivers and streams, that an engagement could not have been attempted except at great disadvantage to the attacking general, and at great risk of annihilation in case of defeat.

During the winter the French had brought together most of their stores of siege material at Huy in readiness for use down the Meuse, but de Luxembourg was of opinion that the siege of Liège was too formidable a task to be undertaken in the face of the Allied army. The place itself was not too well fortified; but to remedy this weakness of the fortifications without incurring the expense and delay of renewing or enlarging them, an intrenched camp had been formed. The intrenchments had been thrown up on the heights about the city, and commencing contiguous to the Meuse above the city they again touched the

river below it. The walls of the place held a garrison of nine thousand men, and a further fifteen thousand were encamped within the intrenchments. Without a second army to cover his operations, de Luxembourg could have no chance of success in a siege which would demand such extensive works as the mere length of the intrenched camp alone would necessitate. De Luxembourg does not seem to have had in his mind any particular plan for the campaign at this time, unless it were that he hoped to distract the Allies from moving coastwards.

William on his side was perfectly content to see the French assisting him to consume all the forage of the district, for the want of forage would after all prove the most effectual bar to French encroachments.

On the first of July the French marched to the Jaar, halting between Warem and Tongres.

On the thirteenth the Allies moved towards Huy, halting at Ramillies, but upon this de Luxembourg marched to Vignamont, thus covering Huy without relinquishing his hold over Liège. To prevent any attack on their camp the French threw up earth-works along their front. The Allies also strengthened their position by an intrenchment about Ramillies, the heights on which they placed their guns enabling them to command the Huy road for a long distance.

The crisis of the campaign was now at hand, and William was on the point of reaping the fruits of his unaccustomed prudence. The Allies were between the French and the Scheldt, and so soon as all the forage should be exhausted William could march direct to the Scheldt without further anxiety for Liège. Already de Luxembourg had had to send part of his cavalry beyond the Meuse to find food, while the store in Namur was insignificant.

Not only had William the start in a straight race for the Scheldt, but, besides this, the position taken up by him prohibited the French from pursuing the same route as himself without affording him an opportunity of fighting; and so soon as de Luxembourg should march westwards the garrison of Liège could join William and give him an overwhelming preponderance of force. To reach the Scheldt without coming into contact with the Allies, de Luxembourg would have to cross the Sambre, a movement that would increase the start already gained by his opponents.

Both armies had sent their heavy baggage to the rear⁵⁷⁸ in anticipation of the race for the Scheldt.

On the eighth of August William marched to Sombref: this long march, while bringing him straight on his way, enabled him to confine the enemy still to the Sambre. At Sombref the Allies halted for one day, a day's rest being absolutely needed; for the march had been so trying that multitudes of the men became stragglers, and numbers even fainted from the heat.

On the same day de Luxembourg crossed the Mehaigne and advanced to Daussoir near Namur. On the ninth he proceeded to the banks of the Sambre; and, having laid several bridges over it at its confluence with the Orneau, he crossed on the following day. After crossing the river the army was broken up into nine or ten different corps, and to each was assigned a separate route; all, however, were to halt each day within a certain circumference, so as to facilitate a speedy junction in case of necessity. Such a mode of advance admitted of far greater rapidity than could have been attained had the whole army marched and encamped in one body. Three thousand dragoons had been sent forward to Charleroi, and these, the moment they had news of the departure of the Allies from Ramillies, made all haste to re-inforce the Marquis de la Valette at the Lines.

On the tenth William marched to Nivelles, on the eleventh to Soignies,⁵⁷⁹ and on the twelfth to near Ath.

The student of the campaign of 1691 will recollect how woody and full of streams was the country betwixt Namur and la Bussiere. Through this difficult district (*see* Ill. LV) de Luxembourg (breaking up his army as already stated) marched on the twelfth, his impediments aggravated by rain with its accompaniments of swollen streams and heavy roads. The next day the infantry was so knocked up that it could not go on; but the Dauphin, with the cavalry and dragoons, pushed on with energy and the evening of the thirteenth saw him at Tournai.

On this day William crossed the Dender at Ligne, halted at

⁵⁷⁸ The Fifth Dragoons had accompanied the baggage of the Allies to the rear, their horses being in such bad condition with the voyage from Ireland and subsequent bad feeding, that they were not fit for the field.

⁵⁷⁹ At Soignies a man, who had been detected in attempting to fire the ammunition wagons, suffered the penalty of incendiarism. Having first been put to the torture with a view to discover his employers, his right hand was cut off and burnt before his eyes and he himself was then cast into the flames alive.—D'Auvergne.

Frasne, and sent forward General Tettau with five thousand men to prepare bridges at Hauterive.

De Luxembourg was on the same day marching to Saint Ghislain beyond Mons. His men were so utterly overcome that they were ordered to throw away their knapsacks, and they had to be revived every now and again with rations of brandy or beer. On arriving at Saint Ghislain de Luxembourg received an express from the Dauphin, to acquaint him that not only was the Allied main army close to the Lines, but Tettau was actually on the Scheldt, and the Elector of Bavaria had crossed the river above Oudenarde. Upon receipt of this intelligence the French general appealed to his men: the long-legged granadeers, and even the major part of the battalion companies, at once came forward, and expressed their readiness to go on that night. The next morning the main body of the French army was in Tournai.

When Tettau reached the banks of the Scheldt he was surprised to find de la Valette's opposing force strengthened by de Villeroi's three thousand dragoons^{579a} from Charleroi; but he was still more astonished to see the brigade of Gardes, which had been forced on to Condé and thence forwarded in boats. Tettau sent for guns and opened fire, but he was effectually hindered from laying his bridges.

On the morning of the fourteenth William marched to force the river at Hauterive. The weather was wretched, and the roads were heavy; everything was calculated to depress the spirits of the troops. About mid-day they reached the river. What was the universal dismay and disappointment to see de Villeroi well intrenched on the other side of the river, and the half of the French army winding through the Lines to join him. It was evident that the game was up. Before night-fall the whole of de Luxembourg's army was united on the banks of the Scheldt.

De Luxembourg is said to have justly regarded this march as a grander triumph than even the victory of Neerwinden.

The French had left Huy at mid-day on the eighth, and on the morning of the fourteenth they were prepared on the other side of the Scheldt to oppose the passage of the Allies. Many miles of almost impassable country had been traversed; the

^{579a} It must be constantly borne in mind that Dragoons at this period were veritable Mounted Infantry, mounted for the sake almost entirely of rapidity of movement. The war in Flanders offers some striking illustrations of the value of such troops.

Mehaigne, the Scarpe, and the Scheldt had been crossed, the Sambre twice crossed; and in the five days and a half a total distance had been covered of about one hundred and twenty miles. The distance marched by the Allies in the same time was scarcely eighty miles.

The French cavalry was ruined for any further service, and it was said that this famous march cost de Luxembourg no less than three thousand men: the course of the march was easily to be tracked by the dead bodies of men and horses.

William, thus foiled in his designs on the Lines, marched to Escanasse and Melden. At the same time four brigades crossed the river to strengthen de Wirtemberg's force which occupied the heights of Peteghem between Oudenarde and the enemy. The next day William crossed at Oudenarde, and halted half-way between that place and the Lys. It must be recollected that the Allies were now far superior in numbers to the French: not only so, but while the French general was obliged to make numerous detachments to cover his frontier, William was daily expecting Count Thian from Deinse and General Coehorne with eight thousand men from Liège. De Luxembourg therefore moved to the Lys, halting at Courtrai; and on the seventeenth he crossed the river, and encamped with his right on Courtrai and along the Lys to the Heulle river while his left stretched at right angles with the Lys as far as Moorseele. Redoubts were erected along the Heulle, and an intrenchment was thrown up on the left flank. De la Valette occupied the Lines from the Scheldt to the Lys with about five thousand men; and de Villeroi those from the Lys to Ypres with some twelve thousand more. Fifteen thousand men were placed in garrison at Furnes, and the place was made ready for defence. The main army was in position to re-inforce whichever of these posts might be attacked.

William, however, desired nothing better than to detain the French army beyond the Scheldt; and the only movement he made was to cross the Lys and encamp at Rousselaer, so as to create the greater apprehension for Furnes and Fort Knoque.

In the meantime the Duke of Holstein invested Huy, and in ten days' time that fortress was again in the hands of the Allies.

It seems astonishing that King William should have so little profited by his bitter lesson of 1691 as to suffer his schemes to be again frustrated by a forced march. The excellent plan he had formed for the campaign, and the patient manner in which the preliminaries had been carried through, were deserving

of a happier issue. But when William made his final move not a single party of observation, not a scout or a spy, appears to have been thrown out. William, as in 1691 beyond the Sambre, seems to have made sure of the result, and to have taken no pains to prevent a possible frustration of his plans: as before, he would appear to have forgotten that it must be a maxim with a good general to foresee and forestal bare possibilities as well as evident probabilities. Had William succeeded in crossing the Scheldt before the arrival of the French army, the results would have been disastrous to the French, and would have told heavily on the chances of the next campaign. Not only Furnes and the Knoque fort would have fallen into the hands of the Allies, but Dunquerque also; for an English fleet was at this very time off that harbour prepared to co-operate in any attack upon the place.

The only excuse to be made in exoneration of William is that the forced march made by the French on this occasion was regarded as a physical impossibility.

The march from the Meuse to the Scheldt was as it were the statue that should fill the last niche in the edifice of de Luxembourg's reputation,⁵⁸⁰ and it still stands almost unparalleled.

It must, therefore, not be argued that the result of the campaign in favour of the Allies was due to any superior soldiery on the part of their general. Candour compels the admission that it was mainly owing to the increasing pecuniary difficulties of the French Government. From sheer lack of means de Luxembourg was reduced to accept a plan of campaign of a merely defensive character: what siege, what enterprise of any magnitude, could be undertaken by an army whose "Intendance" or Commissariat had no money, no dépôts, and above all no efficient transport train?

⁵⁸⁰ This great general died before the opening of the next campaign. Francis Henri de Montmorenci, duc de Luxembourg, was born in 1628. He was present at the battle of Rocroi in 1643, when he was a pupil of the great Condé. He had a by no means handsome face, and a deformed figure. Upon its being reported to him that William had once exclaimed "What; am I never to beat this hump-backed fellow?" de Luxembourg observed "How should he know the shape of my back; for it is certain that I never turned it to him."

He died on the 4th January, 1695, at the age of 67.

During this year an expedition was fitted out for harrying the French coasts, but without any good result. Ten regiments were assembled at Portsmouth, namely a mixed battalion of Foot-Guards, the Sixth Foot, the Ninth, Thirteenth, Nineteenth, and Twenty-fourth Foot, besides Cutts's, Collier's, Rowe's, and Coote's regiments. General Talmach was in chief command. It was resolved to attempt a landing at Camaret Bay, at the mouth of Brest harbour.

On the 6th of June, the fleet having arrived off Brest, a final council of war was held ; when Lord Cutts volunteered to head the advance party.

On the eighth^{580a} the attempt was made, the attack being led by six hundred granadeers under Cutts. The enemy's works were very strong, and well-manned, and there was a large body of cavalry manœuvring in the open. The British troops landed in a confused manner ; the fire from the ships was ill directed and badly sustained, while that from the forts was heavy and continuous : the vessels were cut to pieces, the troops suffered a loss of seven hundred killed and wounded, the plan of attack was not adhered to, the works were found too strong for assault ; and with some difficulty the men were re-embarked. The affair was a complete failure, and a defeat was sustained apparently from lack of moral courage to decide upon abandoning an attempt that due consideration must have shown to be desperate. Talmach was mortally wounded.

^{580a} Caermarthen's journal.

CHAPTER XVIII.

THE WAR IN FLANDERS. CAMPAIGN OF 1695.

1695.

Prospects of the campaign.—Opening of the campaign.—Investment of Namur. — Siege of Namur.—The assault of the Coquelet.—Assault of the Porte St. Nicolas. —Assault of the Intrenchment.—Surrender of the town.—Movements of the armies beyond the Scheldt.—Loss of Dixmude.—Loss of Deinse.—Continuation of the siege of Namur.—Storming of Namur.—Surrender of Namur.—Close of the campaign.

[*For Illustrations, see Note on p. xiii.*]

ALTHOUGH each year of the war had hitherto been one continued success to the French, and one series of discouragements and disasters to the Allies, the turning point had at length been reached. *L'homme propose et Dieu dispose.* The duc de Luxembourg, whom bullets had spared at Fleurus, Estinkerke, and Neerwinden, was seized with a pleurisy during the peaceful winter, and died in January in the sixty-eighth year of his age. Adored by both Officers and soldiers, making no secret of his preference for the Camp to the Court, dashing yet prudent, skilful yet daring, de Luxembourg's personal influence had been as conducive to his success as had his strategical genius. His loss was irreparable to the French, for of all soldiers in the world the French soldier is perhaps the most open to the impression of personal influence. The Maréchal de Villeroi was appointed to the Command in his stead.

Hitherto the operations of the French had been offensive ; but several reasons combined to deprive them now of this advantage, and to reduce them to the defensive. Not only was the old General dead and a comparatively untried General invested with the Command, but the drain on the French resources was becoming more and more felt each year: the French government had even been obliged to fall back upon that most obnoxious of taxes, the poll-tax. Added to this the Allies had at length learned the importance of beginning the campaign in good time and with an adequate force ; at last they had learned the wisdom and the economy of striking hard if you strike at all, the value of the pull that is not only a long pull but a strong pull and a pull all together. They had

determined to concentrate their whole efforts upon Flanders for this campaign,⁵⁸¹ and no endeavours were spared to assemble as large an army as possible, and to get it into the field as early as the season would permit.

The French frontier had advanced alarmingly: during the winter twenty thousand navvies,⁵⁸² covered by a *corps d'armée* under de Boufflers, had been employed in renewing and strengthening the French lines. These lines now comprehended all the country (Ill. LXXVIII) within one long stretch of defence from Namur to Furnes. The line of the Sambre was secured by the recent acquisitions of Namur and Charleroi: from the Sambre to the Haisne ran intrenchments: from Mons to Condé the Haisne afforded a natural frontier, as did the Scheldt from Condé to the Espierre: thence the lines were carried to the Lys and so to Ypres: and from Ypres the country to Dunquerque was covered by the canal which ran by way of the Knoque Fort and Furnes. The whole line was connected along its length by forts and redoubts at intervals: towards the Lys especially the works had been made particularly strong, and the ditch had been much widened. But the very fact of this great extent of frontier within an enemy's territory tended to reduce the French General to the defensive.

In April both armies began to assemble. The main army of the Allies, under the King, with the Prince de Vaudemont and Duc de Wirtemberg as seconds in command,⁵⁸³ assembled at Deinse on the left bank of the Lys: and another *corps d'armée* under the Elector of Bavaria encamped at Assche with its left towards Brussels. This latter force numbered about fifteen thousand cavalry and twenty thousand infantry; while the King's army consisted of about eleven thousand cavalry and forty-two thousand infantry, and included all the English regiments except about a dozen that were with the Elector. The following is a list of the British Contingent:—

I.—*With the Army under King William the Third.*

CAVALRY.

Lieut.-Generals:

M. D'Auverquerque. The Duke of Ormond.

Major-Generals:

Earl Rivers. Eppinger.

⁵⁸¹ De Quincy.

⁵⁸² De Quincy.

D'Auvergne.

⁵⁸³ D'Auvergne.

Brigade.	Regiments.	Squads.
L'Etang ...	Life-Guards, 1st Troop ...	1
	" 2nd " ...	1
	" 3rd " ...	1
	Do. Horse-Granadeers ...	1
Lumley ...	1st Dragoon-Guards ...	3
	4th " ...	2
	6th " ...	2
	7th " ...	2
Coy ...	2nd Dragoon-Guards ...	2
	3rd " ...	2
	5th " ...	2
Mathews ...	Galway's Horse ...	3
	2nd Dragoons ...	4
Wynne ...	4th " ...	4
	5th " ...	4
	7th " ...	4
Total Squadrons ...		38

Foot.

General :

Duke of Wirtemberg.

Lieut.-Generals :

Count Nassau. Count Noyelles. Sir Henry Bellasyse.

Major-Generals :

Churchill. La Melonière. Ramsay.

Brigade.	Regiments.	Battns.
Brigade of Guards ...	1st Foot Guards ...	2
	2nd " " (Coldstreams)...	1
	3rd " " (Scots)...	2
	1st Foot ("Royal") <i>see</i> Collier's Bde.	2
Erle ...	2nd " ...	1
	3rd " ...	1
	4th " ...	1
	16th " ...	1
Fitzpatrick ...	19th " ...	1
	5th Foot ...	1
	7th " (Fusiliers) ...	1
	18th " ...	1
Collier ...	23rd " ...	1
	Collingwood's ...	1
	La Melonière's ...	1
	6th Foot ...	1
Collier ...	10th " ...	1
	Seymour's ...	1
	Saunderson's ...	1
	Collier's ...	1
(With one Battalion of the Royals).		
O'Farrell ...	21st Foot... ..	1
	Lauder's ...	1
	Mackay's... ..	1
	Morton's ...	1
O'Farrell ...	Strathnaver's ...	1
	Geo. Hamilton's... ..	1
		29

II.—*With the Elector's Force.*

General: The Earl of Athlone.

CAVALRY.

						Squads.
Lloyd	{ 1st Dragoons	...	...	...	...	4
	{ 3rd „ (Queen's)	...	...	...	...	4
						<hr/> 8

INFANTRY.

							Battns.
12th Foot	...	...	...	...	...	...	I
14th „	...	...	...	...	...	...	I
15th „	...	...	...	...	...	...	I
17th „	...	...	...	...	...	...	I
25th „	...	...	...	...	...	...	I
26th „	...	...	...	...	...	...	I
27th „	...	...	...	...	...	...	I
Graham's	...	...	...	...	...	...	I
Lorne's	...	...	...	...	...	...	I
Buchan's	...	...	...	...	...	...	I
							<hr/> 10

TOTALS.

					Cavy. Squadns.	Infy. Battns.	Men.
With King William...	..	...	...	...	38	29	{ 3,300 2,400
„ The Elector ...	...	...	...	...	8	10	
					46		
At 150 each, and 100 for Drs.	...	...	...	...
						39	
At 600 each ...	..	...	...	...	...		23,400
Total British Contingent	...	...	...	...	...	...	29,100

Besides the two armies under William and the Elector, Major-General Ellenberg⁵⁸² had a corps of thirteen thousand men encamped about Dixmude; the Brandenburg contingent, sixteen thousand strong, was assembling near Liège; and Count Cerclaes de Tilly had some four thousand Liégeois in the same vicinity. The Allies were reckoned to have in the field, from the Meuse to the sea, about one hundred and twenty-four thousand men.

The French assembled in three bodies: the first under de Villeroi, within the lines near Menin; the second, under de Boufflers, between the Lys and the Scheldt; the third, under M. de Montal, in the neighbourhood of Furnes. On the second

of June King William marched from Arseele to Rousselaer, and on the next day to Beccalaer.⁵⁸⁴

De Villeroi, who had joined himself to the forces cantoned about Mons, marched to Leuze, and thence to Houthem beyond the Lys by way of Cordes and Pottes. At the same time de Boufflers betook himself to Gosselies near Charleroi: but the Elector, marching from his then camp at Ninove by way of St. Livens and Enaeme to Tieghem between the Scheldt and Lys and not far from the French Lines, de Boufflers followed by way of St. Ghislain and Tournai, and took up a position close to Courtraï where he received re-inforcements.

At this time the Marquis d'Harcourt with a small flying column was on the Meuse in observation of the Brandenburg and Liége contingents, which had now been joined at Liége by a large body of cavalry from the main armies.

With this single exception, therefore, of d'Harcourt's flying Column, the whole of the French forces were between the Scheldt and the sea. De Boufflers was between the Scheldt and the Lys, de Villeroi between the Lys and Ypres, and Generals de Montal and de la Mothe between Ypres and the sea. During the winter the French had much facilitated the defence of their Lines by cutting what were termed "*routes royales*" for purposes of speedy communication: these "*routes royales*" were perfectly direct, nothing being allowed to interfere with their course; trees, houses, walls, and villages were ruthlessly demolished if they stood in the way.

William now detached the duc de Wirtemberg with eight battalions under Major-General Churchill⁵⁸⁵ (among which were the Third, Tenth, and Twenty-third Foot), together with some artillery and a pontoon train under Colonel Goor, to join Ellenberg and threaten Knoque Fort. On the eighth of June de Wirtemberg commenced operations against the Knoque, continuing until the night of the sixteenth, when he drew off in silence as far as Dixmude. At the same time the Elector made feints of attacks on the Lines of the Lys and Scheldt.

When de Wirtemberg marched to the Knoque, the King returned to Rousselaer; and thence he pushed speedily on towards the Meuse, escorted only by the Life-Guards and some Dutch cavalry, leaving de Vaudemont with the army of observation, and instructing de Wirtemberg and the Elector to march on Namur.

⁵⁸⁴ For these and the following movements and details the authorities are chiefly D'Auvergne and De Quincy.

The design was, having drawn all the French forces westwards, to suddenly invest Namur. To this end grand preparations had been made at Maestricht: an immense quantity of siege material had been collected, and all the boats on the Meuse had been pressed. Count Cerclaes de Tilly with the Liége and Brandenburg contingents had gone to Falaise on the Mehaigne; and on the 18th the Earl of Athlone, with the body of cavalry from the Elector's army, went to Tirlemont *en route* to join them. On the 20th de Vaudemont proceeded to Grammen on the Lys, and there remained. On the 18th the Elector's *corps d'armée* left Tieghem and marched to St. Livens, and thence to Ninove, to Halle, to Genappe, and to Le Masy, each stage representing a day's march.

In the meantime the Earl of Athlone, leaving a body of cavalry at La Falise (which lies a little north of Namur) marched on Charleroi, crossed the Meuse at Chastelet, and then turned and marched straight towards Namur, sweeping the river of boats as he went: the effect of this feint on Charleroi was to deceive d'Harcourt, and to induce him to weaken his forces by throwing a body of dragoons into Charleroi. Athlone, on arrival in front of Namur, occupied posts stretching from Floreffe on the Sambre across to the Meuse: and on the 23rd, upon the march of the Elector across the Sambre to Malogne, a regular investment was undertaken. Athlone took the country from the Sambre to the Meuse on the town side, while the Elector took the ground between the rivers on the side of Malogne: the latter also put the Brandenburgers under General Heiden across the Meuse to occupy the remaining interval between the rivers on the Fort de Jambe side. This last move was, however, made a day too late; for de Boufflers, who had been hurried off to observe what might pass in the direction of the fortresses of the Sambre,⁵⁸⁵ having crossed that river at Solre, reached Phillippeville at 10 o'clock on the night of the 21st; and marching again four hours later crossed the Meuse at Dinant, joined d'Harcourt and marched into Namur at 10 o'clock that night with seven regiments of dragoons, M. de Megrigny a distinguished Engineer, and a number of artillerymen and sappers. On this same day King William arrived in camp; and thus on the 23rd of June the investment of Namur was formally completed.

⁵⁸⁵ De Quincy.

D'Auvergne.

18th June to Tournai; 19th to Condé; 20th crossed Sambre at Thuin and Solre; 21st to Dinant; 22nd to Namur.

Namur was one of the most formidable strongholds in the world : and this strength it owed partly to nature, and partly to its artificial defences, upon which every advance in the science of military engineering had been experimented.

About two miles above the confluence of the Sambre and Meuse the distance between the two rivers is nearly two miles ; but here the Sambre makes a circuit outwards, and thus forms a large circular sort of peninsula some four miles square : across the neck of this peninsula runs a lofty ridge, and nearly the whole of the peninsula itself is taken up by a series of heights in the general conformation of one long steep hill terminating in a point at the confluence of the rivers. On the other side of the Sambre, at the point of confluence, was the town of Namur, built upon comparatively low ground and commanded by the heights of Bouge beyond it : and on the other side of the Meuse, also on low ground, was a small suburb called the Faubourg de Jambe, commanded by the heights of Sainte Barbe. When Namur was captured by the French in 1692 the fortifications had been the pride of COEHORNE, the famous Dutch Engineer : since then DE VAUBAN, his equally distinguished French rival, had added many new works in the hope of rendering the place impregnable.

All along the town-front outworks had been built or thrown up on the other side of the Verderin stream (Ill. LXXX). Besides the Bastion Balart, a work of Coehorne's, which stood on the side of the heights of Bouge, there were to the left of it the Bastions St. Fiacre, Epinois, and St. Antoine. In advance of those works was a farm called le Coquelet, which had been intrenched and fortified, and which held a considerable body of men. The town itself was defended by a line of bastions from the Meuse to the Sambre, the ditch being large and well fed with water. But the main fortress, which stood between the confluence of the two rivers, was quite independent of the town, and was of immense strength. Built upon the peninsula already described, the Castle occupied the extreme point, and thence the works extended fan-wise as the heights opened out between the rivers : first came the Terra Nova fort with its triple envelope of walls and bastions ; and in advance of these was the Fort William or the Coehorne, in front of which the French had erected a ravelin, and which they had otherwise strengthened. The Coehorne (as it is preferable to call it) was connected with the Terra Nova on the outer side by palisades and trenches

dominated by two redoubts, one of quadrilateral form called the Cassotte, and the other a lunette called the Fort Saint Esprit. Along the ridge which bridges the neck of the peninsula the French had placed an intrenchment of formidable dimensions, the ditch, which was all hollowed out of almost solid rock, being eighteen feet broad and ten feet deep. The great French Engineer, de Vauban (Ill. LXXXI), had exercised his utmost skill in improving upon the defences of his rival Coehorne

The side of the peninsula next the Meuse was exceedingly steep, so much so as to be almost precipitous, but in the curve on the Sambre side the heights sloped off into a marshy flat.

The garrison consisted (after de Boufflers's re-inforcement) of nineteen battalions of Foot, eight regiments of dragoons, a company of miners, and a company of gunners, or in all about twelve or fourteen thousand men: and the magazines were well stored with munitions, money, and provisions. The place mounted one hundred and twenty guns, besides eight mortars. The Comte de Guiscard was the Governor, and de Boufflers took the general command of the troops.

Immediately after the investment, Lord Athlone was detached with the cavalry to consume the forage between Mons and the Sambre, while the investing army awaited the arrival of re-inforcements and of the guns and siege material: these latter were delayed by the low state of the river, which had necessitated their unloading at Huy in order to transfer them into vessels of lesser draught.

On the 21st of June de Wirtemberg joined the besieging army;⁵⁸⁶ having in his force, besides ten battalions of Dutch and Danish troops, nine English regiments, namely the Third, Tenth, Fourteenth, Seventeenth, Twenty-third, Twenty-fifth, Twenty-sixth, and Twenty-seventh Foot, and a regiment of foreign Horse together with the First Royal Dragoons.

On the 28th Major-General Ramsay arrived at Temploux with sixteen regiments, among which were the first battalion First Foot-Guards, the first battalion Scots Guards, the first battalion Royals, the Second, Sixth, Seventh, and Sixteenth Foot, besides Seymour's, Collingwood's, Lauder's and Saunderson's: and on the 1st of July the army was further strengthened by the arrival of Lord Cutts⁵⁸⁶ with five battalions from de Vaudemont's army, including two Dutch regiments, and the second battalion First Foot-Guards, the second battalion Coldstream Guards, and the Fourth Foot.

⁵⁸⁶ D'Auvergne.

On the same day, the siege material having arrived,⁵⁸⁷ the trenches were opened; ground being broken that night by the Dutch on the heights of Bouge, and by the Brandenburgers on Sainte Barbe; and on the 3rd, in spite of sorties having retarded the erection of the batteries, fire was opened on the town and on the French works on the Bouge.

On the 6th the Bouge trenches were carried close in front of the covered way that connected the Coquelet with the bastion Balart, these trenches being manned by English troops: and on the 8th, the trenches having been carried branchwise in front of the outer works of the Coquelet, it was arranged that they should be stormed.

The French lines were defended by eight battalions of infantry with a strong body of dragoons and the granadeers of the garrison, M. de Reignac being in command.

The order of attack was that the troops relieving the trenches were to lead, and those about to be relieved were to support. The post of danger thus fell to the Brigade of Guards.

Towards evening the troops formed in two bodies, one for the right attack (*i.e.*, to the right of the Coquelet) and one for the left: they consisted of the two battalions of the First Foot-Guards,⁵⁸⁸ the second battalion of the Coldstream Guards, the first battalion of the Scots Guards, and the Dutch regiment of Guards, besides a detachment of fifteen granadeers from each English regiment in camp. In addition to these a body of Dutch troops, under Generals Salisch and Frisheim were to attack the works from the Balart towards the Coquelet.

The position to be attacked was by no means of a despicable character. To the left of the defences was a deep ravine separating the Bastion St. Fiacre from the Coquelet and the hill of Bouge; this ravine confined both defence and attack on that side. On the brow of the slope down to this ravine stood the Coquelet, a ruined tower and farm-house which had been fortified as already described; and this tower with its enveloping works (all of good height and palisadoed) formed merely an outwork to the covered way which extended along the brow of the hill of Bouge from the ravine to the Bastion Balart.

At seven o'clock the troops advanced to the assault under

⁵⁸⁷ D'Auvergne.

De Quincy.

⁵⁸⁸ D'Auvergne.

Relation du voyage de S. M. Brit. en Hollande 1691-5.

Exact account of the siege of Namur, 1695.

Major-General Ramsay: each attack was led by one hundred and twenty fusileers⁵⁸⁹ in three ranks, each man carrying before his body a large fascine; a like number of granadeers followed with three rounds of granades; in rear of these came one hundred pioneers carrying woolsacks and gabions, and under the conduct of Engineers; in the centre was a similar body, but of smaller numbers; and the battalions followed in rear of all, the Dutch Guards being on the right, nearest the ravine.

The troops advanced in good order; when about forty paces from the enemy's works, the granadeers opened out to the right and left of the fusileers, and, having fired their pieces by platoons as they continued to advance, they rushed in upon the palisades and discharged their granades upon the enemy; while the fusileers also came up and opened fire, under cover of which the pioneers disposed of their gabions and woolsacks so as to best afford cover for the assailants. The battalions of the British Guards were, however, rapidly brought to the front: marching straight on the enemy's works, they endured his full fire until the palisades were reached, when they poured in a fearful volley and immediately charged and carried the palisades, which the General ordered to be at once broken up in order that they might not form an obstacle in case of retreat and fresh attack. The troops then followed the enemy within their first covered-way. The Frenchmen resisted stoutly, but when once they began to give way they could no longer oppose the fury of the British Guards:⁵⁹⁰ re-inforced by the Fourteenth and Sixteenth Foot from the trenches, and with Lord Cutts to set them an example of brilliant courage, these drove the enemy from work to work;⁵⁹¹ and not only did they gain possession of the whole of the main covered way, but some of the men actually pursued across the other works to the very gates of the town, where several of both officers and men were made prisoners and carried inside.^{591a}

The task of the Dutch Guards proved more difficult, and

⁵⁸⁹ D'Auvergne.

Exact account.

Fusileers, it must be understood, signifies musqueteers armed with fusils or flintlocks instead of matchlocks.

⁵⁹⁰ Exact account.

⁵⁹¹ D'Auvergne.

De Feuquiere.

De Quincy.

^{591a} Including Lt.-Cols. Pierce and Morrison and Ensign Atkins of the Coldstream Guards, and Ensign Ross of the Scots Guards; D'Auvergne.

the French opposed them successfully, until they were reinforced from the trenches by the first battalion of the First Royals,⁵⁸⁹ and the Seventh Fusileers, with Brigadier Fitzpatrick at their head. This attack, which presently resulted as successfully as the other, was also supported by the Twenty-third and Twenty-fifth Foot,⁵⁸⁹ together with Saunderson's, while Lauder's crossed the ravine to check any action of the enemy from that flank. The mortality was great; for the Allied troops were dreadfully exposed to the fire from the town while pursuing the enemy down the slope of the hill, and the French soldiers were slaughtered by the score while taking shelter in the stone pits which abounded there.

The result of the affair was that, instead of merely gaining the Coquelet and the covered ways around it, which was all that had been expected, the Allies were left masters of the whole of the heights of Bouge (except the Balart redoubt); for the Dutch troops had, simultaneously with the main attack, carried the covered way as far as the Balart as well as the Jesuits' House and other lesser posts towards the Meuse.

There were not fewer than four thousand men killed⁵⁹² and wounded in this evening's work; and the following is a list of the casualties among the Officers of the British regiments:—⁵⁹³

Regiment.	Killed.	Wounded.	Prisoners.
1st Foot-Guards	6	9	...
2nd "	3	8	3
3rd "	3	3	1
Royals	4	4	...
2nd Foot ... ..	...	2	...
4th " ... ..	...	1	...
14th "	3	3	...
23rd "	2	...	...
25th "	2	1	...
Collingwood's ... ..	...	1	...
Saunderson's	1	2	...
Totals	24	34	4

⁵⁹² De Quincy says four thousand of the Allies, and fifteen or sixteen hundred French.

De Feuquiere says nearly three thousand French.

D'Auvergne says eighteen hundred Allies: and he also states that an intercepted dispatch laid the French loss at five hundred.

Exact Account says that the French lost half their number.

⁵⁹³ D'Auvergne.

If we may judge by Royal Warrt. 6 Febr. 1695-6 (App. LXXXVIII), the first Foot Guards lost in this action two hundred and eighty-three men disabled from further service, and the Coldstream Guards one hundred and sixty-five men.

The firing ceased about nine o'clock, and shortly afterwards the Guards were relieved and marched off to Temploux amid the congratulations of all in camp.⁵⁸⁶ General Ramsay received the personal thanks of the King for the day's success.

On this same day, but earlier, the besieged had, under cover of a fog, succeeded in entrapping⁵⁸⁴ and cutting to pieces some eight or nine hundred Brandenburgers, who had begun an intrenchment within the gardens of the faubourg de Jambe; but, beyond the loss of the men, no further mischief was done to the besiegers. During the next night de Boufflers set fire to the faubourg, and abandoned it.

The Allies now directed their trenches towards Porte St. Nicolas, the English working on the slope of the heights of Bouge, the Dutch creeping towards the flank of the gate by the Jesuits' House, and the Brandenburgers erecting batteries on the other side of the river. The English regiments that had remained at Temploux were all called into camp, and the King fixed his quarters among them on Bouge Hill, constantly visiting the trenches to encourage the men and to inspect the works. There were now seventy-eight battalions in camp before Namur; while Prince Tilly with the Liégeois was encamped on the Coudros side of the Meuse to secure its navigation, for fresh siege materials and guns were still arriving from Maestricht and Liége by boat.

By the 15th of the month the British trenches had been pushed forward to the bottom of Bouge Hill, and had so embraced the Balart redoubt that it had been obliged to surrender: its guns were at once turned on to the town, and several other batteries both of guns and of mortars were playing from the hill on the Porte St. Nicolas. This gate was also taken in flank by two batteries erected beside the river by the Brandenburgers, one firing on the demi-bastion St. Roch, and the other on the ravelin in front of it.

In front of this ravelin was a counter-guard consisting of a covered way and counterscarp built within the estuary of the little river Verderin whose stream formed the ditch betwixt it and the ravelin. On the 16th the trenches were pushed close to this work; and on the following day an assault was ordered.

For the proper comprehension of this affair it is necessary to give a more detailed description of the defences at the

⁵⁸⁴ De Quincy.

threatened point. From the Porte de Fer to the works in front of Porte St. Nicolas the French had dug trenches⁵⁹⁵ in the form of traverses along the whole length of the covered way. The ditch was very broad and well fed with water, and along the *enceinte* from the Porte de Fer to the Porte St. Nicolas were three formidable bastions, the bastion de Harquet in front of the Porte de Fer, the bastion de Samson, and the bastion de Lide. The Porte St. Nicolas itself was defended by the bastion St. Nicolas on the left of the gate, and the demi-bastion St. Roch on the Meuse, with a curtain connecting them; in front of the curtain a ravelin; and in front of the ravelin the counter-guard already mentioned. Along the whole front of the glacis flowed the Verderin.

Towards five o'clock in the afternoon the attack began⁵⁸⁷ by the advance of five hundred English granadeers (from all regiments in camp except the Guards), supported by two brigades under Brigadeers Selwyn and Lord George Hamilton. Selwyn's brigade consisted of the Twenty-third⁵⁸⁶ and Twenty-fifth, with Lauder's and Saunderson's; while Hamilton's comprised the First and Second Foot with Seymour's and Nassau's: Major-General Ramsay being in command of the whole.

The granadeers marched straight up to the palisades of the covered way and discharged their grenades over them; the Twenty-third and Saunderson's were the next to come up; the enemy's fire from the covered way was terrific, and while the batteries of the Allies galled the French in their works, the French redoubts Epinois and St. Fiacre fired with fatal effect upon the English regiments as they marched up the glacis: but the assailants could not be driven back. Then the French sprang four fougasses⁵⁹⁶ on the glacis; the English fled backwards as the earth opened and belched forth its deadly load: no man knew whether his next step might not place him again on the very nest of one of these fearful messengers of death, yet even this did not deter the British troops from again advancing. Again they reached the top of the glacis, and there began to lodge woolsacks and gabions on the palisades over against the bastion St. Nicolas: the work progressed rapidly until the enemy managed to set fire to the woolsacks;

⁵⁹⁵ D'Auvergne.
Plans.

⁵⁹⁶ Fougasses are small mines, three to ten feet deep, placed in ground expected to be covered by assailants, and filled with powder or else with boxes containing shells, or sometimes with powder covered by stones.

the assailants were thus again exposed for a long time to the full fire of the besieged; but the men stuck to their ground, obstinately refusing to give way again; some of the granadeers even leaped over the palisadoes and fell fighting in the very thick of the foe.

Meanwhile a body of Dutch troops crept along the bank of the river close under the covered way of the ravelin, the whole of the right face of the counter-guard having been knocked to pieces. Three times were they repulsed with carnage, but ultimately they also effected a lodgment: and thus an effectual footing was obtained from the Meuse to beyond the bastion St. Nicolas.

Saunderson's and the Twenty-third suffered greatly in this business;⁵⁹⁷ M. du Puy, Engineer-General of Holland, was mortally wounded; and sixteen officers acting as Engineers were killed or wounded.

The Elector of Bavaria had taken advantage of the distraction created by this attack on the town, to effect a passage of the Sambre at la Balance and the Abbey of Salsines, which posts he occupied, thus getting within de Vauban's grand intrenchment from river to river.

The besiegers now aimed at two things, the capture of Porte St. Nicolas, and the capture of the grand intrenchment.

On the 30th the latter fell an easy prey: attacked at once in front, on both flanks, and in rear, it was palpably untenable, and the French troops retired from it into the Cassotte; leaving

⁵⁹⁷ D'Auvergne.

The following is D'Auvergne's list of officers killed and wounded:—

				K.	W.	
4th Foot	...	...	...	1	1	Granadeer Company.
6th "	...	...	...	1	2	" "
7th "	...	...	...	1	1	" "
14th "	...	...	...	1	1	" "
16th "	...	...	...	1	1	" "
23rd "	...	...	...	2	9	
25th "	...	...	...	2	2	
Seymour's	...	...	...	...	1	" "
Collingwood's	...	...	...	1	3	" "
Lauder's	...	...	...	1	1	
Saunderson's	...	...	...	...	4	
Officers acting as Engineers	...	...	...	5	11	
Totals	...	...	...	<u>16</u>	<u>37</u>	

D'Auvergne sets the Allied loss at seven or eight hundred killed and wounded, whereas De Quincy sets it at nearly three thousand, and that of the French at four or five hundred.

the Elector to commence his parallels from the intrenchment towards that redoubt.

At Porte St. Nicolas the efforts of the besiegers were especially directed towards breaching or mining the coffer-dam that separated the waters of the ditch from the Meuse, and also connected the demi-bastion with the out-works. To this end the Dutch pushed their trenches towards it along the narrow beach of the river; and on the 20th they sprung a mine but failed to blow up the dam, although it was so far damaged that the water in the ditch fell some two or three feet.

On the 23rd the English batteries had effected a breach in the bastion St. Nicolas, and the Dutch batteries had breached the Meuse face of the demi-bastion: and in the evening a simultaneous assault was made: the fighting continued until midnight, though with comparatively slight loss, but eventually the British troops succeeded in extending their lodgment to the right, while the Dutch effected a good lodgment on the demi-bastion beyond the dam. During this affair a French officer exhibited marvellous bravery,⁵⁸⁶ mounting on to the very palisadoes, exposing himself freely to every shot of the English cannon and musquets, waving his hat and encouraging his men to persevere in the defence; two or three times a ball falling close to him would cover him with earth and drive him to the ground, but immediately he was up again on his perilous stand and as energetic as ever.

The besieged could now have no hope of driving the besiegers back from their lodgments, and both the heights of Bouge and the banks of the Meuse bristled with batteries all directed upon the defences of Porte St. Nicolas. The defence might be prolonged for a day or two, but after that an assault was imminent, and would almost certainly result in success to the besiegers: to await such an assault would mean simply a futile sacrifice of life, and might prevent the procuring of such favourable terms as could now be proposed.

On the 24th, therefore, the town surrendered; the conditions being, the safe-conduct of sick and wounded to Dinant; a suspension of hostilities for two days; and on the 27th the surrender of all the Town beyond the Sambre together with the two towers at the head of the bridge over the Sambre, the besieged retaining possession of the bridge itself.

The interval of rest to besieged and besiegers at Namur will enable us to turn our attention towards the Scheldt and to recount the movements of de Vaudemont's army left in that neighbourhood upon King William's sudden departure to the Meuse.

We left de Vaudemont at Grammen on the Lys, whither he marched on the 20th of June, and where he was joined by the Duc de Wirtemberg.

On the 18th when William marched from Beccalaer to Rousselaer de Villeroi crossed the Lys⁵⁹⁸ and encamped at Harlebeck, and shortly afterwards marched to Pottes beyond the Scheldt, at the same time detaching bodies of cavalry towards the Sambre to harass the convoys of the Allies. On the 3rd of July he marched to attack de Vaudemont, whose presence on the Lys kept him tethered to the Lines and effectually prevented any relief of Namur. Leaving Pottes at ten o'clock at night⁵⁹⁹ he arrived at Rosebeck at nine the next morning, having during the night marched some four and twenty miles, and crossed the Scheldt and the Lys besides two smaller rivers.

The Allies, with their usual neglect of scouting precautions, were only aware of de Villeroi's approach when he was close upon them, and indeed when some of their advanced posts had been made prisoners by the French.

The inequality of strength was such that de Vaudemont would not have been justified in giving battle even upon the most advantageous ground: his numbers were not much more than half those of his opponent.⁵⁹⁸

He therefore dispatched his baggage to Ghent,⁶⁰⁰ and waited to see whether the French General would venture to attack him: he also called the Twenty-first⁶⁰¹ and two other English regiments from Deinse, and he threw back his right so as to occupy the higher ground about Arseele, besides intrenching his front. His right being at Arseele and his left at Gothem where the Mandel river joins the Lys, he had his left flank

⁵⁹⁸ D'Auvergne.
De Quincy.

⁵⁹⁹ De Quincy.
Berwick.
De Feuquiere.

⁶⁰⁰ Carleton.
D'Auvergne.

⁶⁰¹ D'Auvergne.

protected by the Mandel, while in his front were numerous ravines, streams, and woods.

On the morning of the 4th de Villeroi, having advanced as far as the village of Denterghem, was obliged to halt⁶⁰² while his troops effected some sort of clearance of the ground between themselves and the Allies; and the design was formed of surrounding de Vaudemont under cover of the very obstacles on which he was relying for protection from attack. The Comte de Montal, and the Duke of Berwick⁶⁰³ with a large body of cavalry, got on to the high road at Thielt and so round to the right flank of the Allies: the French infantry meanwhile extended along the front, and at intervals little explosions were made along the line to maintain the communication and to regulate the advance.⁶⁰⁴

De Vaudemont, however, perceived the intentions of his adversary and took measures accordingly. His situation was most critical, and a sudden retreat might prove more disastrous to him than even an attempt to hold his position. He had, therefore, recourse to a ruse. Giving orders for the troops in front to continue to perfect the intrenchments, and directing the artillery on his left to keep up a perpetual cannonade, he caused a number of houses along his front to be set on fire, and then with the greatest possible caution and silence withdrew his artillery from the front and from the right and dispatched it to Deinse. At the same time he moved the cavalry of the right wing, alternated with the infantry regiments of Collier's brigade, to his right rear between Arseele and Vinckt as if to check de Montal's approaching attack on that flank; but suddenly M. d'Auverquerque marched off with the cavalry straight upon Ghent by a narrow road through the woods, while the infantry, with their pikes and Colours trailed, took the road along the rear to Deinse.

During this movement⁶⁰⁵ the Prince de Vaudemont, the Duc de Wirtemberg, and a number of English Staff-Officers remained formed in line in order to keep up an appearance of the presence of cavalry.

⁶⁰² De Quincy.

⁶⁰³ De Quincy.

Carleton.

Berwick.

D'Auvergne.

Kane.

Parker.

⁶⁰⁴ Carleton.

Lastly the cavalry of the left, together with the Dutch infantry, drew off also towards Deinse.

So silently and with such art was all this done⁶⁰⁴ that two Captains of the Twenty-seventh, who with their companies had been left at their posts in the front near Arseele to keep up the deception to the last, had not a notion of their abandoned situation until an aide-de-camp brought them the order to withdraw.

This affair affords an example of the evil of permitting no discretion to subordinate commanders. The French Generals nearest the enemy saw what was being done, and perceived also that as regarded any effectual interference with de Vaudemont's retreat the critical moment would soon be passed:⁶⁰⁵ yet not one of them dared take upon himself the responsibility of action without orders. News of the movements was sent off to de Villeroi; but by the time it reached him the Allies had entirely withdrawn, and only their rear-guard was to be seen retiring across the fields in the distance. The French pursued; but the infantry of the rear-guard contested hedge after hedge⁶⁰⁵ and ditch after ditch, and thus, at comparatively trifling loss, gained time for the quiet retreat of their main body. A number of trumpeters were sent to the rear of the main body and ordered to sound repeatedly, as if the army were drawing up for battle; thereupon the closest of the pursuers halted until arrangements should be made accordingly; and this delay, together with the fall of night, put an end to the pursuit.

The next day de Vaudemont re-united his forces at Ghent, and de Villeroi returned to his camp between Rosebeck and Rousselaer.

On the 6th de Vaudemont, with the smallest part of his army, camped at Oostaker behind Ghent, while Sir Henry Bellasyse and de Wirtemberg marched through Bruges to Placendael where the Nieuport and Ostend canals join.

The defence of the line of canals from Nieuport to Ostend, Bruges, and Ghent, was now de Vaudemont's aim. Should he succeed in this, and in guarding the country as far as Brussels, any mischief the French might do outside that frontier would weigh as nothing in comparison with the capture of Namur which he was all this time facilitating.

On the 8th Bellasyse reached Nieuport, and, de Wirtem-

⁶⁰⁵ Carleton.
Parker.

berg following him, the defence of the canal from Nieuport to Placendael was provided for; and de Villeroi, who had advanced a body of troops beyond Dixmude with intentions against Nieuport, was forestalled. De Wirtemberg still further confined the movements of the French by opening the sluices about Nieuport, and putting the whole country under water.

Baulked at Nieuport, de Villeroi was forced to content himself with detaching M. de Montal to invest Dixmude. In this place were three Dutch battalions, one Danish, and several English regiments; the Twelfth and Fifteenth Foot, with Graham's and Lord Lorne's, and the Third Queen's Dragoons (III. LXXXII). Major-General Ellenberg (a Danish officer who had risen from the ranks) commanded, and he had plenty of supplies and munitions of all descriptions: the works were not strong but the place was capable of a prolonged resistance. Not twenty-four hours had elapsed,⁶⁰² however, after the trenches were opened, before Ellenberg beat a parley: he called a council of war, and laid before it the weaknesses of the place and proposed a capitulation: after some persuasion the majority of the officers consented, but Major Doncaster⁶⁰⁶ who was in command of Lorne's regiment, backed by the Colonel of the Third Dragoons, flatly refused to give in his adherence; asserting that, so long as there was not even a breach and the enemy had not even effected a lodgment on the counterscarp, he for one should hold it a dishonour to talk of surrender. However, the General, having obtained a majority to vote with him, made no delay in signing the capitulation. The next day when the garrison found that they were required to lay down their Colours and arms as prisoners of war the soldiers were greatly exasperated, and numbers of the men broke their weapons rather than give them up;⁶⁰¹ while the men of Lord Lorne's regiment altogether refused to surrender their Colours, and at last tore them to pieces.

The French met with equally good fortune at Deinse, where Brigadier O'Ffarrel, whose regiment (the twenty-first Foot) had been sent there by de Vaudemont, surrendered without a shot being exchanged.⁶⁰⁷

⁶⁰⁶ D'Auvergne.

Parker.

Kane.

⁶⁰⁷ De Quincy.

D'Auvergne.

Parker.

Berwick.

De Feuquiere.

Both Ellenberg and O'Ffarrel, together with all the Officers who signed the capitulation, were subsequently tried for their conduct by a Court Martial⁶⁰⁸ composed chiefly of British Officers, and with Sir Henry Bellasyse as president : Ellenberg was sentenced to be beheaded, O'Ffarrel to be broke with ignominy and imprisoned, Graham to be broke, and most of the others to be suspended, or else casheered ; and the sentences were carried into effect.

The works of both the captured fortresses were destroyed⁵⁹⁸ by the French. During their capture de Villeroi remained at Rousselaer. Finding it hopeless now to attempt the large fortresses on the coast and the Scheldt, and in this way compel William to abandon the siege of Namur, he at length determined to march eastwards. Leaving the Comte de Montal with about six thousand men to protect the Lines, he moved on the 25th of July to Avelghem on the Scheldt ; and the next day took forward a large portion of his army by Renaix to Enghien. Hereupon de Vaudemont marched by way of Dendermonde to Dieghem between Vilvorde and Brussels. De Wirtemberg having first provided for the security of the Western fortresses by inundations and re-inforcements of the garrisons, joined de Vaudemont here on the 30th with twelve battalions.

On the 1st de Villeroi marched to Halle, and on the next day he encamped between Gaesbeck and Anderlecht : but he found his intentions on Brussels anticipated, for de Vaudemont had inundated the front of the town from the Senne to Fort Monterey ; he had thrown up intrenchments along the river and canals, and occupied them with his troops from Monterey to Vilvorde ; the Earl of Athlone was approaching with a large body of troops that the surrender of the town had enabled King William to spare from Namur ; and William himself had left Namur with a further re-inforcement, leaving the Elector to carry on the siege. De Villeroi was forced to content himself with the barbarous satisfaction of bombarding the town.

From the night of the third of August to midday on the fifth Brussels was devoted to the fate of Sodom and Gomorrah :

⁶⁰⁸ Kane.

D'Auvergne.

De Quincy.

Berwick.

Court-Martial, 19th October, 1695, W. O. Records.

during those thirty-six hours there fell into the town⁶⁰⁹ three thousand shells and one thousand two hundred red-hot balls. Two and twenty streets, seven squares or places, and eleven churches and convents, were entirely destroyed, besides many severely damaged: among the large buildings burned was the Maison de Ville with all its valuable contents of books, charters, and deeds; three thousand eight hundred and twenty houses were laid low. It is by the commission of such wanton acts as this that the French have earned for themselves so unenviable a notoriety in war.

All this time the siege of Namur was being carried on.

The period granted for the troops in the town to withdraw to the castle having expired, the Allies took possession; and on the 28th they crossed the Sambre higher up the river, and at once proceeded to open trenches against the Coehorne and the Cassotte.⁶⁰¹

For the next fortnight the business of advancing the trenches, and of mounting batteries at different advantageous spots, went on without intermission.⁶¹⁰ Two attacks were opened; one on the right from the grand intrenchment towards the Cassotte and along the ridge in front of it; and the other on the left (where the English troops were) on the slopes above the Abbaye de Salsines, directed upwards against the Coehorne and also tending to join the right attack. Day after day the trenches gradually and surely advanced nearer the fortress, and daily fresh batteries were erected. By the eleventh of August there were one hundred and thirty-six guns and fifty mortars and howitzers playing on the French works.

⁶⁰⁹ De Quincy.

D'Auvergne.

Berwick.

Kane.

Parker; "Five days the bombardment continued, and with such fury that the centre of that noble city was quite laid in rubbish. Most of the time of bombarding I was upon the counterscarp, where I could best see and distinguish; and I have often counted in the air at one time, more than twenty bombs; for they shot whole volleys out of their mortars all together. This, as it must needs be terrible, threw the inhabitants into the utmost confusion. Cart-loads of nuns, that for many years before had never been out of the cloisters, were now hurried about from place to place to find retreats of some security. In short the groves and parts remote were all crowded: and the most spacious streets had hardly a spectator left to view the ruins."

⁶¹⁰ De Quincy.

D'Auvergne.

De la Colonie.

Plans of the siege.

Beyond the Sambre and outside the town were three batteries in the Faubourg St. Croix to fire upon the right face of the Coehorne: directed upon the same spot were several batteries in the town itself near the Porte de Bruxelles. Also in the town, along the Sambre, were many batteries playing upon the right face of the Terra Nova, while its right rear was battered by the guns of the Brandenburgers placed on the other side of the Meuse about the Faubourg de Jambe. The point of the Terra Nova, where is the Porte Gronjau, at the confluence of the rivers, was assailed on all sides by the Brandenburgers from the Faubourg de Jambe as well as from their batteries lower down the river opposite the town, and by a battery erected immediately opposite it in the town at the Porte du Rivage. Monsieur de Coehorne had the felicity of directing this siege against works of his own creation. Such a fearful storm of balls and shells did all these batteries rain upon the fortress that, with all the advantages of cover afforded by the defences, three hundred of the garrison were killed or wounded in a single day.

There were now six breaches of so serious a nature as to be assailable: one at the Porte Gronjau, one in the demi-bastion of the right flank of the Terra Nova; and three in the right flank of the Coehorne; besides one in the Cassotte: and the approaches had been carried round the most salient angle of the Coehorne towards the Redoute de la Sambre. On the fifteenth this redoubt or demi-lune surrendered.

On the 19th a general assault was decided upon. But it will be naturally asked, where was de Villeroi all this time, and why was he not endeavouring to raise the siege?

We left de Villeroi bombarding Brussels: on the 7th of August he desisted from the bombardment and marched to Enghien, and on the 9th to Soignies, where he halted for some days to receive orders from Paris; detaching the Marquis d'Harcourt to Solre on the Sambre to get together any troops available on that frontier.

The moment de Villeroi retired from Brussels, de Vaudemont effected a junction⁶⁰¹ between Waterloo and Genappe with Lord Athlone (who had been sent out to meet him), and on the tenth he joined the army before Namur.

De Villeroi on receiving his orders from the Court, marched to Nivelles; whence he proceeded on the 16th towards the Orneau, encamping between St. Amand and Sombref; and, continuing his march on the 18th to Gemblours, where he took

up position with the Bois de Grand-Lez on his left, the river along his front, and his right near Tongrines.

King William, on being assured of the safety of Brussels, had returned to Namur. So soon as he received certain advice of the intentions of de Villeroi, he took command of the covering army, secured de Vaudemont's junction with him, and encamped behind the village of St. Denis with his left intrenched as far as Ine-les-dames.

On de Villeroi's arrival in front of this camp on the 18th, he made every sign of an intention to remain for at least a day; but at eleven o'clock the same night he struck his camp in the profoundest silence, crossed the Orneau, and arrived at dawn at the thick woods which alone now separated him from the Allied camp at St. Denis. Through these woods there existed but three openings;⁶¹¹ and for the defence of these every precaution was found to have been adopted: intrenched at their gorges, and swept by artillery, their attack would have been equivalent to the attack of well defended defiles, for the woods were such as to prohibit any chain of communication along the line of offence. De Villeroi was reluctantly forced to return to the other side of the Orneau.

On the 20th de Villeroi moved to the Mehaigne, and halted with the village of Grand Rosière in his rear as he lay along the grande chaussée with his left at the Cense du Soleil and his right at Cinq Etoiles. But this was the old game that had been played before in 1692; and the positions beyond the river on the plaine de Bonef and the plaine d'Accoche that had then been found too formidable for attack by the British and their Allies, were now deemed no less formidable by the French. De Villeroi was obliged to remain an inactive witness of the calamity he was powerless to prevent.

This catastrophe was not long in arriving.

At noon on the 20th of August an exploded barrel of powder⁶¹² flashed from the British quarters at Salsines, the signal for a general assault on the fortress of Namur.

From the first line of trenches issued forth towards the Terra Nova four English Serjeants⁶¹³ with fifteen men accompanying each of them: immediately behind them came the

⁶¹¹ De Quincy.
Plans (de Beaurain, &c.).

⁶¹² De Quincy.
Carleton.

⁶¹³ D'Auvergne.

granadeers⁶¹⁴ of the Guards (Ill. LXXXIII) under Colonel Evans; and these were closely followed by the granadeers of all the other regiments. Lord Cutts commanded, and, as was his custom, personally led the attack.⁶¹⁵ Supporting the granadeers were the 17th Foot and Mackay's, and in reserve were the 18th Foot and Buchan's.

At the same time the Comte de Ribera with three thousand Bavarians marched out of the second parallel towards the breach of the Coehorne. Major-General La Cave with two thousand Brandenburgers assailed the point of the Coehorne, while his attack was touched by that of two thousand Dutch under Major-General Schwerin on the Cassotte. Six hundred men were also detailed to assault the basse-ville which lay below the castle.

Assuredly the burden of the fight was again laid upon the English: not only was the breach assigned to them more exposed to fire than the others, but also the access to it was most difficult; and between it and the besieger's trenches intervened an open space of more than half a mile. Across this valley of death the British granadeers marched, undaunted by the raking fire to which they were exposed in front and flank: they actually mounted the breach unsupported except by the Seventeenth; the other three regiments being delayed by the long distance to be traversed. The Colonel of the 17th was killed; Sir Matthew Bridges, the Lieutenant-Colonel, was desperately wounded; nearly every officer of the granadeers was killed or wounded; and lastly Lord Cutts (Ill. LXXXIV) was disabled by a shot in the head which compelled him to retire: when the three expected regiments at length came up the men were dispirited and all the *élan* of the first attack had evaporated: nevertheless the troops again advanced to the

⁶¹⁴ D'Auvergne.

Kane.

Parker.

⁶¹⁵ To save further quotations in the notes it may suffice to quote the following authorities as being the principal ones consulted for the whole of this account of the final assault on Namur;

D'Auvergne.

De Quincy.

Parker.

Kane.

Carleton.

Berwick.

De la Colonie.

London Gazettes.

breach and again made their way on to it. The Eighteenth Regiment (Ill. LXXXV) got quite within the breach and planted their Colours on the ramparts. But now for the first time it was discovered that the enemy had erected within the breach an interior intrenchment which was untouched and unassailable. The English troops retired; and, as they went, a large body of French Foot and Dragoons came down between the Coehorne and Terra Nova and fell upon them, while a cross fire was poured upon them from both fortresses. Lord Cutts, returning so soon as his wound was dressed, saw that it would be suicidal to remain where they were, and gave the order to retreat: the British attack had failed.

Meanwhile the Bavarians, instead of mounting the hill opposite the breach in the Coehorne, had commenced their attack more to the right where the covered way was thoroughly palisadoed and filled with troops. The Count de Ribera was killed, and after two hours' fighting the Bavarians found themselves on the point of being beaten back, although they still held their ground upon the glacis. It was at this critical moment that Lord Cutts, as he retreated from the Terra Nova, perceived the state of affairs: calling for two hundred volunteers to form a forlorn hope, he was promptly answered, and Lieutenant Cockle of Mackay's was selected to lead them. This officer's instructions were to attack the face of the salient angle next the breach, sword in hand, without firing a shot; and if he could master the palisades, to lodge himself in the covered way. The men of Mackay's were next to the front with their Colours borne by the Ensigns at the head of the regiment. Liberal promises of promotion and rewards were made, and the Elector of Bavaria went about among the English soldiers encouraging them and giving handfuls of gold to any that particularly distinguished themselves. Mr. Cockle succeeded in surmounting the palisades; and, beating the enemy back on the covered way, he turned their own guns upon them. Mackay's, the Eighteenth, and the other two regiments duly seconded his resolute efforts. The Ensigns of Mackay's marched boldly up and planted their Colours on the ramparts; and so fired were the men with emulation in honour of their battle-worn emblems that the covered way was not only gained, but held.

General la Cave had also effected a lodgment; and General Schwerin had gained possession of the whole way between the Cassotte and the Meuse as well as of the major portion of that between the Cassotte and the Coehorne. At five o'clock in the

afternoon the fighting was over, and the Allies remained effectually lodged within the enemy's works.

King William had watched the whole affair with the greatest anxiety: and having, as usual, assigned to the British troops the post of most danger and therefore of most honour, he especially observed their conduct. He marked his approbation of the bravery of the Eighteenth in the second, and almost hopeless, attack on the Terra Nova by conferring upon it formally the title of "The Royal Regiment of Ireland,"⁶¹⁶ together with the badge and motto (borne by it to this day) of the Lion of Nassau encircled "Virtutis Namurcensis Præmium."

Lieutenant Cockle, who so gallantly led the attack on the Cochorne, was shortly rewarded with both money and promotion.⁶¹⁷

But the proportion of sufferers had been very large. In the British force alone, consisting as it did of only some seven hundred granadeers and four regiments of infantry, half the granadeers had fallen and the regiments had been far more than decimated.

*List of British Casualties, Namur, 20th August, 1695.*⁶¹⁷

Regiment.	Officers.		Men.	
	Killed.	Wounded.	Killed.	Wounded.
17th Foot	3	8	101	149
18th „	12	13	86	185
Mackay's Foot	2	15	73	166
Buchan's „	4	9	65	140
Total battalion Companies	21	45	325	640
Granadeers:—				
1st Foot Gds.	1	1	150	150 (about)
3rd „ ... ..	...	1	
1st Royals	1	1		
2nd Foot ... ..	...	2	
4th „	1	...		
6th „	1	1		
7th „ ... ..	...	2	
14th „ ... ..	...	1	
16th „	1	...		
23rd „	1	...		
25th „ ... ..	...	1	
Seymour's Foot	1	...		
Saunderson's Foot	1	...		
Totals	29	55	475	790

⁶¹⁶ Parker.

Kane.

⁶¹⁷ D'Auvergne.

On the second day after the assault, M. de Boufflers offered to surrender the Coehorne: but the reply was that he must surrender all or none.⁶¹⁸ The garrison was dreadfully reduced; provisions were beginning to run short; and, what was more discouraging than all, there did not appear to be a vestige of hope that de Villeroi could raise the siege by any tactics in his power. A siege with a perfect investment *must* succeed unless it can be relieved by pressure from without or by a victory from within: neither the one nor the other was likely or indeed possible. The garrison offered to surrender upon the 26th if they should not be succoured before that date. This offer was accepted⁶¹⁹ and the vanquished were allowed the honours of war.^{619a}

On the 26th, at nine o'clock in the morning, the garrison filed out between two long lines of the Allied troops, with all the emblems of those who have fought a good fight and suffered a defeat scarcely less honourable than a victory,—Colours flying, arms carried, bullet in mouth, and matches lighted, and six guns following with the baggage of the troops. But the garrison which had begun the siege some thirteen thousand in number,⁶²⁰ marched out under five thousand strong; and when the victors entered the place they found it absolutely reeking with the putrid stench of dead men and horses.

When Dixmude surrendered to the Comte de Montal⁶²¹ the capitulation had specified that the Garrison surrendered themselves “prisonniers de guerre,” but the French General insisted that this was the same thing as “à discrétion”; and, when within a very short time they were reclaimed in the usual way, the French refused to give them up. A reprisal was now in the power of the Allies, and the opportunity was not lost: de Boufflers himself was stopped as his troops marched off to Givet and was kept a prisoner until the return of the Dixmude

⁶¹⁸ De Quincy.

⁶¹⁹ D'Auvergne.

De Quincy.

^{619a} In the Accts. of Capt. Coult's Company in garrison at Edinburgh appears an item “Paid for ale to the garrison when Namur was taken and the King returned, “10s. 6d.,” Edinburgh Record Office.

⁶²⁰ D'Auvergne.

De Quincy states the loss at four hundred and thirty officers, and seven thousand five hundred rank and file *hors de combat*.

⁶²¹ D'Auvergne.

De Quincy.

Kane.

Berwick, &c., &c.

garrison. De Boufflers' imprisonment, arrest or detention, whichever it may be termed, was peculiar in this respect:⁶¹⁸ a guard daily mounted over him, but it was designated the Maréchal de Boufflers' Guard of Honour, and it mounted with unfurled Colours; and, stranger still, the commander received the countersign from his prisoner.

As soon as the siege was over, the Allied Army marched towards Brussels; whereupon de Villeroi, detaching the Marquis d'Harcourt with some twelve thousand men to take care of Dinant, marched by way of Charleroi and Mons, towards the Lines. But nothing came of these movements, and King William was indeed only too glad to send the regiments most fatigued and cut up with the siege into their winter quarters.⁶²²

This was the first campaign of the war that had as yet closed with anything but a balance of loss to the Allies. The French frontier had been gradually but surely advanced until Ath was the sole fortress between them and the capital of Brussels, while their victorious progress had been even more remarkable on the side of the Sambre and Meuse. The re-capture of Namur (III. LXXXVI) was a deadly blow to the hitherto invincible power of France. Since the battle of Rocroi, when the military mantle of the Spaniards was reft from them by the French, this power had been on the increase, until all political and religious freedom throughout Europe had become menaced by it; and it needed but to force the next line of fortresses in Belgium from Bruges to Liège to raise the French King to the rank of Dictator of the World, a rank already ascribed to him by the flattery of poets and courtiers. The loss of Namur checked this fulsome flow of adulation, and shewed the world that there might possibly yet be a day of account for this King who never exposed himself in fight, yet could dragoon or drive into exile thousands of his fellow-countrymen and of his best subjects because they differed from him in religion. From the hour that Namur surrendered, the French Ministers thought on peace instead of war.

De Villeroi had the reputation of being a good General, but one cannot fail to be struck by the contrast between this the first year of his leadership and the previous campaigns conducted by his predecessor de Luxembourg: and one cannot help thinking that there must have been some oversight in his conduct of a campaign where he had simply to act on the

⁶²² Among the general authorities not quoted in detail are the London Gazettes; Saint Simon, &c., &c.

defensive to secure credit to himself and his army, and in which he nevertheless allowed the enemy to outwit him in a manner so palpably to be anticipated.

This work is purely historical, but while it is endeavoured so to narrate the history that its warnings he that runs may read without assistance, it may be occasionally desirable to point out to the student some of the lessons that he might perchance otherwise neglect to glean. The problems for the student in this campaign are such as the most renowned warriors need not scorn to work out, for they are mostly purely strategical and are as applicable to the system of warfare of to-day as to that of a century since, it being taken for granted of course that the face of the country and the means of communication remain unchanged by railways and similar improvements. The first problem to be solved is, how could de Villeroi preserve at once the Lines of the Lys and the fortresses of the Sambre? The second, how could he have compelled the Allies to raise the siege of Namur, when once it was undertaken, without exposing the Lines of the Lys?

To the first proposition there appear to be two general solutions: the French could have saved both Namur and the Lines by either adopting the offensive in a most decided manner, or by regulating their motions, their divisions of strength, and their whole defensive scheme, exactly by those of the Allies. De Villeroi's army was quite strong enough to adopt this latter course, although the adoption of the former would have depended upon many subsidiary considerations; especially upon the state of the dépôts of supplies and munitions of all kinds. To invest Ath would not necessarily have staved off the siege of Namur, for Ath was already as it were within the French embrace, and its loss would be more than counter-balanced to the Allies by the gain of Namur: but the siege of Ghent, boldly and rapidly undertaken, would have threatened to pierce the strongest line of the Allies, and would have turned the campaign on their part into one of self-preservation instead of one of aggression. But such a siege would have required the genius of a de Luxembourg or the brilliant dash of a de Boufflers, instead of the cautious timidity of de Villeroi. One other opportunity seems to have been offered to de Villeroi of defeating the object of the Allies, and this was in attacking the Allied armies by a skilfully sudden concentration when they were divided as they were at the time William's corps lay at Beccalaer.

In studying the other course of purely defensive action it must not be forgotten that fifty thousand men for defence are equal to perhaps half as many again for offence, provided that the means exist for continually declining a general action without exposing the line of defence. Such means undoubtedly did exist for de Villeroi in the French frontier from the sea to the Meuse ; and the problem for the student is how he could have made use of this frontier in case of need, and have kept pace with William, without leaving the Lines of the Lys open to possibility of rupture. Again, it is for the student to determine whether, when de Villeroi amused himself in bombarding Brussels, he might not have been better occupied in cutting off de Vaudemont from joining the covering army of Namur ; and whether, instead of attempting a relief of Namur at the eleventh hour when the place was all but taken, and when, by the surrender of the town, the covering army had been swelled to such a degree as to render a battle impossible for him, de Villeroi might not have exercised better strategy and benefited the French cause better by abandoning Namur entirely to its then inevitable fate, and recouping himself as he best could among the more western fortresses of the Allies (III. LXXXVII).

CHAPTER XIX.

THE WAR IN FLANDERS. CAMPAIGN OF 1696.

1696.

Preparations for the campaign.—Opening of the campaign.—Movements of the two armies.—Narrow escape of Huy.—List of the British Contingent.

[*For Illustrations, see Note on p. xiii.*]

MOST fortunately for the Allies the French King, instead of, during the winter, creating dépôts of warlike supplies along his new frontier in Flanders, expended his resources in preparing for an invasion of England. This abortive design exercised no effect upon the Allied army in Flanders beyond causing the recall home of some twenty battalions, ten of which, however, returned without even landing in England.⁶²³ Of the remaining ten battalions, eight, namely, the 2nd battalion of the 1st Foot Guards, 2nd battalion of the Scots Guards, the Second, Fourth, Sixth, Tenth, Fourteenth, and Twenty-First Foot, were detained in England, while the Nineteenth and Twenty-Second were captured during their passage home by French cruisers and carried into Dunkerque.

While, however, the Allies were thus compelled to weaken their army, the French on the other hand gained an accession to theirs owing to the peace with Savoy which enabled them to withdraw their forces from that Duchy.

The only enterprise of any consequence undertaken during the winter was one by the Allies against the French dépôt at Givet.⁶²⁴ On the 4th of March a detachment from the garrison

⁶²³ And some of these subsequently returned to Flanders during the Summer, as will be seen by the mention of them hereafter.

⁶²⁴ This campaign is so devoid of incident and so meagre of details of interest, that it will suffice to mass the authorities in one note: they are;

D'Auvergne.

De Quincy.

Berwick.

Parker.

Kane.

Carleton.

London Gazette, &c., &c.

of Namur, having joined a body of cavalry under the Earl of Athlone, and accompanied by M. Coehorne, crossed the Lesse and sat down before Givet, where the French were known to have large magazines. Batteries were forthwith erected and shells and red-hot shot were thrown into the place: had not the French previously withdrawn the greater part of their powder and corn, incalculable damage might have been done to them; as it was, their chief loss was in forage, of which an immense quantity had been stored at Givet in readiness for the forthcoming campaign.

The opposing armies began to assemble about the first week in May.

De Villeroi with his main army encamped between Menin and the Scheldt, while de Boufflers collected a second large *corps d'armée* about the Orneau (Ill. LXXXVIII); and at the same time four flying columns assembled, two towards the sea under M. de la Mothe and M. de Montal, one in Luxembourg under the Marquis d'Harcourt, and one about Dinant under the Comte de Guiscard. In all, the French forces reckoned one hundred and seventy-three battalions and two hundred and twenty-three squadrons, or about one hundred and twenty thousand men. These numbers were so overwhelming that the Allies saw themselves constrained to act solely on the defensive. Corps of observation were therefore formed, one at Tirlemont under Prince Nassau-Saarbruck, the other at Affleghem near Alost under the Prince de Vaudemont.

On the 9th of May de Villeroi having marched along the Lys from Courtrai, arrived at Deinse, and at the same time de Boufflers encamped at Fleurus; whereupon Prince Nassau-Saarbruck retreated from Tirlemont to Parck camp.

De Villeroi contented himself at Deinse with foraging and consuming the country, but not the less was every measure of precaution adopted to secure the line of the canals against him. Between Ghent and Bruges is a very easy ford at a place called Bellem, and for the protection of this ford Major-General Ramsay was ordered to take thirteen battalions from the garrison of Bruges, (including the Twenty-first, Twenty-third, and Twenty-sixth Foot), together with the first battalion of the Scots Guards, the Twenty-seventh Foot,⁶²⁵ and two other regiments. At the same time the Comte de Noyelles con-

⁶²⁵ D'Auvergne.

The 15th Foot remained in garrison at Bruges, whence it took the field at the end of May.

ducted twenty-five battalions from Affleghem to assist Ramsay along the Ghent-Bruges canal. Close to Ghent at Maria-Kercke were posted, among others, the two battalions of the First Royals, Seymour's, Saunderson's, and the Fifth, and Seventeenth Foot: and between the ford of St. Joris and the bridge of Moorbrugge were the Twenty-fifth with three other English regiments besides the Dragoons. About Nieuport were ten battalions and the Third Dragoons, under Major-General Fagel. De Vaudemont, with the main body of the western army, encamped about Ghent between Maria-Kercke and Destelberge. Along the canals the troops were employed, together with large bodies of peasants, in throwing up breast-works. On the 27th of the month King William arrived in camp and took command of the army of the West. By this time Prince Nassau-Saarbruck had been joined by the Brandenburg, Cologne, and Liège contingents, and had thereupon advanced as far as Wavre, de Boufflers retiring to Charleroi. King William, having first reviewed de Vaudemont's arrangements and ordered some few alterations in them, left Ghent on the 1st of June to proceed to Wavre, taking with him the Life-Guards, the Third and Sixth Dragoon-Guards, and Portland's Horse, the two battalions of the First Foot-Guards, and the Seventh, Eighth, Sixteenth, Twenty-first, Twenty-third, and Twenty-sixth Foot, with two other English regiments, eight foreign battalions, and four regiments of foreign Horse.

This large detachment necessitated some change in de Vaudemont's dispositions: his main body encamped behind Ghent between Maria-Kercke and Wondelghem; five English regiments lay along the canal between Ghent and Maria-Kercke; four more lay to the immediate right of the bridge at this latter place, with another battalion in rear of them. About half a mile beyond these, near Lowedeghem, was a brigade of Danes. At right angles to the canal, midway along this line, was another line of troops in readiness to afford support at any threatened point. The Artillery lay quite in rear towards the Sas-van-Ghent.

On the 9th of June the King marched from Wavre to Conroy midway between Wavre and Gemblours; but de Boufflers's attitude all along the Sambre was such, that William hesitated before making any fresh move. On the 27th, however, the King advanced to Gemblours, and there awaited the Landgrave of Hesse whose contingent was *en route* by way of Namur. On the 15th of July the Landgrave with fifteen

thousand men arrived at Namur, and William advanced to Sombref to meet him.

De Boufflers' fears at this time were that the Allies would either force the Sambre and thus make their way on to French territory towards Dinant and in rear of Charleroi, or else repeat the tactics of 1694 and make a sudden rush for a concentration against the Lines of Espierre or for the siege of Mons.

De Boufflers's precautions were therefore necessarily multi-fold, and their principle was dispersion with facility of re-concentration. He dispatched one body of troops to Ham-sur-Heure, one to la Bussière, and stationed others at Gerpines, at Fosse, and Quievrain, while he himself kept between St. Gerard and Biésme: he also summoned d'Harcourt from Dinant to St. Gerard, and threw up intrenchments at the pass of Montigny on the Sambre, while he sharply watched Jemeppe and the other passages of that river.

Finding it impossible to force the Sambre William marched on the 16th of July to Nivelles, and thence to Soignies. Upon this de Boufflers collected his forces and marched to Thille-le-chateau; and the next day, upon William's movement to Ath, he crossed the Sambre at la Bussière and advanced to near Condé, taking care to maintain a communication with the Sambre by means of detachments along the line of route.

Meanwhile de Vaudemont and de Villeroi remained observing each other on the canals of Ostend and Bruges, contenting themselves with foraging and with reconnaissances towards one another's fortresses. De Vaudemont was too well placed to be attacked, and he had nothing to gain by attacking de Villeroi. On the tenth of August the latter shifted his camp to Thielt in the hope of finding an opportunity to force the canals; but on the first of September he moved again to Wynendael; whereupon de Vaudemont, first destroying the bridge at Maria-Kercke, took ground to his right as far as Steinbrugge in anticipation of designs upon Bruges.

The King of England had marched to Grammont on the fourteenth of August and there remained. The attitude of both sides was simply that of waiting for something to turn up. The extent of frontier on either side was now so extensive, so aligned, and so well defined, that, except Ath, there was nothing left as it were in the open to sieze upon, nothing else that would admit of a centralisation of forces upon it without consequent exposure elsewhere. The French army was upon the whole the strongest: the aggressive lay therefore with

the French, and the Allies could not initiate any action of decision.

Here then is a problem for the student: what enterprise of importance could have been undertaken by the French General, supposing him to have been a de Luxembourg instead of a de Villeroi?

On the 16th of August King William left the Army, and at the beginning of September the troops went into winter quarters, both parties glad to have got through the campaign without loss.

Huy however had had an exceedingly narrow escape of capture at the end of July. A number of soldiers being concealed in wagons of hay, the wagons were purposely upset immediately after passing inside the fortress: the Frenchmen scrambled out, overpowering the Guard, and even overcoming a body of men that came hurriedly down to their aid. The place was virtually in their hands. Fortunately for the garrison, however, there was such delay in the bringing up of the French supports, that ultimately the adventurous assailants were driven out or captured, and the gates secured again.

The British regiments taking part in this campaign were as follows:—

Brigade.	Regt.	Squads.
Life Guards ...	1st Troop ...	1
	2nd „ ...	1
	3rd „ ...	1
	Horse Granadeers ...	1
Hompe ...	3rd Dragoon Gds. ...	2
	6th „ ...	2
	Portland's Horse ...	...
Lumley ...	1st Dragoon Gds. ...	3
	4th „ ...	2
	7th „ ...	2
Coy ...	2nd Dragoon Guards ...	2
	5th „ ...	2
	Galway's Horse ...	3
Cunningham ...	Rocheford's Horse ...	2
	7th Dragoons, &c. ...	4
	3rd Dragoons ...	4
Matthews ...	1st Dragoons ...	4
	2nd „ ...	4
	4th „ ...	4
	5th „ ...	4
Total ...		48

INFANTRY.

Brigade.			Regiment.					Battns.
Guards...	...	{	1st Foot Guards (1st battn.)	...	...	...	...	I
			Coldstream Guards (1st battn.)	...	...	...	...	I
			Scots Guards (1st battn.)	...	...	...	...	I
Selwyn	...	{	1st Foot	...	...	...	...	I
			3rd „	...	...	...	...	I
			5th „	...	...	...	...	I
			17th „	...	...	...	...	I
			18th „	...	...	...	...	I
Orkney	...	{	1st Foot	...	...	...	...	I
			12th „	...	...	...	...	I
			15th „	...	...	...	...	I
			Collingwood's regt.	...	...	...	...	I
			27th Foot	...	...	...	...	I
Tiffin	...	{	D. Collier's regt.	...	...	...	...	I
			Saunderson's „	...	...	...	...	I
			La Melonière's regt.	...	...	...	...	...
Maitland	...	{	25th Foot	...	...	...	...	I
			W. Collier's regt.	...	...	...	...	I
			Buchan's „	...	...	...	...	I
			Geo. Hamilton's regt.	...	...	...	...	I
Ingoldsby	...	{	23rd Foot	...	...	...	...	I
			26th „	...	...	...	...	I
			Morton's regt. (Trench)	...	...	...	...	...
			Danish regts.	...	...	...	...	...
Fitzpatrick	...	{	7th Foot	...	...	...	...	I
			8th „	...	...	...	...	I
			16th „	...	...	...	...	I
			21st „	...	...	...	...	I
Lauder	...	{	Seymour's regt.	...	...	...	...	I
			Lauder's regt.	...	...	...	...	I
			Strathnaver's regt.	...	...	...	...	I
			Lorne's regt.	...	...	...	...	I
			Total	...	...	...	...	29

CHAPTER XX.

THE WAR IN FLANDERS. CAMPAIGN OF 1697.

1697.

Opening of the campaign.—Siege of Ath.—French attempt on Brussels. —The British Contingent.—The peace of Ryswick.

[For Illustrations, see Note on p. xiii.]

THE campaign of 1697 was almost as devoid of incident as that of the previous year, and its course would be scarcely worth narrating were it not that the history of the War would be incomplete without it.

In April ⁶²⁶ the troops on both sides began to come out of their winter quarters, and to prepare for the campaign. The Allies occupied themselves in perfecting a line of defence from Ostend by Bruges and Brussels to Namur; and for the protection of this work the Elector of Bavaria assembled a camp at Deinse, while at the same time the main army rendezvoused at Bois-Seigneur-Isaac.

It has been already noticed how Ath had come within the embrace of the French, and being now even more isolated by the completion of the new lines, it naturally fell a prey to the enemy. The Maréchal de Villeroi took command of an army of observation, while the Maréchal de Catinat undertook the siege; and de Boufflers, as usual, was detailed for the flying duties with a *corps d'armée* which assembled on the Meuse.

On the 5th of May Ath was invested by de Catinat from Helchin on the Tournai side (Ill. LXXXIX), and by the Marquis de Gassion from Mons, de Villeroi's army encamping at the same time at Leuze. On the tenth this covering army, having made an intermediate movement to Ligne, took up a position with the right at Lessines and the left at Hamaide. M. de Boufflers marched from Beaumont by Fontaine l'Évêque and Binch to Rœulx. M. de Créquy with some five thousand

⁶²⁶ The authorities for this campaign are the same as those quoted in the previous chapter; and similarly the incidents are not of sufficient consequence, or sufficiently open to dispute, to demand detailed quotations.

men was at Celles watching the garrison of Oudenarde, and ready to afford aid to the French Lines in case of need.

The strength of the French forces was about one hundred and forty-five thousand distributed as follows :—

De Villeroi's army ...	...	...	...	60,000
De Boufflers' „ ...	...	...	...	56,000
Catinat's „ ...	...	...	...	40,000
				<hr/>
				156,000

On the 13th of May the Elector marched from the Lys through Ghent, crossing the Scheldt the next day at Dendermonde. On the fourteenth de Vaudemont marched from Bois Seigneur Isaac to Halle, where the King joined and took the command. On the 16th both armies united at St. Quintin-Lenneck. While these movements were taking place General Fagel moved with twelve battalions—from Nieuport as far as Deinse.

All these movements were naturally productive of corresponding re-arrangements on the part of the French. De Créquy left Celles in order to come nearer to the main army, and his place was taken by twenty battalions under the Marquis de Montrevel from the Lines: at the same time de Boufflers approached de Villeroi as far as Ghislenghien.

Thus de Villeroi had under his hand in case of a general action some hundred and twenty thousand men besides the troops engaged in the siege, while King William had in his united army at least fifteen or twenty thousand fewer.

The preponderance of force was so greatly on the side of de Villeroi, and his dispositions for the siege were such, that William regarded it as impracticable to relieve Ath in any way; and on the 22nd, while the Elector returned again to Deinse, he marched to Genappe, re-inforcing Oudenarde as he went. On the 28th Ath surrendered with the honours of war.

The French Generals had conceived a very pretty piece of strategy in case of the capture of Ath, and they now proceeded to the execution of their project.

It will be observed that Ath, Brussels, and Namur form the three angles of a triangle.

William could not therefore move from the neighbourhood of his present position until he was sure of the next move of his adversaries: he could not encamp close to Brussels for fear of exposing Namur; he could not summon the Elector to join

him in any undertaking on the Sambre or Meuse for fear of exposing the western fortresses to the whole weight of the French forces; and equally he could not join the Elector in any enterprise against the French Lines for fear of leaving his eastern strongholds uncovered.

Between Genappe and Brussels lay the forest of Soignies, then untraversed by any except the main roads, which here partook of the nature of defiles. The distance from Genappe to Brussels is about the same as from Enghien to Brussels, and ten or twelve miles less than from Lessines to Brussels.

If then the French could start from Enghien before William became aware of it, they were sure to reach Brussels before him; and even if he did hear of their movement before they got as far as Enghien, the French would still have the advantage of clear roads.

The project agreed upon between de Villeroi and de Boufflers was to gain Anderlecht before William could gain it, to possess themselves of the capital and of Vilvorde, and thus to proceed to cut off all communication between the eastern and the western portions of the Allied line of defence.

So soon as the surrender of Ath was assured, de Villeroi had crossed the Dender and encamped on the other side. On the 12th of June he marched to Gammerage and de Boufflers to Enghien, and both made ready to march conjointly on Brussels.

But fortunately for the Allies they for once had scouts on the look-out, and these ominous movements were made known to William the same afternoon. William lost not a moment in meeting the situation in the only way possible, marching on Brussels by the one road open to him. Starting three brigades of infantry between four and five o'clock, he dispatched the artillery two hours later, the baggage at ten, and the rest of the infantry at eleven: at midnight the King, who had personally superintended the dispatch of the troops, started himself with four regiments of dragoons and hastened to the front to reconnoitre, and to receive the army on its arrival: the main body of the cavalry left Genappe at daylight and so covered the rear.

Before ten the next morning the Allies had occupied the camp of Anderlecht; and when de Villeroi and de Boufflers appeared presently on the heights of Anderlecht and on the Assche road, they saw the Dutch and English flags waving over the coveted ground, and knew that they were foiled.

The camp of Anderlecht was covered on its right flank and along its front by streams and ponds, and the position was

greatly strengthened by intrenchments and by artificial inundations produced by dams. Besides providing against an attack on the encampment, the Allies placed Brussels in readiness for a siege.

This failure of the design upon the capital was the concluding act of the WAR IN FLANDERS. For many months past negotiations had been going on, and they were shortly conducted to a satisfactory issue.

De Villeroi and De Boufflers retired to between St. Quintin-Lenneck and Halle; and after this no movements were made except those necessitated by reasons of immediate supply.

The British regiments taking part in the campaign of 1697 were as follows:—

With the main Army.

HORSE.

Generals: Earl of Auverquerque.

Earl of Portland.

Earl of Athlone.

Lieut.-Generals: Duke of Ormond.

Earl of Rivers.

Earl of Rochford.

Major-Generals: Earl of Teviot.

Leveson.

Lumley.

Earl of Albemarle.

Brigade.	Regiment.	Squads.
Cholmondeley	Life Guards, 1st Troop	1
	„ „ 2nd „	1
	„ „ 3rd „	1
	Horse Granadeers	1
Langston	2nd Dragoon Guards	2
	4th „ „	2
	6th „ „ (Carabineers)	2
	Galway's Horse	3
Wyndham	1st Dragoon Guards	3
	3rd „ „	2
	5th „ „	2
	7th „ „	2
Matthews	1st Dragoons	4
	3rd „ „	4
	4th „ „	4
	5th „ „	4
	Teviot's	4
	Mirmont's ... ..	...
	Eppinger's ... ..	...
	Villier's Dragoons	3
	Rochford's	2
	Athlone's	2
	Aghrim's	2
		51

Foot.

General : Duc de Wirtemberg.

Lieut.-General : Bellasyse.

Major-Generals : Churchill.

Ramsay.

Lord Cutts.

Brigade.	Regiment.	Battns.
Guards	1st Foot Guards ...	2
	3rd „ „ (\" Scots \") ...	1
	1st Foot (\" Royal \") ...	2
O'Hara ...	3rd „ ...	1
	7th „ (\" Fusileers \") ...	1
	8th „ ...	1
	Seymour's ...	1
	16th Foot ...	1
Ingoldsby ...	18th „ (\" Royal Ireland \") ...	1
	21st „ ...	1
	23rd „ ...	1
	Walter Collier ...	1
	25th Foot ...	1
Maitland ...	26th „ ...	1
	La Meloniere's } Trench	...
	Morton's ...	...
	Nassau ...	...
Orkney ...	5th Foot ...	1
	12th „ ...	1
	Lauder's ...	1
	David Collier's ...	1
	15th Foot ...	1
Tiffin ...	17th „ ...	1
	27th „ ...	1
	Collingwood's ...	1
	Saunderson's ...	1
Belcastel ...	Strathnaver's ...	1
	Geo. Hamilton's ...	1
	Belcastel's ...	...
		27

TOTALS.

Horse, 22 squadrons at 150	... .. =	3,300
Dragoons, 33 „ „ 100	... .. =	3,300
(including 4 squads. of the 7th Drs. with the Elector's army)		
Foot, 27 battalions at 550	... .. =	14,850
		<u>21,450</u>

On the 11th of September peace was signed at RYSWICK, and for four years the British Army remained inactive.

CHAPTER XXI.

ARMS AND ACCOUTREMENTS, DURING THE PERIOD FROM
1660 TO 1700.

1660 to 1700.

The Sword.—The Hanger.—The Pike.—The Matchlock.—The Match.—Bandaleers.—The Ball-bag.—The Priming-flask.—Wadding.—The Rest.—The Firelock or Fusil.—The Fusil-Musquet.—The Sling.—The Carbine.—Rifled arms.—Repeating - Arms.—Mitrailleuses.—Breech - loading arms.—The Pistol.—Cartridges.—The Cartridge-box.—The Gibecière.—The Bayonet.—The Swedish Feather.—The feathered Rest.—The Plug-Bayonet.—The Ring-Bayonet.—The Chevaux-de-frise.—The Socket - Bayonet.—The Sword - Bayonet.—The Grenade.—The Grenade-Pouch.—The Match - box.—Hatchets.—Belts.—Pouch - belts.—Sword-belts.—The Carbine-belt.—The Half-pike.—The Partisan.—The Halberd.—The Pole-axe.—The Spontoon.—Defensive Armour.—Head-Pieces.—The Cuirass.—The Gorget.—Mode of supply.—Prices.

[*For Illustrations, see Note on p. xiii.*]

THE latter half of the seventeenth century was the era of the rise of military science, as a science, in all its branches.

In nothing, however, except perhaps engineering, was there, during this half-century, so marked a change as in the armament of the soldier; for this period witnessed the abolition of the clumsy rest; the substitution of the firelock for the tedious matchlock; the use of cartridges in place of the noisy and dangerous bandaleers; the introduction of grenades; and above all the invention of the socket-bayonet.

It is purposed in this chapter to trace these improvements through their several gradations, and to enter, as briefly as may be, into a particular account of each weapon and its appurtenances.⁶²⁷

THE SWORD claims precedence of mention by right of seniority, for it is beyond dispute the oldest as well as the most universal of weapons (excepting, perhaps, the spear). From the day that the angel stood sentry to bar the entrance to Eden up to the present moment, we read of the use of the sword in

⁶²⁷ In giving a description of the different arms and accoutrements I shall avoid, as far as possible, the repetition of whatever may be more advantageously stated in the Notes to the illustrations.

all times and by all peoples. Even the veriest savages, cut off from all other nations, have been found possessed of swords of wood, fish-bone, cactus-leaves, or other primitive material.

It would seem almost superfluous to describe a weapon so familiar to all, were it not that, as all antiquarian students well know, it is impossible to foresee the future value of a contemporary description of the commonest artificial object.

A sword consists of three parts; the blade, the grasp, and the guard (Ill. XC). The top of the blade is continued in the same piece so as to offer a sort of spike whereon to pass the grasp, and the guard is so attached that the grasp keeps firm the lower part of it, while the top of the guard in turn confines the grasp at the pommel. The whole of the hilt is secured by a nut screwed on to the point of the spike that springs from the blade.

For the first few years of the period to which this volume is devoted, the simple cross-hilt was as much in vogue as the guarded hilt which has just been described, but its manufacture was similar (Ills. XCI, XCII). The blade of the sword in the seventeenth century was invariably straight, except in the case of Hussars, and (during a portion of the time) of Granadeers who wore hangers. The swords still carried by the Life-Guards are straight-bladed and resemble in this and other respects the sword of the times of James and William.⁶²⁸

The HANGER was a slightly curved sword, and shorter than the ordinary weapon (Ill. XCIII). The long, straight, and not very broad sword used by the infantry in Charles's reign was termed a "Tuck."⁶²⁹

SWORD-SCABBARDS were of black leather,⁶³⁰ as well in the cavalry as in the infantry, the mountings being of steel (Ill. XCIV).

The PIKE is also a weapon of great antiquity: it was the favourite arm of the Greeks and Macedonians, and the Roman infantry was likewise largely armed with it. It was a defensive rather than an offensive weapon, and was in the form of a spear (Ills. XCV, XCVI, XCVII); the head being flat and pointed, and mounted on a stout staff from thirteen to eighteen feet long

⁶²⁸ There were several sorts of swords in vogue at this period besides the regular regimental swords: Mallet.

In Grose's Treatise on Ancient Armour is much curious information on the subject of swords.

⁶²⁹ Albemarle.

⁶³⁰ Originals and paintings.

shod with a pointed iron foot. Simple as the description of it may read, the pike was no despicable defence in the hands of resolute men ; and it is not surprising that the tradition of its efficient handling by the English infantry in 1689 and 1690 should have caused an attempted revival of it by the Irish malcontents of the present century.

The pike was the connecting link between the days of the bow-and-arrow and the days of fire-arms.

The fire-arm in general use at the time of the first establishment of our army was the MATCHLOCK (Ills. XCVIII, XCIX). This was a musquet fired by means of a piece of slow-match.

The word Musquet⁶³¹ is from the Spanish "Mosquete,"⁶³² which it is not difficult to derive from "moscas" or "mosquas" the sparks from a light.

Attached to the lock⁶³³ of this musquet was a pan, also a cock the hammer of which was somewhat in the form of a bird's,⁶³⁴ serpent's, or dog's head : this head was split, and a screw compressed or eased the slit (Ills. C, CI). The piece being loaded⁶³⁵ first with powder and then with ball, some powder was poured into the pan ; the pan was then shut to keep this "priming" (as the powder thus used was termed) from dropping out, and to keep it dry. When the soldier wished to fire, he fastened his burning match into the slit of the cock, opened the pan, looked to his priming, presented, and pulled the trigger ; the match falling upon the powder in the pan fired it (Ills. CII, CIII). Between the pan and the breech of the barrel communication was established by means of a small hole ; when the piece was being loaded the grains of powder were naturally rammed and shaken down close to this hole, and when priming the soldier took care to perfect the communication of the powder in the pan with that in the barrel : thus the explosion in the pan caused the ignition of the charge.

Slow-match was manufactured by boiling in vinegar⁶³⁶ or

⁶³¹ Although the term musquet attached itself later to the flint-lock, the word was for a long time used to signify the match-lock in contradistinction to the flint-lock, which latter was termed a fusil or fire-lock ; Saint-Remy ; Defoe ; and many other writers ; and Royal Warrants, 1660/1680.

⁶³² Harl. MS. 4,685. The word is written "*Mosquetteers*" (temp. Eliz.).

⁶³³ The earlier specimens of matchlock have the pan separate from the lock.

⁶³⁴ Hence doubtless the French word for the cock of a gun is "*chien*," the Spanish "*serpentin*," and our own "*cock*."

⁶³⁵ For the method of loading *see* Chap. XXV on Exercises.

⁶³⁶ Davies, 1619, says boiled in "*ashes-lye and powder*."

Williamson, *Military Arrangement* 1784.

James's Dictionary 1803.

the old lees of wine a string or small rope made of twisted strands of hemp-tow.

The soldier's spare MATCH was coiled about the belt,⁶³⁷ or in wet weather was stowed into the pockets or the crown of the hat (*see* Ills. XXIX, CC). When marching in an enemy's country in expectation of an attack or when advancing into action, soldiers bore their match lighted at either end (*See* Ills. LXXXV, CCIII, CCIV, &c.), renewing it with a fresh piece as often as occasion required. The object in having both ends alight was to constantly preserve a light after extinguishing the one end by the act of firing.

Musqueteers used to carry their powder in BANDALEERS. The word *bandaleers*, *bandoliers*, or *bandileers* appears to me to be derived from the Spanish "*banda*," a military sash or band; it has however been surmised that the word originated with the *Bandouliers*,⁶³⁸ some inhabitants of the Pyrenees who invented a sort of match-lock, and who might also have been the first to carry *bandoliers* in lieu of the powder-flask. Some colour is lent to this surmise by the French spelling "*bandoulière*": but at the same time the word *bandaleer*⁶³⁹ used to be employed originally to signify the belt (and indeed any sort of belt) and not those powder-cases to which the term was subsequently confined. *Bandaleers* (Ills. CIV, CV), in the ordinary acceptation of the word, were wooden tubes of which a dozen were attached by thongs or strings to a shoulder-belt, and each of which held one charge of powder.⁶⁴⁰ The tubes were sometimes covered with leather, but were usually only painted green or black.⁶⁴¹

⁶³⁷ Walhausen, 1615.

Orrery 1677.

De Gheyn.

⁶³⁸ There used to be in the north of Spain *banditti* styled "*bandaleros*" or *bandoleros*. Whether they in any way originated the name of *bandaleers* or whether their own title was derived from some peculiarity of their equipment, does not appear. Oxford Gazette, 16/20 Novr., 1665.

⁶³⁹ The most correct of the English authors spell the word *bandaleers*. The word *bandaleer*, when not used in the plural, referred to a belt alone, and not to the tubes upon it. Sir J. Turner applies the word to a carbine-belt, and by several other writers it is used to signify any *shoulder-belt*, like the French word "*baudrier*."

⁶⁴⁰ Davies 1619.

Mily. Dicty. 1702.

St. Remy, Edit. 1707 (Word not in Edit. 1697).

⁶⁴¹ De Puysegur states that they were of wood in 1678; but he does not say that the wood was not covered. There is in the Tower a set of *bandaleers* covered with velvet richly ornamented with metal. Specimens of different sorts may be seen at the Tower, at the Royal United Service Institution, at Hampton Court, and in most armouries at home and abroad. Although St. Remy 1707, and the Mily. Dicty.

The bullets were carried in a leathern BALL-BAG or purse, attached to the bandaleer-belt and made to hold twenty-five bullets; but when in action or performing the platoon exercise the musqueteer was always to keep a bullet ready in his mouth.⁶⁴² Thus, troops marching out of a place with the honours of war, stipulated to be allowed to have "match lighted "at both ends, and bullet in mouth."⁶⁴³

A flask for priming-powder (or else a spare bandaleer) was also attached to the belt (Ill. CVI), the powder for PRIMING being of a finer description than that used for the charge.⁶⁴²

For WADDING,⁶⁴⁴ paper, tow, horse hair, or more frequently grass, were employed; but it was a common complaint that soldiers, in the hurry and excitement of battle, forgot to carry wadding,⁶⁴⁴ or, having it, forgot to use it, so that the bullet dropped harmlessly from the barrel, or else failed to fly true in the firing.

The musquet was for many years of very heavy and clumsy make, so much so that it was customary to carry with it a REST, or fork upon which to rest the piece when aiming.⁶⁴⁵ The shaft of this rest was of wood and the forked top of metal (Ill. CVII), and it was also shod with a metal point to enable it to stick in the ground. It may be imagined that such a contrivance (see Ill. CCII, &c.) added considerably to the tedious handling and slow execution of the musquet. Rests were discontinued by English troops about the years 1660 to 1665.⁶⁴⁶

1702, describe bandaleers as usually covered with leather, I observe that the oldest specimens in this country are leather-covered, whereas those of a later date (such as are at Hampton Court) are only painted. In this country where such accoutrements were furnished by the Colonels, they were not likely to go to one penny more expense than was imperative upon them, and painting would be cheaper than leather.

Those worn by the Coldstream Guards in 1672 were leather-covered. Royal Warrant, 3 May, 1672. App. IV.

⁶⁴² Davies.

⁶⁴³ Clarendon.

London Gazette, 9 Sept., 1676.

Nihell (Siege of Carrickfergus), 1689.

Story, &c., &c., &c.

⁶⁴⁴ Orrery.

⁶⁴⁵ For an illustration of the mode of using the rest, see the Ill. No. 3 (1st Foot Gds. 1660) the drawing of which is copied from a contemporary print of the Matchlock exercise.

⁶⁴⁶ Elton Richd. 1659 and 1668: in this work the musquet exercise is given as it is to be "performed without the rest." But in an illustration of an infantry soldier the rest is given as part of the equipment.

Turner, Sir. J.; 1671; Rests "were used a long time, and in some places are "yet, but in late expeditions have been found more troublesome than useful."

Albemarle, 1671, mentions rests as part of the equipment of musqueteers, but his work was posthumous.

The Snaphans, FIRELOCK, FLINTLOCK, or FUSIL, gradually superseded the matchlock.

The name snaphans, or *anglicè* snaphaunce, is Dutch, and its origin is not well ascertained. By some authors the snaphans musquet is said to have been invented by a set of marauders denominated "snap-haan" or poultry-snatchers,⁶⁴⁷ and to have borrowed its name from its inventors: I can adduce no evidence for or against this derivation. As the word never became fairly naturalised I am content to leave further research to others, but it may be allowed to conjecture that snaphans meant no more than snap-cock would mean in English. *Snap-haan* in Dutch is composed of *snappen*, to snap (used of a gun just as in English), and *haan*, a cock (also used of the cock of a gun).

The name Fusil (Ill. CVIII) is from the Spanish "*fusil*" (pron. fooseel), which is in turn taken from "*focile*" the Italian word for flint; the Spanish pronunciation of the c producing the corruption of sound resulting in the substitution of an s for the Italian c. The real snaphans musket was never used in our army, unless at uncertain intervals during the administration of Monk Duke of Albemarle who was strongly in favour of the flint-lock as superior to the match-lock.⁶⁴⁸ The difference between the snaphans and the fusil as later adopted was that the former had the pan separate from the rest of the lock as in the earlier matchlocks, whereas in the fusil the hammer and the pan-cover were united to the lock (Ills. CIX, CX). The fusil-lock had superseded both the wheel-lock and the snaphans previously to the recognised use of flint-locks in our army; and the use of the term snap-hans in some official documents of Charles's and James's reigns is a misnomer, just as the term musquet was up to our own times erroneously applied to flint-locks.

The principle of the fusil was the employment of a flint and steel in lieu of the match.

The flint was firmly held by the cock. The hammer (or rather anvil) was the steel which covered the pan when it was closed, and at the same time offered a face to the cock, moving easily on a spring (Ills. CXI, CXII). When the trigger was

⁶⁴⁷ This is mentioned in the Text-book for the Schools of Musketry, published by authority, but no original authority is quoted; it is probably copied from Grose.

⁶⁴⁸ Albemarle, Observations, &c., 1671.

Warrts. by D. of Albemarle to exchange the matchlocks of his own regt. for fusils, dated 10 Feby. and 14 April, 1660; Apps. V and VI.

pulled the cock and flint came smartly down on the face of this hammer or anvil, driving it instantaneously back, and thus opening the pan, into which fell the sparks emitted by the blow.

The only advantage that the matchlock could boast over the fusil was that its fire was more certain⁶⁴⁹ when a continuous fire was desired. This however was only the case when it was in the hands of well-practised soldiers.⁶⁵⁰ On the other hand the handling of the fusil was more rapid, more simple, and less dangerous. The light of the match was as damaging to night-surprises as was the rattling noise of bandoleers. If a soldier, having blown his match into a state of ignition, was baulked of his shot by reason of an advance, a retirement, or any other ordinary cause, he had to blow again to re-kindle his match, and thus he ever afforded an enemy the chance of anticipating his fire by closing or by seeking shelter. Again, in windy weather the priming-powder would be blown away before the match reached it, or the sparks from the match would fire the piece before aim was duly taken. In the fusil these defects were avoided because the same blow that ignited the powder opened the pan. Also it often occurred that the fire-arms were rendered useless through the match getting wet: and, lastly, the quantity of match requisite for an army in the field made no slight demand on the transport trains.

There was an attempt made to unite in one piece the respective advantages of the matchlock and the fusil by fitting pieces with a lock combining both actions (Ill. CXIII). Saint-Remy⁶⁵¹ ascribes the invention of this contrivance to de Vauban. There is no record of its use in any of our standing regiments, although English soldiers in some parts of the world⁶⁵² were furnished with it.

The barrels of both matchlock and fusil as well as of the

⁶⁴⁹ St. Remy.

De Puysegur.

⁶⁵⁰ Story, 1689: "but a great many of the new men who had match-locks had so little skill in placing of their matches true that scarce one of them in four could fire their pieces off, and those that did thought they had done a great feat if the gun fired, not minding what they shot at."

De Puysegur.

⁶⁵¹ St. Remy.

There is one of these locks in the Tower, marked "J. R. 2"; but de Vauban might still have been the inventor.

⁶⁵² St. Helena official account-book 1693. "Received of Wm. French for a musquet and fuzee he broke £2"; and similar entries in which the "musquet and fuzee" is evidently but one piece.

carbine were kept bright⁶⁵³ and polished throughout the period here treated of, although it had previously been customary to brown, or as it used to be termed to "russet" arms.⁶⁵⁴

One distinction of the fusil from the matchlock was that it was usually furnished with a "SLING," so as to enable the soldier to sling his piece across his back while he fell on with his sword or handled his grenades. The sling⁶⁵⁵ used to be of stout brown leather four inches in width: it was fastened above to a large tin clasp which pierced the stock of the firelock (see Ills. XIX, XXII, XXIII, LIII); below, the leather was held by the screw of the trigger-guard: the buckle for shortening or lengthening the strap was of iron.

Later in the century (Ill. CXIV) the fastenings of the sling were modified to much the same shape as they now bear,⁶⁵⁶ while the sling itself was reduced to a less preposterous width.

A sort of firelock carried by Horse regiments, and in 1687 by Granadeers and Miners, was the CARBINE, or more properly Carabine.

Carbine properly means a gun that is rifled, our word being derived from the French "*carabine*"; *carabiner*, the verb, meaning to rifle, spoken of a gun-barrel. The term came however to be applied to the arm with which Horse-regiments were generally furnished (Ill. CXV), a short firelock of smaller bore than the fusil, and distinguished from the carbine in French by the term "*mousqueton*." About 1670 a long carbine was introduced.^{656a}

It may nevertheless surprise some readers to learn that RIFLED ARMS were in use in the seventeenth century. The Life-Guards had carabines at the time of the Restoration, and I am inclined to think, from a passage in Monk's "Observations" that these were rifles: ⁶⁵⁷ if so, they were exchanged for smooth-

⁶⁵³ Pepys; 1660. At the Hague saw the Prince's Guard "all very fine and the "burghers of the town with their musquets bright as silver."

Musters Regulations 21 Feby., 1686/7: App. XXXIX.

St. Remy 1697.

Letter from Belfast 13 Mar., 1690; Thorpe Tracts.

⁶⁵⁴ Royal Warrant 1629, laying down the rates chargeable for gun-makers' work.

⁶⁵⁵ Originals temp. James II, in the Tower and Royal U.S. Inst.

Royal Warrt. 7 Nov., 1689; Ordnce. papers; issue of "Broad slings for musquets."

⁶⁵⁶ St. Remy.

^{656a} R. Warrt. 1 Feby., 1670, for issue to First troop of Life Guards of 200 "new long carabines"; W.O. records.

⁶⁵⁷ Albemarle; 1671. Speaking of the arms of a Horseman; "a carbine, or a "musquet barrel of the length of a carbine barrel, well stocked, with a snaphance, "the which I hold to be much better than a carbine for service."

bores, perhaps in deference to Monk's opinions, regarded as he was by the English as an incontrovertible authority: for in 1680, the Guards had but eight rifled carabines per troop.⁶⁵⁸

In the French army⁶⁵⁹ one troop per regiment was thus armed in 1697, and at the commencement of the next century whole regiments had rifled carbines.⁶⁶⁰

The Hungarian Horse of the Bishop of Munster⁶⁶¹ carried rifles as early as 1666; and rifled pistols⁶⁶² were used in England as early as 1677.⁶⁶³

The time is yet to come⁶⁶⁴ when our troops shall be armed with REPEATING FIRE-ARMS, and they were assuredly not so armed in the seventeenth century: nevertheless it may not be out of place to record here that such weapons were by no means unknown at this early period.

An English writer⁶⁶⁵ of the first half of the century describes fire-arms with revolving barrels to be fired by the one lock, "the touch-holes of the barrels to turn to the lock "one after another."⁶⁶⁶ But the invention was still compara-

⁶⁵⁸ Harford 1680.

⁶⁵⁹ St. Remy; these carbines were 3 feet long in the barrel, "rayées depuis la culasse jusqu'à l'autre bout d'une manière circulaire, en sorte que quand la balle sort par l'impétuosité du feu, elle s'allonge d'un travers de doigt empreintes des rayefères du canon. La carabine montée (*i.e.*, stock and barrel) est de quatre grands pieds de long."

⁶⁶⁰ De Feuquiere.

⁶⁶¹ Temple, Sir Wm.; letter to Sir J. Temple, Brussels, 10 May, 1666: "The next day, about a league from Munster, the Bishop met me at the head of about 4,000 Horse and in appearance brave troops. Before his coach came a guard of 100 Hey-dukes that he had brought from the last campaign in Hungary: they were in short coats and caps all of a brown colour, every man carrying a sabre by his side, a short pole-axe before him and a *skrew-skrewed* gun hanging at his back by a leather belt that went cross his shoulder. In this posture they run almost full speed and in excellent order, and were said to shoot 200 yards with their skrewed gun, and a bullet of the bigness of a large pea, into the breadth of a dollar crown-piece."

Patent, 24 June, 1635. This is an English patent in which the gunsmith undertakes to "rifle, cut out, and *screw* barrels as wide or as close, as deep or as shallow, as shall be required."

⁶⁶² London Gazette 21/24 Jany., 1677/8, for a lost "case of screwed barrel pistols."

⁶⁶³ Rifles are said to have been invented in 1552 by one Danner of Nuremberg. There is a specimen in England (I do not remember where) of 1588: there is one at the Tower of 1610, and at the Woolwich Rotunda are several of the seventeenth century.

⁶⁶⁴ This was written in 1870.

⁶⁶⁵ Ward 1639.

⁶⁶⁶ Pepys; 3 July, 1662: "Dined with the Officers of the Ordnance. After dinner was brought to Sir William Compton a gun to discharge seven times, the best of all devices I ever saw, and very serviceable: it is much approved of, and many thereof made."

The only piece of *seven* chambers with which I have met is in the Tower

tively a novelty after the Restoration; and although Mr. Pepys states that many revolvers were manufactured, there are few of the seventeenth century extant, and as there are still fewer of the beginning of the eighteenth century, it is reasonable to presume that the manufacture of them was not sufficiently patronised to induce a continuance of it on a large scale. During the period from 1660 to 1700 more than one patent was taken out in this country for repeating arms. In 1663 the Marquis of Worcester, whose inventions were at the time regarded as the illusions of a visionary, but which have since largely turned out to be not only possibilities but desirabilities, petitioned the three Estates to take notice of his discoveries, and in his petition he enumerates some of the chief of these⁶⁶⁷ and among them are placed several sorts of repeating arms. A man named Abraham Hill⁶⁶⁸ took out a patent in 1664 for a repeater for seven or eight charges: and one Charles Cardiffe⁶⁶⁹ in 1682 patented a very mysterious repeater, for it required only once priming for several shots. In 1661 a Mr. Martindale dwelt at the sign of the "Stirrup" in Chiswell Street and was prepared to sell anything⁶⁷⁰ "from the pocket-pistol to the whole cannon,

Armoury, and is surmised in the Tower catalogue to be of about the year 1750. The seven bores are in one barrel: and I should be inclined to set it down as the very piece described by Pepys in 1662.

In the Woolwich museum is an eight-chambered matchlock revolver of the sixteenth century; also a six-chambered wheel-lock pistol of the seventeenth century.

In the Tower are also a harquebuss with revolving breech for four charges, said to be of the sixteenth century: and a revolver carabine for six charges of the middle of the seventeenth. There do not appear to be in the English museums any repeating-arms of from 1690 to 1710.

In the Porte d'Hal Armoury at Brussels is a flintlock musquet with six chambers, of 1632; also a pistol with five chambers, of 1622: in both there is but one barrel, and the chambers turn with the hand.

⁶⁶⁷ "A century of names, &c., of inventions," &c., in *Petitions of the Marquis of Worcester to the King, Lords and Commons*; Lond. 1663; Harl. Misc.

⁶⁶⁸ "58. How to make a pistol to discharge a dozen times with one loading, and "without so much as once new priming requisite, or to change it out of one hand into "the other, or to stop one's horse.

"59. Another way as fast and effectual, but more proper for carbines.

"60. A way with a flask appropriated into it which will furnish either pistol or "carbine with a dozen changes in 3 minutes' time, to do the whole execution of a "dozen shot, as soon as one pleaseth proportionably."

⁶⁶⁹ Patent, 3 Mar., 1664. See this Chap. under "Breech-loading arms." Note ⁶⁷³.

⁶⁷⁰ Patents, 30 Decr., 1681, and 16 Febr., 1682. To Charles Cardiffe, gent., for "An expedient with safety to make muskets, carbines, pistols, or any other small "fire-arms to discharge twice, thrice, or more several and distinct shots in a single "barrel and lock with once priming, and with double lock oftener, reserving one or "more shots till occasion offer, which hitherto by none but himself hath been invented "or known, the mistery or maine lying in the charge," &c., &c.

⁶⁷⁰ *Mercurius Publicus*, 12 Decr., 1661.

"all sorts of guns that are charged with three or four several charges, &c."

"There is nothing new under the sun," preached the wise preacher, and there is a certain terrible instrument of war called a MITRAILLEUSE, of which it has been lately said, Here at least is a novelty. But the mitrailleuse was to be seen in the Armoury of the Tower of London⁶⁷¹ in the year 1687. Doubtless it was in a less perfect form than the deadly machine of 1871, but it was not the less a mitrailleuse under the name of "An Engine of 160 musquet barrels": there were also similar engines of twelve and of six barrels, the one of twelve barrels having seen actual service, as it was taken from the Duke of Monmouth in 1685.

Such a machine seems to have been discovered by an Englishman even as early as 1663; for among the inventions of the Marquis of Worcester already mentioned,⁶⁶⁷ we find number sixty-two to be "A way for a harquebuss, a crock or ship musquet, six upon a carriage, shooting with such expedition, as without danger one may charge, level, and discharge them sixty times in a minute of an hour, two or three together."

And another Englishman, Drummond of Hawthornden, also in the reign of Charles the Second patented⁶⁷² "a machine made, as it were, of musquet barrels fastened together, by the aid of which any single soldier may be considered able to fill the place of a hundred musqueteers": this machine he denominates a "fiery wagon." Similar machines were also known in the French Service under the name of "*Orgues*."⁶⁷³ An orgue is described in 1697 as "une machine composée de plusieurs canons de mousquet attachés ensemble, et dont on se sert pour défendre des brèches et des retranchements, parce que par leur moyen l'on tire plusieurs coups à la fois." (III. CXVI.)

BREECH-LOADERS also are just as little a modern invention as rifles, revolvers, or mitrailleuses.

Two patents were granted immediately after the Restoration for breech-loaders, one to the Marquis of Worcester⁶⁷³

⁶⁷¹ General (Annual) States of all the Ordnance, &c., Harl. MSS. 7,457-63.

⁶⁷² Specifications of patents published by the authority of the Commissioners of Patents.

⁶⁷³ Patent to Edw. Marquis of Worcester, 15 Novr., 1661, for (among other inventions) "an invention to make certain guns or pistols, which in the tenth part of one minute of an hour, may with a flask contrived to that purpose, be re-charged, the fourth part of one turn of the barrel, which remains still fixed, fastening it as

in 1661, and another to Abraham Hill in 1664. There is preserved in the Tower a breech-loading harquebus with moveable chamber, which in the Tower inventory of 1679 is stated to be of the time of Henry the Eighth; H.R. and the date 1537 are engraved upon it.

There are in the museums of Europe many other breech-loading pieces of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries; in the Porte d'Hal armoury at Brussels are two, one German marked 1675, and the other English of about the same date and marked "London," which have the breech on a hinge and which were intended for cartridges.

The only hand fire-arm that remains to be mentioned is the PISTOL,⁶⁷⁴ which derives its name from Pistoja the place of its earliest manufacture. The illustration (III. CXVII) conveys all that need be said of this weapon.

In course of time CARTRIDGES or cartouches entirely ousted the bandaleers. "*Carta*" is the Spanish word for paper and "*carton*" signifies big paper, paste-board, or "cartridge-paper": *cartucho* (pron. cartootsho), the Spanish for cartridge, evidently originated from the fact of carton being the material of which the covering of the cartridge consisted. *Cartouche* in French is very close to the Spanish word, and cartridge is the English adaptation of it.

"forceably and effectually as a dozen thrlds of any screw, which in the ordinary and "usual way require as many turns."

The invention noted in No. 61 of the Marquis of Worcester's List of 1663 was probably also a breech-loader. "61. A third way, and particular for Musquets, without taking them from their rests to charge or prime, to a like execution and as fast "as the flask: the Musquet containing but one charge at a time."

Patent to Abraham Hill, 3 Mar., 1664, for a "New way of making a gun or pistol, "the breech whereof riseth upon an hinge by a contrivance of a motion from under it, "by which it is also let down again and bolted fast by one and the same motion; — "and also of another gun or pistol which hath a hole at the upper end of the breech "to receive the charge, which hole is opened and stopped by a piece of iron or "steel that lies along the side of the piece, and moveable by a ready and easy "motion;

"and also of another gun or pistol which is charged and primed at a hole under the "sight or visier at the upper end of the breech, and shuts within with a cartridge or "roundish plate of iron, and without with the sight or visier; —

"and also of another gun that is charged and primed in a like manner at a hole below "the sight or visier which is shut with a screw smaller below than above; —

"and also of another gun or pistol for small shot carrying seven or eight charges of "the same in the stock of the gun, which is let into the gun by thrusting forward the "sight, and by a square cartridge within the piece near the breech, so that the powder "being put in by a hole under the sight both for charging and priming the same, "together with a touch-hole, being shut both within and without by thrusting back "the sight to his place."

⁶⁷⁴ Pistols were invented by Camillo Vitelli, an Italian, temp. Henry VIII; Sir J. Turner.

A cartridge is a ready-made charge whether of powder alone, or of powder and ball. A piece of stiff paper being rolled on a roller into a cylinder of the size of the calibre of the musquet, a separation was made with a wad near the middle: the larger part was then filled with powder, the other held the bullet; and the two ends were firmly closed up. (*See* Ill. CXIX.) When loading, the soldier bit off ⁶⁷⁵ the end of the powder partition so as to permit of the communication of the powder in the breech with the priming.

When the invention of the cartridge was in its infancy, the ball used to be fastened *outside* the powder-case (Ill. CXVIII), a little neck of lead, ⁶⁷⁶ purposely left in the casting, being held by the packthread which confined the end of the powder-case.

Cartridges possessed more than one advantage over the bandaleers. The bandaleers often caught in the piece and entangled its handling. When a party was in ambush, or was attempting a surprise, or otherwise engaged in any undertaking in which success depended upon silence, a slight wind or a sudden movement of the body, or the ordinary march of the men would set the bandaleers a-rattling to the probable discovery and defeat of the intended surprise. Not unfrequently, the bandaleers, worn as they were all about the body, would catch fire and explode.⁶⁷⁷ Men, excited by battle or advancing rapidly, would spill half the charge in pouring it from the tube (fastened, as it was, to the body) into the barrel: a soldier, with lighted match in hand, going to refill his set of bandaleers with fresh powder from a cask, would blow up the powder-cask and all around it; and this was no rare accident.

A yet more prominent advantage of the cartridge over bandaleers was the saving of time in loading. With the bandaleers the soldier had to pull open the tube with his teeth, to pour in the powder, ram down a wad, take a ball from the ball-bag, and ram that home with another wad.

In the other case all that was required was to bite or tear off one end of the cartridge, and then complete the loading with one ramming.

Cartridges were carried in a CARTRIDGE-BOX or pouch.⁶⁷⁸

⁶⁷⁵ Mallet.

St. Remy.

Various books of exercises, 17th century.

⁶⁷⁶ Sir J. Turner.—St. Remy.—St. Remy terms this a “cartouche à mousquetaire,” as though the newer sort were used for the fusil.

⁶⁷⁷ Orrery, 1677.

⁶⁷⁸ Sir J. Turner.—Mallet.—Girard.—Rugendas.—A Dutch print of Siege of Graves 1674—Ditto of siege of Londonderry 1689. (Brit. Mus. Print room.)

The pouch in use during the latter part of the century (Ill. CXIX) was of stiff brown leather in the form of an oblong case, and sometimes lined with wood or tin: within the case were twelve tin tubes of a size to hold the cartridges: one end of the case was higher than the other; that is to say, the bottom was not built on a horizontal line, but at an angle to it, so that each row of tubes was on a different level, the object of this being to render it easier to pick out the cartridges. The cover, of flexible leather, was fastened with a leathern button on the outer side.

By the infantry the cartridge-pouch appears to have been carried on the right side and somewhat to the front,⁶⁷⁹ slung on a narrow shoulder-belt which passed through straps at each side of the pouch and so under the bottom of it.

The same pouch was common both to infantry and cavalry, but Horse regiments⁶⁸⁰ appear to have worn it on a waist-belt until about 1695 when it was attached to the carbine-belt.⁶⁸¹

Sir James Turner speaks of cartridges for pistols as used by Horse-soldiers in his time; and there is little doubt that the accompanying illustration (Ill. CXX) represents the pouch for such cartridges. It was attached by a strap to the holster.

Besides bandaleers and boxes of cartridges there was another contrivance for carrying ammunition, its main distinction being that the powder was carried in a flask or horn instead of in bandaleers. Some nations had long preferred the flask. The Spaniards had never accepted the bandaleers,⁶⁸² and the Germans had discarded them before the middle of the century.⁶⁸³ In the French army the Gardes Françaises and Gardes Suisses had been furnished with the "gibecière" (Ill. CXXI) for bullets⁶⁸⁴ and a "fourniment" or horn for powder, in 1684; and within the next few years the whole of the French infantry laid aside the bandaleers (Ill. CXXII).⁶⁸⁵ The

⁶⁷⁹ Warrt., 28 Ap., 1684, Issue to 1st Ft. Gds. "cartouch-box and girdle."

Sir J. Turner.—Harl. MSS. 7,458-63, States of the Ordnance Stores 1687/91.

Mallet.—See also previous Note.

W.O. records, to 1700, many issues of cartridge boxes and girdles (as distinguished from belts).

⁶⁸⁰ Mallet.

⁶⁸¹ Rugendas: (of dates 1695-97).

⁶⁸² Davies.

⁶⁸³ Sir J. Turner.

⁶⁸⁴ Mallet.

De Puysegur states that French Dragoons carried "fourniments" at least as early as 1678.

⁶⁸⁵ De Puysegur says about 1688.

gibecière was not however introduced into our army, and there seems to have been no interregnum between the abolition of the bandeleers and the universal use of cartridges. Powder and ball were, however, being still issued as late as 1697.^{685a}

There is probably no weapon that has, at least in this country, been so loudly extolled as the BAYONET. For a century and a half the bayonet has been to us what the bow was of old,—our special weapon, the *pièce de résistance* of every British army. To us who can look back upon the part it has played in modern warfare and its many achievements in the hands of British soldiers, it is curious to note that the simple invention was, because of trifling failures in detail at first, more than once nearly stifled in its infancy.

The derivation of the name is not authenticated,⁶⁸⁶ but tradition has attributed it to the fact of the bayonet having been first manufactured at Bayonne, a town celebrated at the time for its cutlery.

It is necessary to premise that in the middle of the seventeenth century,⁶⁸⁷ it was the usage to arm infantry, one third part with pikes, and the remaining two thirds with musquets. On a charge of Horse the pikemen formed a hollow square, into the centre of which the musqueteers retired until the danger was past. Thus pikemen and musqueteers were mutually dependent, and one or the other was constantly practically *hors de combat*.

The necessity for some defence for infantry against cavalry independently of the pikemen proper, and for some union of the arms of offence and defence in the same hands, had long been

St. Remy.

The French Regulation Exercises of 2 Mar., 1703, mention the Cartridge and also the Gibecière and Fourniment, but not the bandeleers.

^{685a} Orders for issue 1697 to various regts.; Dub. State Papers.

⁶⁸⁶ Menage, Dictionary 1694.

Sir David Sibbald Scott in May 1863 delivered a highly interesting lecture, at the Royal United Service Institution, on the History of the Bayonet. This lecture fell into my hands after I had completed my own study of the subject. So far as he goes, I have found my own researches mainly to co-incide with those of Sir Sibbald Scott. He goes deeper into the derivation of the word than is necessary here, and I would refer the curious in etymology to his interesting paper.

The word used frequently to be spelt "bagonet" or "baggonett" instead of bayonet: Contingent Acct., Quarter Master Coldstream Gds., 21 May, 1686; W.O. records.

Proposals humbly offered to the Earl of Tyrconnel, Lord Deputy, by the Bishop of Meath, about the intended search for arms, 1688.

Orders Lords Justices of Ireland, 2 Aug., 1698; Dub. State papers.

⁶⁸⁷ See Chapter XXIII on Regimental Economy.

felt.⁶⁸⁸ The archers had experienced this want, and some bowmen⁶⁸⁹ used to carry a sort of bow-pike, a weapon which united in one the powers of both pike and bow. Henry the Fifth, at Agincourt,⁶⁹⁰ extemporised a defence for his archers by planting sharpened stakes along their front; and in the middle of the seventeenth century palisades or stakes were regularly carried by the infantry to be thus planted against cavalry.⁶⁸⁸

The object of the bayonet then was to render the musqueteer or fusileer independent of the pikeman.

The bayonet was not at first a military weapon.⁶⁹¹ It was simply a hunting knife, the handle of which could be fitted into the muzzle of the fowling-piece and thus used as a spear against an animal at bay.

But before the adoption of this hunting-knife as a military weapon there had been other endeavours to discover some effectual defence for infantry soldiers against the attacks of cavalry. And the earliest of these attempts was merely a more polished form of the rough stakes used by our archers at Agincourt and Orleans: this invention was called a SWEDISH FEATHER (CXXIII), and is described as a "foot palisado"⁶⁹² of four foot length and a half, headed with sharp

⁶⁸⁸ Bariffe, 1639.

⁶⁸⁹ Nead; the double-armed man; 1625.

In this work are illustrations. The bow could be separated entirely from the pike for the purpose of shooting, or it could be so joined to the pike as to form one weapon and thus enable the soldier to give an undivided attention to his pike and sword.

⁶⁹⁰ Sir J. Turner.

Shakspeare (and he is generally accurate in similar historical details) makes Lord Talbot to use the same contrivance. Henry VI, Act. I, Scene 1:

"He wanted pikes to set before his archers,

"Instead whereof, sharp stakes plucked out of hedges

"They pitched in the ground confusedly,

"To keep the horsemen off from breaking in."

⁶⁹¹ Cotgrave; Dictionary, 1611. "Bayonette, a kind of small flat pocket dagger."

French Royal Proclamation, 1660. "La fréquence des accidents qui arrivent par l'usage des baionettes et couteaux en forme de poignards, qui se mettent au bout des fusils de chasse, ou se portent dans la poche."

Favé, Col.; le passé et l'avenir de l'artillerie. Paris, 1846-63. Sir Sibbald Scott.

⁶⁹² A brief treatise on War, 1649; Harl. MS. 6,008.

Bariffe, 1643, also says, "The sharp pointed palisado, a weapon which hath sometimes been used by our English bowmen;" "palisadoes have likewise been used of late in the Eastern wars by the name of Swines-feathers." He then states that Gustavus Adolphus of Sweden first joined the Swines-feather with the musket: hence probably the change of name to Swedish feather.

Journal Book of the Lieutenancy of Norfolk 1661-74; among the arms surveyed

"forked iron heads of six inches length, and a sharp iron foot
"to stick into the ground for their defence, whereas they may
"come to be forced to make resistance against Horse."

Swedish feathers or Swines' Feathers were used by our troops⁶⁹³ at Tangier in 1663, but this is the only instance of their use in our standing army that I have met with. Sir J. Turner,⁶⁹⁴ writing in 1670, speaks of Swedish feathers as obsolete, but Monk whose work was published in 1671 (after his death) says that⁶⁹⁵ "so many musqueteers as you have more
"than pikemen in your army ought to have swine-feathers with
"heads of rests fastened to them." Monk's work was posthumous, but it bears internal evidence of having been written subsequent to the year 1660.

At all events I have been able to meet with no evidence that Swedish feathers whether with or without rests were actually in general use in our standing Army.⁶⁹⁶ Some writers have fallen into the error of imagining the Swedish feather and the spiked rest to be identical. The passages quoted above, together with one that occurs in the Pallas Armata, sufficiently refute this mistake, and sufficiently describe the next development of the embryo bayonet.

The passage from the Pallas Armata is as follows:—⁶⁹⁴
"Musket rests in the late expeditions in most places in
"Christendom have been found more troublesome than helpful;
"a musqueteer in any occasion not being able to do his duty
"with musquet, sword, and rest, especially if you give him a
"Swedish feather to manage with them. Bokeler, the engineer,
"speaks of an instrument that might serve for both rest and

in the Guildhall, Norwich 16 Novr., 1661, appear Palisadoes, 13 Bunches (or Bundles); and on 14 January, 1674, precisely the same quantity was in store, which looks as if they were obsolete: Brit. Mus. Add. MSS. 11,601.

Tower Survey 1675. Hand pallizadoes with Rests 11; and ditto without Rests 3.

See also Note ⁶⁹⁶.

⁶⁹³ Mercurius Publicus 23 July, 1663; but whether used by troops, or only as fixed palisadoes, does not appear with certainty; See also Note ⁷⁰⁸.

⁶⁹⁴ Sir J. Turner: Pallas Armata.

There is in the Tower Armoury a steel palisado, or staff, with a feather which ascends from within the staff. See also Note ^{696a}.

⁶⁹⁵ Albemarle.

⁶⁹⁶ States of Ordnance Stores 1687-91; Harl. MSS. 7,458-63:

"Spanish Weapons; Hand Palisadoes { With rests 10.
Without rests 4."

The small number in store at a period when the plug-bayonet was in the hands of picked troops only, and the classifying them as Spanish weapons and among the curious arms, would argue that they had not been in general use here.

"feather, and such, perhaps, would be very useful and convenient; he would have it at the top as all rests are, like a fork, on the one side whereof he would have an iron, of one foot and a half long, sticking out, sharply pointed: ^{696a} these, "planted in the van or flanks where you expect the charge, as "the Swedish feathers used to be, will sufficiently palisade and "defend musqueteers from Horse, and upon them they may "lean their musquets when they give fire." (III. CXXIV).

No such invention as the Swedish feather or as the feathered rest could however be ultimate and satisfactory, inasmuch as with the one the legitimate use of the rest was obstructed, and with the other the movement of the troops was impeded. When the musquet-rest was abolished in consequence of improvements in the lightness of fire-arms, the choice lay between an innovation of some sort, or a return to the pristine form of Swedish feather. Again, there were many occasions when victory was only to be won by "push of pike": on such occasions the musqueteer and his Swedish feather were useless, in other words two-thirds of the attacking force was almost *hors de combat*, while the defending force had the full advantage of its fire both of artillery and musquetry and of all defensive contrivances. Briefly, there was forced upon soldiers the necessity for some weapon capable of employment for offence or for defence equally, and of such a degree of portability that it should not obstruct the ready use of the musquet.

Then it was that the hunting knife was adapted to military use.

Monsieur de Puysegur, a French General, tells us that about the year 1647, when he held a command in the Netherlands, his soldiers when on party ⁶⁹⁷ "did not carry swords but had "bayonets with handles of a foot in length and blades as long "as the handles, the ends of which were contrived for putting "into the barrels of the musquets to defend themselves when "attacked after giving fire." If de Puysegur made no mistake

^{696a} Grose had seen, in the collection of the Rev. Mr. Gosling, a rest with a tuck or feather which issued from the centre of the staff at will, being covered with a lid when retired within the staff: he gives an accurate drawing of it.

⁶⁹⁷ De Puysegur (the elder); "Pour moi, quand je commandais dans Bergue " (1646), dans Ypre (1648), Dixmude (1647), et Laquenoc, tous les partis que "j'envoyais passaient les canaux de cette façon. Il est vrai que les soldats ne "portaient point d'épées, mais ils avaient des bayonettes qui avaient des manches "d'un pied de long, et les lames des bayonettes étaient aussi longues que les manches, "dont les bouts étaient propres à mettre dans les canons des fusils pour se défendre, "quand quelqu'un voulait venir à eux après qu'ils avaient tiré."

in the date, this is the earliest record of the use of the bayonet in warfare. However this may be, it was not officially recognised until 1671 when the French Artillery regiment of Fusileers⁶⁹⁸ was furnished with plug-bayonets. Sir James Turner, writing in 1670, recommends the use of the bayonet:⁶⁹⁴ "Knives, "whose blades are one foot long made both for cutting and "thrusting (the haft being made to fill the bore of the musquet), "will do more execution than the sword or the butt of the "musquet." Prior, however, to Sir James Turner's advocacy of its use the bayonet had been actually issued to English troops. It has been hitherto stated by all authorities on the subject that the bayonet was first introduced into our Army in 1672; but there seems to be little doubt that it was used by the Tangier regiments⁶⁹⁹ in 1663 at a time when the infantry of that garrison were without the proper complement of pikes.

In 1672 the PLUG-BAYONET was again introduced into the English army, a regiment of Dragoons raised in that year being armed with the matchlock musquet and a "bayonet or great "knife."⁷⁰⁰

This regiment of Dragoons was disbanded two years later, and we hear no more of the issue of the bayonet until the creation of granadeers in 1678. From this time it continued to be given to granadeers and dragoons, as it was also to fusileers from the time of their institution in 1685.

Until near the end of King Charles's reign⁷⁰¹ the bayonet was a flat double-edged dagger blade about an inch wide and a foot long with a handle of about the same length as the blade, and without guard or cross-piece (Ill. CXXV), in fact exactly such as is described by de Puysegur. The handle was made to taper so that it could be rammed tightly into the muzzle of the piece.

In 1678⁷⁰² a "new sort of bayonet" was invented by one

⁶⁹⁸ Daniel.

⁶⁹⁹ Court-Martial, Tangier, 15 Aug., 1663; charge against a Private in Col. Fairborne's Company for "drawing his short dagger" when in anger.

Court Martial, Tangier, 24 Mar., 1664; charge against a Private for striking a comrade "with a dagger which he took from Corporal Wilkey's side," Brit. Mus. Sloane MSS. 1,957-1,960.

From an account of affairs at Tangier, London 1680, and reprinted in the Harleian Miscellany, we learn that until 1675 or thereabouts there had been few or no pikes in the Foot regiments in the garrison.

⁷⁰⁰ The Infantry also had bayonets in 1673 for a brief period; See Chap. XXIII, Note ¹¹⁰⁴.

Royal Warrant, 2 Apr., 1672; App. III.

⁷⁰¹ Harford, 1680.—Mallet, 1684.—De Puysegur.

⁷⁰² Commr. in Chief's Warrant, 15 Novr., 1678; App. VII.

Philip Russell; this would appear to be the bayonet in vogue in James's reign. It was merely a modification of its predecessor (Ill. CXXVI): the handle was made shorter and with a greater swell towards the blade: a brass mounting ornamented and preserved the pommel, and a small guard was added, while the blade became single-edged only. The intention seems to have been to secure a sword-bayonet, that is to say, a weapon capable of use either as sword or as bayonet. This bayonet continued to be in general use until it was finally superseded by the socket-bayonet in the beginning of the next century, with one modification which will be noticed presently.

It is almost superfluous to state that the stoppage of fire involved by the use of the plug-bayonet had not gone unnoticed, and that the need was universally felt of some bayonet so fixed as to enable the soldier to continue his fire without unfixing it.

An intermediate step towards the socket-bayonet was the contrivance known as the RING-BAYONET. The Maréchal de Puysegur⁷⁰³ states that as early as 1678 he had seen a regiment armed with swords without guards, but instead a brass ring at the guard and another at the pommel, through which the barrel of the piece passed. General Mackay⁷⁰⁴ tells us that, at the battle of Killiecrankie (1689), having observed that the troops were sometimes charged before they found time to plug their bayonets, unless they ceased firing too soon to do good execution, he invented a way "to fasten the bayonet so to the muzzle without by two rings that the soldiers may safely keep their fire till they pour it into their breasts."

An old gentleman named Gosling⁷⁰⁵ (a clergyman) told Capt. Grose that he recollected seeing two Horse Granadeers ride before Queen Anne's coach with bayonets fixed by means of rings (Ill. CXXVII).

There is in the Meyrick collection a ring-bayonet, the peculiarity of which is that one ring only was on the bayonet (Ill. CXXVIII) while the other was on the barrel of the piece. The date of this bayonet is probably about 1690.⁷⁰⁶

⁷⁰³ De Puysegur.

⁷⁰⁴ Mackay.

⁷⁰⁵ Grose, *Mil. Ant.*;—I am, however, decidedly inclined to the opinion that Mr. Gosling's memory must have deceived him, at so long a distance of time, and that it must have been Queen Mary's coach that he remembered to have seen. It is scarcely possible that ring-bayonets should have been actually issued at a time when the socket-bayonet had been invented for years, and was so near perfection as to have been adopted universally in quite the beginning of Queen Anne's reign.

⁷⁰⁶ Saint Helena Official Records, 2 Decr., 1690. In 1690 the Governor of the

Notwithstanding this invention of a ring-bayonet, the plug-bayonet alone continued⁷⁰⁷ (as was said before) to be used in the British Army even almost up to the final abolition of pikes.

The success of the invention of the ring-bayonet would have depended upon uniformity in the size of musquet barrels. The reiterated complaint that the size of the barrels was not uniform fully accounts for the adherence to the plug-bayonet, not only after the invention of the ring-bayonet, but even after a socket-bayonet had been projected.

Meanwhile one of the foremost of military nations, a nation whose tactics and discipline the young men of France and England were sent to study, had deliberately taken a retrograde step: the troops of the Empire had laid aside pikes in favour of CHEVAUX DE FRISE,⁷⁰⁸ an adaptation of the Swedish feather. These chevaux de frise appear to have been purely defensive: they were carried by the infantry, and seem to have been the same thing as is described in an English work⁷⁰⁹ of 1702 thus:

"Chevaux de frise, the same as Turnpikes, only some will have it that the chevaux are made stronger than the turnpikes."

"Turnpike, a piece of wood or spar twelve or fourteen feet long, and six or seven inches diameter, cut in a sexangular form (Ill. CXXIX), every side of it bored full of holes about an inch diameter, and five or six inches from one another, but not answering on the sides to one another, on the contrary all differently posited. Through these holes pickets, that is short

Island died, and in an inventory of his effects there is mentioned under the head of arms and "outlandish weapons," one "bagonett and bolt."

In States of the Ordnance. Stores, 1687/91, Harl. MSS. 7,458-63, appear Bayonets "ordinary" in thousands, and Bayonets "extraordinary" 165 in 1687, down to 40 in the succeeding years.

⁷⁰⁷ Abridgement of Eng. Mil. Discipline, 1686.

Exercise of Foot; By Their Majesties' Command.

Boddington, 1701.

De Puysegur.

De Beaurain.

St. Remy.

Mily. Dictionary, 1702.

⁷⁰⁸ De Villars, 1684; The Duke of Lorraine drew up his line (campaign on the Danube) "l'infanterie couverte de ses chevaux de frise."

(Battle of the Esseek) "Tout ce qui était en colonne se mit en bataille: l'infanterie plaça ses chevaux de frise."

1686. "M. de Louvois (French minister for War) écrivit au Marquis de Villars une lettre pour le prier de lui apprendre ce que c'était que les chevaux de frise dont l'infanterie impériale se servait au lieu de piques qu'elle avait abandonnées."

⁷⁰⁹ Mily. Dicty., 1702.

" pikes, are run, being about five or six feet long, pointed with iron and fastened into the holes with nails or wedges. Thus the points stand out every way, and these turnpikes are of great use to stop an enemy, being planted in a breach, at the entrance of a camp, or in any gap. Turnpikes are otherwise called *chevaux de frise*."

General Mackay, writing under the date of 1689 respecting his campaign in Scotland, says ⁷¹⁰ " palisades, *chevaux de frise*, with the further necessities to attend him where he was to embark his foot upon the ships and boats, and so under favour of his cannon from the men of war, and with the help of four hundred *chevaux de frise* he questioned not to force his landing at the very place where he designed " &c. These are evidently the same sort of *chevaux de frise* as were used by the Imperial troops in lieu of the bayonet. The only other instances of the use of turnpikes or *chevaux de frise* in this country that I have met with occur in a description of the troops ⁷¹¹ that accompanied William of Orange to England in 1688 ; in this description is mentioned " another contrivance the foot carry with them to keep off the Horse, which in their manner may well yield the Service of a pike " : and in the following passage in a letter from Duke Schonberg, then in Ireland, to the officers of the Ordnance ; ⁷¹² " firelocks will be the arms we shall have most occasion for here ; there need be but few pikes, intending " to make use of *chevaux de frise*." *Chevaux de frise* were also used by the Allies at Estinkerke in 1692,⁷¹³ and by the English Artillery train in 1689 (when they were styled " Portable Turnpikes "). This return to a sort of Swedish feather was not however generally approved by the Western nations, whose attention continued to be given to the improvement of the bayonet. Shortly after the battle of Fleurus (1690) the French government ordered a trial of a SOCKET-BAYONET.⁷¹⁴ The faults

⁷¹⁰ Mackay's Memoirs.

Hand-palisadoes were issued for use at Tangier Ordnance papers, issue of 2,000, 2 Mar., 1663.

⁷¹¹ A further account of the Prince's Army in a letter from Exeter, 24 Novr., 1688 ; Harl. Misc.

⁷¹² Letter, Lisburne, 16th Novr., 1689, Schonberg to Officers of the Ordnance ; original in R.U.S.I. ; and a contemporary copy in Home Office records.

⁷¹³ De Luxembourg's Dispatches.

Royal Warrants, 1689, for Artillery Trains ; Brit. Mus., Add. MSS., 5,795.

⁷¹⁴ De Puysegur " Durant cette guerre de 1688." Fleming ; says that it was after the battle of Fleurus, where it was remarked that it cost less trouble to defeat some Dutch battalions that had pikes, than some German ones that had none (and thus gave more fire).

found at this trial,⁷¹⁵ which took place in presence of the King, were that the bayonets were apt to fall off the barrels ; and that, in firing, the bullet broke the point or top off the bayonet. The first fault was due to the variation in the size of the musquet-barrels ; and the second⁷¹⁶ was due to the absence of that crane or neck between the socket and the blade of the bayonet which was introduced later, so that the blade of the bayonet was a straight continuation of the line of the barrel (III. CXXX).

The new invention therefore dropped through.⁷¹⁷

Before 1697⁷¹⁸ another and more successful socket-bayonet

⁷¹⁵ De Puysegur.

⁷¹⁶ See the illustration.

⁷¹⁷ De Puysegur.

Fleming.

⁷¹⁸ It has been asserted that the success of the French at the battle of Marsaglia (1693) was due to their use of the socket-bayonet on loaded musquets. This is stated by Mackinnon (one of our few careful military writers), and I have notes of a similar statement from some other English work, but the name of the work has unfortunately become detached and mislaid. In neither case is any authority for the assertion quoted.

I am inclined to think that the error (for such it undoubtedly is) has arisen in the first instance from a misapprehension of the French of Maréchal Catinat : "Les ennemis avaient mêlé des escadrons de distance en distance, surtout en front de bandière. Ceux qui se trouvèrent dans l'infanterie furent chargés sans tirer (,) la baïonnette au bout du fusil, et furent renversés." The originator of the error would seem to have read this "sans tirer la baïonnette *du* bout du fusil," the omission of the comma after "tirer" puzzling him ; so that he has interpreted the sentence to mean "without drawing the bayonet from off the end of the musquet," instead of "without firing (having) the bayonet in the end of the musquet."

The English translation given by Dumont and Rousset corroborates my view of this matter ; "About half an hour after eight they fell on our left wing with about 20,000 men, sword in hand, *without so much as once firing, having their bayonets only in the muzzles of their pieces.*"

Catinat, Mémoires.

Dumont and Rousset ; trans. 1735.

Grose, again, has caused considerable doubt and discussion by a passage in his Military Antiquities : "The following anecdote was communicated to me by Lt.-Col. Maxwell of the 30th Regt. of Foot, who had it from his grandfather, formerly Lt.-Col. of the 25th Regt. of Foot. In one of the campaigns of King William the Third in Flanders, in an engagement, the name of which he had forgot, there were three French regiments, whose bayonets were made to fix after the present fashion, a contrivance then unknown in the British army ; one of them advanced against the 25th regt., with fixed bayonets ; Lt.-Col. Maxwell who commanded it, ordered his men to screw their bayonets into their muzzles to receive them ; thinking they meant to decide the affair point to point ; but to his great surprise, when they came within a proper distance, the French threw in a heavy fire, which for a moment staggered his people, who by no means expected such a greeting, not conceiving it possible they could fire with fixed bayonets ; they nevertheless recovered themselves, charged, and drove the enemy out of line." This passage has never been explained away, but I do not despair of yet clearing it up. Of this, meanwhile, I feel assured ; that Grose's informant was mistaken in the period as he

(Ils. CXXXI, CXXXII) had been introduced with a curve outwards in the crane, shorter in the blade than the plug-bayonet, but with a long shaft connecting the blade with the crane and socket. Both this, and the bayonet tried in 1690, had a slit or grooved socket, into which a projection on the musquet was to pass in order to hold the bayonet firm; and the stock of the musquet was shortened⁷¹⁹ sufficiently to allow of the passage of the socket over the barrel.

A crowd of authorities might be brought forward to convince the reader, first that pikes were not abolished, and second that socket-bayonets were not in use, in the British Army, until subsequently to the close of the seventeenth century.^{719a} But this would be to trespass on the subjects of another volume.

The scabbard (*see* Ils. XXII, CXLI) for both plug and socket bayonet was of black leather with metal mountings.⁷²⁰

In 1691 there appear for the first time in the Ordnance Stores⁷²¹ 1,900 "Sword Bayonets," in addition to the "Ordinary" Bayonets (8,200) and the "Extraordinary" Bayonets (40), with belts specially adapted for them. SWORD-BAYONETS or Bayonet-swords⁷²² were issued to Infantry regiments in large proportions in 1693 or 1694, and in 1695 they formed part of the recognised equipment of all the Musqueteers. I am unable to state with certainty what these were. There are, however, preserved in the Rotunda at Woolwich two

certainly seems to have been in the regiment. Catinat's troops in Italy were deprived of their pikes during the campaign in the Alps; but pikes were not withdrawn from French troops generally, and the socket-bayonet was certainly not issued in lieu, until the year 1703.—French Royal Ordonnances.—Fleming.—De Puysegur. No such incident is recorded by that most careful chronicler d'Auvergne: possibly it may have occurred during Marlborough's campaigns (as I trust in due course to ascertain).

⁷¹⁹ St. Remy.

^{719a} There is, however, one authority on the other side which is quoted in full in this volume, namely Proclamation, Dublin, 26 July, 1697 (*see* Note ⁸⁹¹); in which pikes are not mentioned for infantry, but on the contrary bayonets for the "whole regiment"; there is, however, no reason (beyond conjecture) to suppose that these were other than plug-bayonets.

⁷²⁰ Originals.

St. Remy.

⁷²¹ States of the Ordnance Stores, 1687/91; Harl. MSS. 7,458-63. The first year in which Sword Bayonets appear as in store is 1691.

⁷²² Contractor's Bill, Castleton's Regt., Harl. MSS. 6,844. This bill is of about 1693 or 1694; "240 Baggonet swords."

The Complete Clothing for a regt. of Foot, Harl. MSS. 7,018, cir. 1695-6; this paper shows that "baggonett swords" were issued to all the musqueteers of foot regiments, but not to the Pikemen or Granadeers.

Order, Lords Justices of Ireland, 2 Aug., 1698. To issue to the 27th Foot "50 Baggonett swords."—State Paper Office, Dublin.

specimens of plug-bayonets, without any cross-piece, and with stout sword-blades, as shewn in the accompanying illustration (Ill. CXXXIII). The fact that these are plug-bayonets proves that they date back to the 17th century prior to the adoption of socket bayonets, but there is no general evidence that they were commonly used: indeed this great rarity is strong evidence to the contrary, while the preservation of large numbers of the plug-bayonet shown in Ill. CXXVI as portions of complete sets of arms and equipment of William's and Anne's reigns in the Royal palaces leads to the conclusion that this was the sword-bayonet in general use up to the period of the adoption of the socket-bayonet. The most probable conclusion is that the Rotunda bayonet is the one referred to as a new weapon in 1691, but that the term bayonet-sword or sword-bayonet came then to be applied to the older invention which was also a sword-bayonet single-edged and with cross hilt.

One offensive weapon largely made use of during this period was the HAND-GRANADE or granado.

The granado⁷²³ was a small globular shell of iron of from one to two inches in diameter, filled with powder (*see* Ills. XIX, XXIII), and having a touch-hole into which was inserted a wooden tube filled with a fuse⁷²⁴ compounded of fine powder tempered with charcoal-dust. The granadeer having quickened the fuse from his lighted match, threw the granade with the hand: such missiles falling thickly and bursting amongst knots of the enemy caused not only wounds but possibly a confusion that might be turned to advantage by the attacking party. On occasion granades were made of pasteboard,⁷²⁵ wood, or tin, when intended to be used only for firing works or for throwing a light on the enemy; and in 1692 a patent⁷²⁶ was taken out for the cruel-sounding invention of making granades of glass.

"*Granada*" is the Spanish word for pomegranate,⁷²⁷ to its

⁷²³ St. Remy.

Mallet.

Mily. Dicty., 1702.

⁷²⁴ The fuses appear to have been of indifferent manufacture: Warrt., 31 Octr., 1684, to issue to Granr. Compy. Coldstream Gds. 106 granado shells with 6 fuses to each.

⁷²⁵ Mallet.

Mily. Dicty., 1702.

⁷²⁶ Patent, 22 Sept., 1692, to "Philip Dallowe, one of the masters of the green "glass works," for "the making of granado shells of glass."

⁷²⁷ This derivation at once suggested itself to me; but since surmising it I find that Simienowicz (Lt.-Genl. of Ordnance to the King of Poland) in his work on Artillery, 1729, gives the same derivation; and he states that he took it from Boxbornius's Hist. of the siege of Breda, 1617.

resemblance to which fruit in shape and size the grenade owes its name. Perhaps a further resemblance was traced in the missile being filled with grains of powder, as the fruit is with seeds.

Granades were invented not later than the middle of the sixteenth century,⁷²⁸ but were little used until the seventeenth. They were not carried as part of the regular armament⁷²⁹ in our Service until 1678.

There was also in partial use a sort of mortar⁷³⁰ for hand-granades, adapted, as shewn in the accompanying illustration (Ill. CXXXIV), to the butt of the fusil.

But by far the more general mode of discharge was by the hand.

The granadeer carried his supply of granades in a large brown-leather pouch (Ill. CXXXV, *see* also Ill. XIX). Of these pouches there were two sorts; both were simply roomy bags slung on a shoulder-belt.⁷³¹

Other peculiarities of the granadeer were the match-box and the hatchet.

The MATCH-BOX (Ill. CXXXVI) was a thin tube about a foot long,⁷³² and pierced with small holes to admit the air; its use was to conceal the burning match when on sentry or on any enterprise at night. It was worn attached to the belt of the grenade-pouch.⁷³³

The HATCHET was common to dragoons and granadeers (Ills. CXXXV, CXXXVII): both these branches of the Service were regarded as especially fitted for advance-guards, and their hatchets were for the purpose of clearing the line of march or removing obstructions from a breach.

This hatchet (*see* Ills. XXIII, CXXXV) was borne in a frog on the grenade-pouch-belt.⁷³⁴

The question of BELTS appears to have been always a vexed one. The grenade-pouch was too heavy for any but a shoulder-

⁷²⁸ Daniel.

⁷²⁹ *See* Chap. XXIII on Regl. Economy.

⁷³⁰ Several of these "fuzees with mortar-pieces at the butt-end" appear to have been issued 1687/8; States of the Ordnance Stores, Harl. MSS. 7,458-63.

⁷³¹ The different illustrations of these throughout the volume are sufficiently detailed to save further description. Girard, St. Remy, Mallet, &c.

⁷³² Walhausen.

⁷³³ Girard.

⁷³⁴ St. Remy.

Girard.

States of Ordnance Stores, 1687-91: Harl. MSS. 7458-63.

Royal Warrant, 19 May, 1677, App. LXXXIX.

belt (*see* Ill. LIII), but the cartridge-box was carried on both shoulder and waist-belts as may be gathered from the different illustrations (*see* Ills. XXXIX, LXI, LXII, LXXI).

How best to bear the weight of the sword was not apparently so easily settled (Ills. CXXXVIII, CXXXIX, CXL, CXLI). The suspension of the sword from the waist⁷³⁵ is by far the most ancient mode, but at the era of the Restoration Horse-soldiers wore waist-belts while Foot-soldiers wore shoulder-belts.⁷³⁶ During the reign of Charles the Second the cavalry exchanged to shoulder-belts,⁷³⁷ but throughout this reign the infantry retained the shoulder-belt, with the exception perhaps of a very brief period about the year 1667.⁷³⁸

During the succeeding reign the infantry exchanged the baudrick for a waist-belt,⁷³⁹ except the Pikemen with whom no alteration took place until later. In the case of granadeers, fusileers, and dragoons,⁷⁴⁰ or other troops carrying the bayonet, the waist-belt was fitted with a small frog for the bayonet.

The waist-belt⁷⁴¹ was also invariably worn by trumpeters

⁷³⁵ Biblical History. Assyrian, Babylonian, and Egyptian sculptures.

⁷³⁶ Print of Coronation of Charles II.—Hollar.—Print of execution of traitors, 1660, Brit. Mus.

Painting of embarkation of Charles II from Holland, 1660.

Portrait of Monk, duke of Albemarle.

De Puysegur.

See illustrations throughout this volume.

⁷³⁷ Sandford, 1685.

Van der Meulen, *Vue de Salins*, 1678 (French).

Ditto *Vue de Douai*, 1685 (do.).

De Puysegur.

Print of Albemarle's funeral, 1670; Brit. Mus.

Hollar.

Pepys.—Print of funeral of Duke of Rothes, 1681.

Print of touching for King's evil, 1679.

Otway; *The Soldier's fortune*, 1681; "With a thread-bare red coat, over "which a great broad greasy buff belt." Mallet.—De Puysegur.

⁷³⁸ A print of the infantry soldier with a waist-belt occurs in Elton, edit. 1668, but this is not the first edition; it suffices, however, to show that the waist-belt was no new thing among modern infantry.

⁷³⁹ Sandford, 1685, states that while the musqueteers had waist-belts, the pikemen had shoulder-belts.

Mallet says that the change took place in France in 1684.

De Puysegur says about 1688 for the troops generally.

States of Ordnance. Stores, Harl. MSS. 7,458-63, shows shoulder-belts for swords, 4,000 in 1687, and 1,000 and 1,300 in 1690 and 1691; and waist-belts of neat's leather varying from 7,000 to 3,000.

⁷⁴⁰ St. Remy.—Originals in Rochester Cathedral.

States of Ordnance. Stores, 1687-91, Harl. MSS. 7,458-63.

⁷⁴¹ Prints of funerals of D. of Albemarle, 1670, and of Queen Mary, 1695; Brit. Mus.

Sandford, 1685.

An original in Rochester Cathedral. St. Remy.

and drummers, and differed slightly (Ill. CXLII) from the ordinary belt.

Horse regiments⁷⁴² continued the use of the baudrick after the rejection of it by infantry and dragoons.

Sword-belts were supposed to be of buff leather which was a leather prepared from the skin of the buffalo⁷⁴³ and dressed with oil after the manner of chamois-leather. But in reality, as buff was an expensive material, belts, except in the case perhaps of such regiments as the Household cavalry,⁷⁴⁴ were more frequently of some other and cheaper leather, and of a browner colour⁷⁴⁵—much like the belts worn by our Military Police at the present time (1890).

The belts of officers⁷⁴⁶ were more or less ornamented with lace according to their degree of rank, but Officers of Horse appear to have worn waist-belts and not baudricks.

Another belt was the carbine-belt which was worn over the left shoulder⁷⁴⁷ and had a swivel hook attached to it (Ill. CXLIII). On the reverse side of the carbine was a projecting horizontal bar of steel having on it a sliding ring (*see* Ill. CXV): and by passing the swivel-hook on to this ring the trooper could sling his carbine (*see* Ill. XXXIX) loose at his right side. In the Household Cavalry these belts were profusely ornamented (*see* Ills. XLV, LX).

Besides the several weapons already described there were others that were borne by Officers and Non-commissioned Officers only, and that were rather emblems of authority than fighting arms. These were the HALF-PIKE (*see* Ill. CCXXXIII), the PARTISAN (CXLV, CXLVI), the HALBERD (CXLIV), and the POLE-AXE (*see* Ills. VII, CLXIII, XXVI).

The SPONTOON, derived from the Italian "spontone,"

⁷⁴² Sandford.

Prints of Battle of the Boyne, 1690; and of the Siege of Namur, 1695.

Particulars of clothing (1696); Harl. MSS. 7,018, &c., &c.

⁷⁴³ James, Mily. Dicty.

⁷⁴⁴ Sandford tells us that the infantry wore belts, but in the case of the Life-Gds. he specifies the material as buff, as if for distinction.

De Puysegur says "de cuir de vache."

St. Remy says "de buffe couverte de roussi."

Albemarle says that when buff was dear "bull or ox hides dressed like buff" might be used.

The prices also denote only a common leather.

⁷⁴⁵ Hollar.—Rugendas.—And other contemporary paintings.

⁷⁴⁶ Contemporary portraits and paintings. Hollar, &c.

See notes to Illustration CXXXVIII.

⁷⁴⁷ Sir J. Turner.—Mallet.—St. Remy.

States of Ordnce. Stores, 1687/91, Harl. MSS. 7,458-63.

pointed or sharp, is but another name for a sort of half-pike, and although in vogue in France ⁷⁴⁸ prior to the year 1697, it was not so in our army until after the year 1700.

Defensive ARMOUR had already gone greatly out of fashion at the period of the Restoration; ⁷⁴⁹ but even up to the end of the century, and indeed for years after, it was usual for officers of rank to wear armour. Some even continued to wear whole armour to the knee.⁷⁵⁰ It was reckoned unusual for a General Officer ⁷⁵¹ to appear on the field of battle without armour. As however such armour was but a relic of a former and different age, and as the use of it was restricted to the highest officers alone, I do not purpose to open up a vein of research that would beguile me back to the earliest days of chivalry.

But all defensive armour was not confined to the highest grades; on the contrary, some pieces were worn generally in the ranks.

The HEAD-PIECES in use in our army during the half-century were of two kinds,—the basinet or pott, and the skull-cap.

The Pott was a low-crowned helmet with a brim (Ill. CXLVII); it was sometimes bright, and sometimes painted black.⁷⁵² In the Horse-regiments the pott gave way, about the period of the Revolution,⁷⁵³ to the Skull-cap, which was a mere shape of thin iron made to fit into the crown of the hat (Ills. CXLVIII, CXLIX). The iron skull-cap continued in vogue until the middle of the eighteenth century.⁷⁵⁴

⁷⁴⁸ St. Remy, ed. 1697.

De Puysegur however says that they were not introduced into the French army until subsequent to 1700.

⁷⁴⁹ Contemporary portraits and prints.

Turner.

Sandford.

⁷⁵⁰ See the portraits in the Ills. Also portraits of Count Schonberg, Brigr. Genl. Maxwell (4th Dragoons) &c., in my possession.

⁷⁵¹ Story, 1690 (Battle of the Boyne).

De Villars, 1691 (Battle of Leuse).

D'Auvergne, 1693 (Battle of Neerwinden).

⁷⁵² Originals.

⁷⁵³ Expedition of His Highness the Prince of Orange to the 1st Decr., 1688; Lond. 1688; Harl. Misc.

Describing the manner of his entrance into Exeter; "1st. The Rt. Hon. the "Earl of Macclesfield with 200 Horse, the most part of which were English "gentlemen" &c., "in head-pieces, back and breast, bright armour."

Royal Warrants, 13 Feby., 1677/8; 6 Novr., 1688, Apps. XXIII, XXV.

On the Medal for the Boyne, 1690, the Horse are in hats; as they are in prints of Coronation of Charles II, &c.

St. Remy.

⁷⁵⁴ Grose.

Both Pikemen and Horse-soldiers wore besides the pott, a CUIRASS or back and breast pieces (*see* Ills. XVI, XVII, XX, XXI, &c.). The word cuirass is derived from the Spanish "coraza" which is so called from its being a defence for the breast or heart, from "corazon" the heart (Ill. CL). The cuirass, like the pott, was sometimes black and sometimes bright.⁷⁵⁵ Those for Pikemen differed from those for Horse.

In the days when whole armour was worn, each member of the body had its proper defence; and for the protection of the neck and collar-bone (Ill. CLI) a piece of armour termed a GORGET (from "gorge" the French word for throat) fitted over the cuirass (*see* Ills. XXXIV, LXX, LXXIV). After the Restoration the gorget came to be worn alone (Ills. CLII, CLIII) instead of the cuirass or corselet, and it at length became the last and only surviving remnant of armour in the infantry. The reasons of its so long surviving all other armour were,⁷⁵⁶ that it formed a badge of rank, and that it was ordered to be the sign of the wearer being on duty⁷⁵⁷ (*see* Ills. XXVI, XLVIII, LXVII).

As might be expected, a piece of armour worn for no purpose of defence, and so uncomfortable in itself, soon underwent successive modifications calculated to render it easy to don and light to wear. These modifications, so far as they occurred up to the accession of Queen Anne will be best explained by illustration. The gorget (Ill. CLIV), in almost the same form and size as it attained in the last of these mutations, survived the commencement of the current century in our Service, and is worn to the present moment in several Continental armies.

Arms were from the first establishment of permanent troops

⁷⁵⁵ The Cuirass appears to have been bright throughout the period here discussed: and the browning of it probably ceased with the browning of musket-barrels, about 1650-60.

Markham, 1645, says "All this (pikeman's) armour is to be rather of russet, "sanguine, or black colour, than white or milled, for it will keep the longer from "rust."

Wouvermanns.

Rugendas.

St. Remy.

Clarendon says that cuirasses were of "bright iron."

Expedition of Prince of Orange; quoted above, Note ⁷⁵³.

⁷⁵⁶ *See* Chap. XXII on Clothing (Badges).

⁷⁵⁷ Royal Warrant, 1 Sept., 1684; App. VIII.

English Mil. Discipline; By command 1686.

Regimental Orders, Coldstream-Guards, May 1686, ordering that "the Colonel "and other officers upon duty shall wear their gorgets"; Mackinnon.

furnished out of the King's magazines.⁷⁵⁸ There used to be what was termed the small armament, as distinguished from the greater armament. The small armament⁷⁵⁹ consisted of sword and belt, to which were afterwards added the bayonet,⁷⁶⁰ and cartridge-box with their furniture. All these were included in the clothing, and were renewable every three years. And it appears to have been optional with the Colonels to obtain the small armament from tradesmen⁷⁶¹ or from the government stores on repayment. From at least as early as 1678⁷⁶² some of the arms and accoutrements were paid for by the troops out of their off-reckonings. This repayment was at first confined to swords and sword-belts.⁷⁶³ Later, however, by an exercise of arbitrary power on the part of the Secretary-at-War the repayment was extended to all sorts of arms,⁷⁶⁴ and even to

⁷⁵⁸ Warrants, 10 Feby., 1659/60; 14 Apr., 1660; 24 Feby., 1664/65; 21 Feby., 1669; 3 May, 1672; 29 Apr., 1674; 19 May, 1677; 14 and 17 Jany., and 13 Feby., 1677/8; 13 Apr., 1678; 28 June, 1683; 26 Jany., 1683/4; 28 Apr., 1684; 22 Feby., 1685/6; 11 Mar., 1687/8; 9 May, 1692; 18 Feby., 1691; Apps. V, VI, XXXVI, XXXVII, IV, XXXVIII, LXXXIX, XII, &c.

Orders, Ireland. See Note ⁷⁶⁴ below.

These Warrants and Orders to issue include the following arms and accoutrements: Matchlocks, Fusils, Bandaleers, Granade-pouches, Hatchets with girdles, Halberts, Partisans, Pikes, Carbines, Cuirasses, Potts, Slings, Cartridge boxes with girdles, Bayonets, Pole-axes, Swords, Pistols, Sword-bayonets.

States of Ordnance Stores 1687/91.

⁷⁵⁹ Proclamation concerning the clothing of the Army, Dublin, 26 July, 1697, App. XC.

Royal Warrant 1 Feby., 1677/8, App. IX.

⁷⁶⁰ Particulars of Clothing for a regt. of Horse, Dragoons or Foot, Harl. MS. 7,018; Apps. LI, LII.

Proclamation Dublin, 26 July, 1697, App. XC.

⁷⁶¹ Tradesmen's Bills, Treasury State Papers quoted below.

Clarke MSS.

⁷⁶² Royal Warrt., 1 Feby., 1677/8, App. IX.

Report, 16 Feby., 1691, of Paymaster General on Thos. Hawgood's bill for swords to the 14th Foot in 1688.

Report, 15 Oct., 1691, of do. on claim of E. of Monmouth's regt. in 1690; Try. State Papers.

⁷⁶³ Act 31 Chas. II, C. 1, 1677.

Royal Warrt., 1 Feby., 1677/8, App. IX.

⁷⁶⁴ Hastings to Ginckell, Cork, 11 Mar., 1690/1; Clarke MSS.

Memorial of Officers to Ginckell 12 June, 1691; do.

Orders, Ireland, 1697, 2 Sept. (Swords, Pistols, Fusils).

7 and 9 Sept. (various arms).

18 Sept. (Musquets).

1698, 2 Aug. (Sword Bayonets).

1698/9, 20 Mar. (Pikes).

1699, 17 Aug. (Pikes). Dub. State papers.

Order, Ireland, 3 Feby., 1697/8, being an Order to the Officers of the Ordnance to make "an account of what is chargeable upon the several regiments now "or lately of the Army in this kingdom for arms, ammunition, and other things "delivered out of the stores for their use from 1 Jany. 1691/2 to 30 June 1697"; Dub. State papers.

ammunition, issued from government stores. Nevertheless, through the chicanery of the same civil administration, soldiers on disbandment retained (as before) their swords and belts only,⁷⁶⁵ the other arms being returned into store without compensation. In some instances the Officers, who (however wrongfully) regarded the off-reckonings and proceeds of vacant men as their proper emolument, represented their claim⁷⁶⁶ or the claim of their regiment to the arms thus paid for out of the men's pay. The arms were peremptorily ordered to be returned into store, and any claims to be represented afterwards: it does not appear that the representations resulted in justice being dealt out to either officers or men, and it is quite clear that the arms belonged to one or the other and in no case to Government:—so great a resemblance is there between the old and modern dealings of the bureaucratic functionaries of the army, and between the old and modern causes of military discontent.

The following list shews the prices⁷⁶⁷ of some of the several arms and accoutrements:—

	Serjts.	Ptes.	Drums.
Sword, Horse	7/6 to 10/-	
„ Drs.	7/- to 10/-	4/6 to 7/6 and 12/-	
„ Ft.	10/-	5/-	4/6
Hanger	6/6	
Collar of Bandaleers	5/6	
Fusil	12/-	
Pistol	12/-	
Cartridge-box	1/8 to 2/6	
Plug-bayonet	1/6 to 2/6	
Sword-bayonet	4/6	
Granade-pouch	2/6 to 6/-	
Match-box	1/-	
Sword-belt, Shoulder	6/- to 10/-	
„ Waist	3/- to 6/-	2/4 to 4/6	4/6
Carbine-belt	4/- to 7/-	

The Charge of the Army in Ireland, Harl. MS. 7,194, “arms, ammunition, and “habiliaments of war.”

Proclamation, Dublin, 26 July, 1697, App. XC.

⁷⁶⁵ Order, Whitehall, 14 Feby., 1697/8; Lond. Gaz., 10/14 Feby., 1697/8.

Orders, Dublin 1698 for disbanding several regts.

See also next Note.

⁷⁶⁶ Order, Dublin, 28 Feby., 1697/8, for disbanding Mountjoy's Regt.; Dublin State papers.

⁷⁶⁷ Particulars of Clothing for a regt. of Horse, of Dragoons, of Foot; App. LII.

Report, 15 Oct., 1691, of Paymr. Genl.; Try. State Papers.

Report, 10 Feby., 1691, of Paymr. Genl.; Try. State Papers.

Govt. Order, Dublin, 2 Sept., 1697.

St. Helena Official Records.

⁷⁶⁸ The 12s. was the price charged to the men of the 8th Drgs. in 1697 for “a good broad-sword”: and 12s. for “a fuzee”; Order, Dublin, 2 Sept., 1697, App. XCII.

The lowest prices are those shewn in Harl. MS. 7,018, as "prices now proposed" as compared with "former prices"; the difference being supposed to represent more or less the amount out of which the soldier had been habitually defrauded by his colonel.

The prices charged by clothiers for bayonets and swords sufficiently attest the quality of the weapons put into the hands of the troops under such a system, it being borne in mind that this by no means exhibits the market value of the weapons, many deductions having to be made for those private fraudulent arrangements which were so notorious.⁷⁶⁹

⁷⁶⁹ See Chap. XXII on Clothing.

CHAPTER XXII.

CLOTHING, UNIFORM, AND EQUIPMENT DURING THE
PERIOD FROM 1660 TO 1700.

A.D. 1660-1700.

Uniform.—Origin of Uniform-clothing.—The English national colour.—The Head-dress.—Facial uniform.—The Cravat.—The Coat.—The Cloak.—The Leg-dress.—The Boot or Shoe.—The Glove.—The Knapsack.—The Haver-sack.—The Water-bottle.—Badges.—Spurs.—Horse-equipment.—Hussars.—Signs of Battle.—Mode of Supply.—Abuses.—Prices.

[*For Illustrations, see Note on p. xiii.*]

"UNIFORM," or a dress peculiar to soldiers and of one pattern for a whole body of men, is not a modern distinction. The Romans clothed their legions in uniform, and the earlier Eastern potentates used to entertain bands of armed followers who were distinguished by their dress. The rudest form of military uniform is found in the war-paint of savage nations: our own ancestors stained their bodies with blue: and not only does each tribe have its proper paint, but the chiefs have distinguishing badges of rank as marked as those of a General of an European army: a few streaks more or less of paint, and a slight addition to the head-dress, serve to mark the leaders sufficiently clearly. The elaborate uniforms of the armies of civilised peoples are but a development of the war-paint and feathers of the naked savage. Sound sense dictated the use of the one and of the other, and the reasons that prompted the first initiation of military uniform tell with undiminished force in favour of its continuance. One tribe tattoos the face while another marks only the breast or limbs; one nation favours red coats, another white, and a third green; but all with the common object of discerning in the fight friend from foe, and of avoiding the disastrous consequences which would ensue to one party or both from an undistinguishable mingling of two opposing armies.

Of the necessity for some distinction of dress we have a notable example in the battle of the Boyne. Many of the troops on either side were clothed alike; and to avoid confusion

it was found necessary to extemporise some party-badge. The Irish soldiers wore a white band on the arm while the English stuck green boughs in their hats.⁷⁷⁰

Just as a savage Chief wears a tall feather in his hair or a circlet of metal on his brow, to enable his followers to distinguish him in the *mêlée* that they may be inspired or steadied by his example, so does the dancing plume or the gold and crimson sash of the modern General serve to warn his troops to whom to look for orders and around whom to rally. All the men of uncivilised tribes are warriors and therefore all wear these distinctive military marks and badges; with us, only a portion of the population are soldiers, and it is only soldiers that have need of some such emblems of their nationality or their personal military rank. The scarlet coat is not given to the soldier to distinguish him from the civilian, but to distinguish him from an enemy. It is true that it does set the soldier apart from the civilian, and it is equally true that it is desirable so to set him apart, but nevertheless that distinction is a mere incident and not a primary object of uniform.

The lace, tags, crowns, stripes, and stars, which to the eyes of the uninitiated indicate nothing but a vain and unmeaning desire for ornament, have each their appropriate signification to the soldier. A stripe, a crown, or a star more or less marks the degrees of rank; the doubling of a row of lace converts a captain into a colonel: this pattern of lace or plume indicates a cavalry officer, that pattern a staff-officer, and so on.⁷⁷¹

Although not properly within the scope of this history, it will not be altogether irrelevant to cast a cursory glance back at the century preceding the Restoration.

Clothing worn as military uniform in this country probably originated in the assumption of badges⁷⁷² by feudal retainers; a

⁷⁷⁰ Story.

James II, &c.

⁷⁷¹ And I would remark that it might be well were the objects, origin, and history of badges and distinctions more constantly borne in mind by those who have the regulation of such matters. *Esprit de Corps* would be better fostered, and there would not exist that confusion of dress which of late years has become so common. Certain outward symbols are presumed to indicate certain grades or corps, and if similar emblems are employed to signify different things, their meaning is neutralised and the use of them at all void of sense.

⁷⁷² Thus Warwick in Shakspeare's Henry VI :—

“ Now by my father's badge, old Nevil's crest,
 “ The rampant bear chained to the ragged staff
 “ This day I'll wear aloft my burgonet,
 “ Even to affright thee with the view thereof.”

See also Rymer.

relic of this custom still survives in the badges worn by members of the civic companies of the City of London.

Such badges being found insufficient to prevent confusion, coloured sashes, and then "livery" coats were adopted. The value of some such unmistakable distinction of uniform was well exemplified at the Battle of Edgehill (1642),⁷⁷³ when some of the Parliamentary troops deserting in a body to the side of the King were shortly afterwards killed by their new comrades, owing to their having neglected to throw aside the orange-tawny scarfs worn by the soldiers of the Parliamentary Army as being the colours of their leader the Earl of Essex.

The ROYAL LIVERY or uniform of England appears to have always been crimson or scarlet with blue trimmings or facings, and it was certainly so at the period of the Restoration. In the time of Henry the Eighth scarlet⁷⁷⁴ and blue were the colours of the Royal body-guard (the Yeomen of the Guard), the clothing being of scarlet cloth and the trimmings of blue velvet; but sometimes the Royal guard wore the same colours reversed, that is, blue coats⁷⁷⁵ with red facings. White uniforms were also worn at that time.⁷⁷⁶

At that period also feudal badges were abolished in favour of a national or Royal badge,⁷⁷⁷ for in the Ordinances of War for 1544 it was ordered "that every man going in hosting or " battle, of what estate condition or nation he be, of the King's " party and host, except he be a bishop or officer of arms, bear " a cross of Saint George sufficient and large, &c., &c. . . . " And that no soldier bear no cognisance but the King's and his " captain's upon pain of death."

⁷⁷³ Clarendon.

⁷⁷⁴ Holbein, &c. ; Paintings of the Field of the cloth of gold; Henry VIII embarking from Dover; Meeting of Henry VIII and the Emperor Maximilian.

By the Charter to the Guild of the Hon. Artillery Company of London (1537) the officers of the Company were permitted the use of any kind of colour except purple or scarlet (these being Royal colours).

The troops raised in England for service in Holland in Queen Elizabeth's reign wore "red coats," or "red cassocks" (Stow; Hist. of the siege of Ostend, &c.).

⁷⁷⁵ Manuscript, "W. S.," College of Arms; Orders of Duke of Norfolk, quoted by Grose:—A.D. 1545:—

"Every man sowdyer to have a cote of blew clothe, after such fashion as all " footmen's cotes be made here at London, to serve His Majesty in this journey, and " that the same be garded with red cloth, and the best sene to be trymmed after such " sort as shall please the captain to devise."

⁷⁷⁶ Shrewsbury Letters. College of Arms. Vol. D., Fol. 109.

⁷⁷⁷ Manuscript, W. S. College of Arms. Statutes and Ordinances of War, 1544.

Manuscript, W. S. Orders of Duke of Norfolk. A.D. 1545. " " Nor no gentleman nor yeoman to wear any manner of badge."

In Queen Elizabeth's reign the infantry had overcoats or "cassocks of some motley or other sad green colour or russet,"⁷⁷⁹ much like those of the modern Spanish infantry, but the "doublet" worn under this cassock was often if not always red,⁷⁷⁸ especially as the cavalry at the same epoch kept up the national colour in their sleeveless red cloaks.⁷⁷⁹

It is curious to note that the "stripe of three fingers broad" of red upon the outside of the leg from the stock downward,⁷⁸⁰ now so much worn, dates from the time of Henry the Eighth.

In the army of the Commonwealth dull colours were generally affected,⁷⁸¹ and horse soldiers wore leathern jerkins and breeches.

With the Restoration the scarlet reappeared. Hitherto the use of this colour would appear to have been almost confined to Royal corps or the body-guard. At the Restoration⁷⁸² the Life-Guards and Foot-Guards favoured the Royal colour, while the Horse Guards or Earl of Oxford's Blues wore blue. As other regiments were raised they also appropriated the national colour, for regiments were no longer feudal retainers nor raised only for a passing emergency: they were now permanent troops forming a part of the Royal standing army and as such having a right to the Royal livery.

In 1669 the "Royal livery"⁷⁸³ was red turned up with light blue; and in 1698 a proclamation⁷⁸⁴ was issued prohibiting the use for liveries of "any sort of scarlet or red cloth or stuff, "except such as are or shall be worn by His Majesty's Servants, "and Guards (*i.e.*, troops), and those belonging to the Royal "family or foreign ministers."

⁷⁷⁸ Stow.

Hist. of siege of Ostend.

From these it appears that all troops recruited in England for service in the Netherlands were clothed in red: *see* Note ⁷⁷⁴.

⁷⁷⁹ A.D. 1584; Peck, *Desiderata Curiosa*.

⁷⁸⁰ Orders of Duke of Norfolk, 1545.

⁷⁸¹ Contemporary paintings.

⁷⁸² The Militia and Volunteers also appear to have asserted a right to the red coat from the first, for in 1662 the Governor of Exeter having raised a regiment of Foot (upon the alarm of an insurrection of the Millenarians), "clad them in red coats"; *Mercurius Pub.*, 4 Decr., 1662.

See also Chap. XXIV, under the headings of Militia and Volunteers.

⁷⁸³ Cosmo's travels.

See also Ill. XVI.

The Stuart Scotch royal livery was red faced with yellow.

⁷⁸⁴ Proclamation, 10 Mar., 1698/9; *London Gazette*.

Orders, 20 Decr., 1698, and 13 Febr., 1698/9, by the Duke of Norfolk, Earl Marshall to the same effect; *Lond. Gaz.*, 23/27 Mar., 1698/9.

It must not however be imagined that scarlet was altogether peculiar to this country. The French had some regiments clothed in red, and so had the Dutch. Julius Ferretus, a writer of the sixteenth century tells us (says Grose), that all soldiers commonly wore a red frock, this colour being selected with a view to lessen the effect of the sight of blood. The English nation is, however, the only one that has retained the colour as its national badge.

There were several exceptions to the general use of scarlet by our troops both before, and subsequently to, the Restoration. Among these were the yellow coats of the old Marines (*see* Ill. CLXXXVIII), which then ranked as third of the Foot regiments, and the blue coats of the Tenth, Twenty-third (*see* Ills. LXII, XLIV), Twenty-fourth, and other regiments of Foot.⁷⁸⁵ It has been stated by some writers that the red coat was made our uniform colour by William the Third at the time of his accession: nothing can be more erroneous, for whereas there were but two blue-coated^{784a} infantry regiments before the Revolution, in the regiments raised immediately after it blue prevailed over red.

Not only the Twenty-Third and Twenty fourth but also Drogheda's,⁷⁸⁵ Lisburne's, Ingoldsby's, and Bolton's all wore blue. Lord Castleton's regiment was dressed in grey with purple facings;⁷⁸⁶ and this was not the only regiment with

^{784a} Besides the 10th Foot; the D. of Buckingham's Foot (raised 1672) wore "blue cloth coats lined with red baize," W.O. Records 18 June, 1673, Misc. orders.

⁷⁸⁵ Letter, Chester, 5 Aug., 1689; Thorpe Tracts.

Harl. MSS. 986. Symonds's notes of the Muster of the King's Army at Oxford 13 Feby., 1643, shows the Life Guards in red, but three regts. in white, blue, grey, coats.

Letter, Chester, 2 Aug., 1689. News from Chester, Lond. 1689; Thorpe.

⁷⁸⁶ Grose, in giving a copy of a Contract in 1693 for grey coats and breeches for this regiment, draws the inference that all foot soldiers were clothed in grey; an error which has been propagated with less reservation by recent authors. But we know from other sources that at this period most of our infantry wore red (*see* the various illustrations of uniforms), and that grey clothing was, like the blue coats of the Tenth, an exception to the rule and peculiar to this and one or two other regiments.

Otway's play of "The soldier's fortune" 1681, contains the following passages:

"It was fortune made me a soldier, a rogue in red."

"Every parish bawd that goes to conventicle twice a week shall roar out (to the soldiers) foh ye lousy red-coat rake-hells." Silvia (speaking of Courtine a soldier). "Filthily dressed enough of all conscience with a thread-bare red coat."

Courtine (a soldier) calls himself "A drunken red-coat."

St. Helena Official Records 20 July, 1685, shews that the Militia in St. Helena wore red coats in 1683 and 1685. The regulars also had worn red for some time prior to 1692. Records, 29 Oct., 1692.

grey instead of red coats,⁷⁸⁷ for Galway's Horse always wore them, as well as Monmouth's and the Inniskilling Foot (*see* Ill. XXVII).

The custom of "guarding" or "facing" soldiers' coats with some colour distinctive of their corps is ancient; and the colour selected appears to have originally been that of the leader. Thus the regiments of the Duke of York (*see* Ill. CLXXXVIII), as well as of Prince George of Denmark wore the Stuart colours of red and yellow.^{787a} Thus, also, the facings of the Eleventh Foot (*see* Ill. XXXIII) were tawny, being the distinguishing colour of their first Colonel the Duke of Beaufort. In 1667 Lord Chesterfield raised a regiment of Foot in ten days, and he tells us ^{787b} that he gave "the soldiers red coats lined with *black* and " *black flags* with a red cross in a black field, which I then did, " *because I was at that time in mourning for my mother.*"

It is curious to trace from the first rise of our army the gradations of the different articles of dress down to their present adaptation. In these gradations, and in the resemblance to original patterns borne by equipments long after they had changed their uses or requirements, is evinced that clinging to peculiarities of dress or ornament which proceeds from *esprit de corps*. And this adherence to fortuitous peculiarities is not to be regretted; any measure that fosters *esprit de corps* without destroying common harmony and utility is desirable, however useless or even childish in the abstract it may appear. Every vestige that connects the present with the past, every trifle that has a history of its own, every tag or ribbon that tradition may have associated with the former glories of a regiment, should be retained, so long as the retention does not interfere with efficiency. It is to be feared that an itching for petty economies—that penny-wise but pound-foolish system which has resulted in the recruiting difficulty—will eventually succeed in uprooting all visible military tradition.

⁷⁸⁷ London Gazettes, 27 Sept., 1688, 28 Oct., 1689.

Hamilton, Actions of the Inniskilling men; having defeated the Jacobites at Belturbet 19 June, 1689, it was agreed that they should surrender their red coats, but "we got but as many red coats as served two companies, many of their men, *being* " *new levies*, wearing grey."

^{787a} Cosmo's travels.

Nathan Brooks.

List of King James's Army.

London Gazettes, 8 Janry., 13 April, 1685; 2 Decr., 1686; 13 June, 1687; 2 Febr., 9 August, 1688.

^{787b} Letters of Philip second Earl of Chesterfield, pub. 1829.

In treating of the various articles of dress and equipment severally, I shall be compelled to go more into detail than will be pleasing to any but the professional reader; not only in order to carry out the plan of exhaustive treatment, but mainly because by this means constant repetition of the same quotations will be avoided in the Authorities which accompany the various illustrations of uniform (*see* Note on p. xiii).

The HEAD-DRESS of the British soldier has never remained long unchanged.

The buff leather hat which superseded the old morion or burgonet very soon disappeared before the beaver or its black felt imitation, and whereas the crown was previously wont to be high, it was now cut down to a very moderate size. In 1661 the beaver hat was a novelty;⁷⁸⁸ but two or three years later all the troops wore imitations of felt, and their officers had them of beaver or velvet.⁷⁸⁹ The men wore a ribbon and bow, the officers a ribbon and rosette about the crown.

Before James's reign the officers reverted to plumes, and at the same time it became the mode to "cock" or turn up one side of the brim of the hat.⁷⁹⁰ In a few years the other side followed, and then the back. Thus, before the end of King William's reign (*see* Ill. LXII), there was developed the three cornered cocked hat which still survives in a mutilated form in the hat of a modern Staff Officer.

The real old three-cornered hat of the year 1700 (*see* Ill. CCLXI) may however be yet seen on the venerable heads of the Chelsea Pensioners, imparting to the old fellows the air of veterans of a hundred and sixty years' standing.

The hats used to be all more or less ornamented;⁷⁹¹ those

⁷⁸⁸ Pepys's Diary Octr. 1661.

⁷⁸⁹ Pepys, 1663, says he wore "a velvet hat very fine to ride in, and the fashion, which pleases me."

Hollar.

⁷⁹⁰ Otway, The soldier's fortune 1681. Loq. Courtine a soldier "T'is a fine equipage I am like to be reduced to; I shall ere long be as greasy as an Alsatian bully; this flopping hat pinned up on one side" &c.

⁷⁹¹ The following are among the numerous authorities that have been consulted upon this point:

1678. Royal Warrt., 1 Feby., 1677/8, hats were to be "edged" and to have "hat bands," App. IX.

1685. Sandford, Coronation of James II, detailed descriptions of the dress of the troops.

1687. Lond. Gaz., 30 June/4 July; 1st Dr. Gds., Officer, "black hat laced and a silver hatband."

1688. Lond. Gaz., 24/27 Sept. ; Galmoy's Horse, Pte., "Black hat laced with galoon."

of the infantry were edged with common lace usually white but sometimes gilt or "gold coloured," and had hat-bands of ribbon: those of the Horse were laced with gold or silver.

The form of the Granadeer cap has been in a marked degree handed down to our own day. The bear-skin, as it was shaped prior to the Crimean War, was almost a fac-simile of the cap first worn by our granadeers, if we except the hood. Very soon after the institution of granadeers fur caps gave place to cloth ones the hood being still retained (*see* Ills. XIX, XXII, XXIII, LXXXIII, LXII); but this hood⁷⁹² being found troublesome was curtailed, and the tassel that had been at the end of it was mounted on the cone of the cap. The original fur cap had no device on the front, but the cloth cap was adorned with the Royal cypher or other ornament on the front, and with a granade in coloured cloth on a roundel behind. The Fusileer regiments wore a cap of a similar description,⁷⁹³ only shorter and wanting the granade. The origin of the granadeer cap (*see* Ills. LXI, LXXI) is uncertain, but I imagine it to have been borrowed by continental armies from the Turks (at that time a leading military nation), and so to have come to us from the French: the Turkish Janizary (Ill. CLV) wore a cap very like a granadeer's, and Evelyn, in describing his first impressions⁷⁹⁴ of our granadeers, writes: "Now were brought into service a new sort of soldiers called Granadeers, who were dexterous in flinging hand-granades, every one having a pouch full:

Lond. Gaz., 6/9 Aug.; Prince Geo. of Denmark's Foot, Pte., hats "laced with a broad gold-coloured lace."

1689. Lond. Gaz., 13/17 June; Lisburne's Foot, Pte., hat laced "with gilt lace."

1691. Add. MSS. 18,023, Brit. Mus., Lord Geo. Hamilton's regt.; Hats, with broad silver lace for Officers; hatband (evidently ribbon only from price) buttons and loops.

1694. Lond. Gaz., 27/30 Aug.; Atkins's Foot, Pte., hat "black edged with white."

1695. Particulars of Clothing of Horse, Dragoons, and Foot.

Harl. MS., 7,018; Horse, Ptes, "edged with silver."

1697. Lond. Gaz., 10/14 June; Denbigh's Dragoons, Ptes.; "ammunition hats having a white silver edging."

1698. Lond. Gaz., 24/28 Mar.; Macclesfield's Horse, Pte., "hat laced with a broad gold lace."

⁷⁹² The hood was, however, retained until the close of the seventeenth century. *See* Girard's illustrations of Granadeers, Ills. CCXXII, CCXXVII. There are caps of Queen Anne's reign extant without the hood. *See* also Note ⁷⁹⁵.

⁷⁹³ Royal Warrant, 30 Decr., 1695, App. X.

⁷⁹⁴ Evelyn, diary, 1678, describing his visit to the camp on Hounslow-Heath.

"they had furred caps with coped crowns like Janizaries,⁷⁹⁵ which made them look very fierce, and some had long hoods hanging down behind, as we picture fools. Their clothing being likewise piebald, yellow and red."

Horse Granadeers had hats as well as granadeer caps; and they always appeared on parade in hats,⁷⁹⁶ and substituted the caps by word of command at the commencement of the field exercise.

Dragoons (Ill. CLVI) also wore a sort of caps as well as hats,⁷⁹⁷ and were the only other troops to whom both were issued. The caps of pioneers (Ill. CLVII, *see* also Ill. CCLXVI), were similar in shape to those now worn by brewers' men.⁷⁹⁸

The FACIAL UNIFORM of soldiers accorded even until quite

⁷⁹⁵ Special authorities ;

1678. Evelyn.

1678/1700. Girard.

1678. Print of siege of Stettin.

1684. Nathan Brooks, detailed descriptions.

1685. Sandford, detailed descriptions.

1689. London Gazette, 25/28 July; 15th Foot, Pte., "Granadeer's cap edged with white, with the King's cypher."

1690/1700. Hugtenburgh, 372 Musée de peinture, Brussels.

Wyck's painting of the Battle of the Boyne. (Wyck died in 1702).

1690. Medal for entry into Dublin.

1695. Hugtenburgh, Prise de Namur.

In Voyage de S. M. Brit. en Hollande, 1692, are Granrs. caps very low with rounded fronts.

In Maas's picture of the Battle of the Boyne (B. Mus.) are Granrs. in caps with very high tasselled hoods, and with front less high, as in some of the illustrations to this Vol. (*see* Note on p. xiii).

In a print of the victory of Gallieerden of Vankryken Spangien, by de Hooge, 1702; are Granrs. in high fronted caps (as in Q. Anne's time), but with the tasselled hood loose and hanging back: also troops in similar caps but much lower and with rounded front.

Sandford, 1685, thus describes the caps of the Horse Granrs.: "the crowns of their caps were raised high to a point, falling back at the top in form of a capouch, which were turned up before and behind, triangular, and faced with blue plush, and on the back of the crowns was a roundel or granade-ball of the same."

⁷⁹⁶ English Military Discipline, 1686.

Milry. Discipline, &c., by Capt. J. Boddington, 1700.

⁷⁹⁷ Particulars of Clothing for Horse, Foot and Dragoons (1696); Harl. MSS. 7,018, App. LI.

Proclamation, Dublin, 26 July, 1697; App. XC.

⁷⁹⁸ Pamphlet entitled "The burning of the Pope at Temple Bar in London" 1679. "First marched six Whiffers to clear the way in pioneer caps and red waist-coats"; the print accompanying shews the shape of the caps to have been as stated in the text.

De Ville, illustrations.

of the infantry were edged with common lace usually white but sometimes gilt or "gold coloured," and had hat-bands of ribbon: those of the Horse were laced with gold or silver.

The form of the Granadeer cap has been in a marked degree handed down to our own day. The bear-skin, as it was shaped prior to the Crimean War, was almost a fac-simile of the cap first worn by our granadeers, if we except the hood. Very soon after the institution of granadeers fur caps gave place to cloth ones the hood being still retained (*see* Ills. XIX, XXII, XXIII, LXXXIII, LXII); but this hood⁷⁹² being found troublesome was curtailed, and the tassel that had been at the end of it was mounted on the cone of the cap. The original fur cap had no device on the front, but the cloth cap was adorned with the Royal cypher or other ornament on the front, and with a granade in coloured cloth on a roundel behind. The Fusileer regiments wore a cap of a similar description,⁷⁹³ only shorter and wanting the granade. The origin of the granadeer cap (*see* Ills. LXI, LXXI) is uncertain, but I imagine it to have been borrowed by continental armies from the Turks (at that time a leading military nation), and so to have come to us from the French: the Turkish Janizary (Ill. CLV) wore a cap very like a granadeer's, and Evelyn, in describing his first impressions⁷⁹⁴ of our granadeers, writes: "Now were brought into service a "new sort of soldiers called Granadeers, who were dexterous "in flinging hand-granades, every one having a pouch full:

Lond. Gaz., 6/9 Aug. ; Prince Geo. of Denmark's Foot, Pte., hats "laced with "a broad gold-coloured lace."

1689. Lond. Gaz., 13/17 June ; Lisburne's Foot, Pte., hat laced "with gilt "lace."

1691. Add. MSS. 18,023, Brit. Mus., Lord Geo. Hamilton's regt. ; Hats, with broad silver lace for Officers ; hatband (evidently ribbon only from price) buttons and loops.

1694. Lond. Gaz., 27/30 Aug. ; Atkins's Foot, Pte., hat "black edged with "white."

1695. Particulars of Clothing of Horse, Dragoons, and Foot.

Harl. MS., 7,018 ; Horse, Ptes, "edged with silver."

1697. Lond. Gaz., 10/14 June ; Denbigh's Dragoons, Ptes. ; "ammunition hats "having a white silver edging."

1698. Lond. Gaz., 24/28 Mar. ; Macclesfield's Horse, Pte., "hat laced with a "broad gold lace."

⁷⁹² The hood was, however, retained until the close of the seventeenth century. *See* Girard's illustrations of Granadeers, Ills. CCXXII, CCXXVII. There are caps of Queen Anne's reign extant without the hood. *See* also Note ⁷⁹⁵.

⁷⁹³ Royal Warrant, 30 Decr., 1695, App. X.

⁷⁹⁴ Evelyn, diary, 1678, describing his visit to the camp on Hounslow-Heath.

"they had furred caps with coped crowns like Janizaries,⁷⁹⁵
 "which made them look very fierce, and some had long hoods
 "hanging down behind, as we picture fools. Their clothing
 "being likewise piebald, yellow and red."

Horse Granadeers had hats as well as granadeer caps; and they always appeared on parade in hats,⁷⁹⁶ and substituted the caps by word of command at the commencement of the field exercise.

Dragoons (III. CLVI) also wore a sort of caps as well as hats,⁷⁹⁷ and were the only other troops to whom both were issued. The caps of pioneers (III. CLVII, *see* also III. CCLXVI), were similar in shape to those now worn by brewers' men.⁷⁹⁸

The FACIAL UNIFORM of soldiers accorded even until quite

⁷⁹⁵ Special authorities;

1678. Evelyn.

1678/1700. Girard.

1678. Print of siege of Stettin.

1684. Nathan Brooks, detailed descriptions.

1685. Sandford, detailed descriptions.

1689. London Gazette, 25/28 July; 15th Foot, Pte., "Granadeer's cap edged
 "with white, with the King's cypher."

1690/1700. Hughtenburgh, 372 Musée de peinture, Brussels.

Wyck's painting of the Battle of the Boyne. (Wyck died in 1702).

1690. Medal for entry into Dublin.

1695. Hughtenburgh, Prise de Namur.

In Voyage de S. M. Brit. en Hollande, 1692, are Granrs. caps very low with rounded fronts.

In Maas's picture of the Battle of the Boyne (B. Mus.) are Granrs. in caps with very high tasselled hoods, and with front less high, as in some of the illustrations to this Vol. (*see* Note on p. xiii).

In a print of the victory of Gallieerden of Vankryken Spangien, by de Hooze, 1702; are Granrs. in high fronted caps (as in Q. Anne's time), but with the tasselled hood loose and hanging back: also troops in similar caps but much lower and with rounded front.

Sandford, 1685, thus describes the caps of the Horse Granrs.: "the crowns of
 "their caps were *raised high to a point, falling back at the top in form of a capouch*,
 "which were turned up before and behind, triangular, and faced with blue plush,
 "and on the back of the crowns was a roundel or granade-ball of the same."

⁷⁹⁶ English Military Discipline, 1686.

Milry. Discipline, &c., by Capt. J. Boddington, 1700.

⁷⁹⁷ Particulars of Clothing for Horse, Foot and Dragoons (1696); Harl. MSS.
 7,018, App. LI.

Proclamation, Dublin, 26 July, 1697; App. XC.

⁷⁹⁸ Pamphlet entitled "The burning of the Pope at Temple Bar in London"
 1679. "First marched six Whiffers to clear the way in pioneer caps and red waist-
 "coats"; the print accompanying shews the shape of the caps to have been as stated
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De Ville, illustrations.

recently with the general fashion of the day. During the first part of the reign of Charles the Second small moustaches⁷⁹⁹ were worn, sometimes with the addition of a pointed beard;⁸⁰⁰ but throughout the reigns of James and William the mode was to shave the face clean, the only exception being in the case of granadeers⁸⁰¹ who were sometimes permitted to grow the hair on the face.

Officers in Charles's reign usually wore very long hair or a thick black or flaxen wig;⁸⁰² and this preposterous fashion of enormous wigs continued throughout the century. There were some modifications of it however: as early as 1670⁸⁰³ it was customary to tie a small bow in the wig behind: in 1680⁸⁰⁴ it was considered the mark of a sloven to tie up the peruke in a knot; but in 1695⁸⁰⁵ it had become common to club the wig or the hair behind (*see* Ill. LXII), the better to keep it out of the way, and thus originated the pig-tail which later became a monomania with the authorities.

The men usually wore their own hair, but not always;⁸⁰⁶ and they wore it pretty much according to the dictates of their own fancy, some having it long, others short, some "long and curled," others "long and lank," some "bushy," some "cut

⁷⁹⁹ Lely, Portraits, temp. Charles II.

Hollar, &c.

⁸⁰⁰ Otway; *The soldier's Fortune*, 1681; "And then because he has been a man-at-arms he must wear two tufts of a beard forsooth."

⁸⁰¹ Girard: none of the soldiers in the carefully drawn illustrations in his work have moustaches except the granadeers.

The same exception appears to have sometimes obtained in England if we may presume so much from the description of a deserter from the granadeer Company of the 10th Foot in 1687 who had "large red whiskers": *Lond. Gaz.*, 22/25 Aug., 1687, *see* notes to Ill. LXII.

⁸⁰² Lely.

Hollar, &c.

Otway, *The soldier's Fortune*; "with a sandy weather beaten peruke." The fashion of cutting off the natural hair in order to wear a wig began about 1663; Pepys, *Novr.*, 1663.

⁸⁰³ Hollar.

⁸⁰⁴ Otway, *The soldier's fortune*, 1681.

Loq. Silvia (speaking of Courtine a soldier), "Dressed filthily enough of all 'conscience," &c., &c., "and with a peruke tied up in a knot to excuse its want of 'combing."

⁸⁰⁵ On a Medal struck in 1690 to commemorate the flight of James II is his head with the wig clubbed behind and tied with ribbon.

On the Medals for 1693 are many clubbed wigs, and they are still more common in military prints of 1695 and 1696.

⁸⁰⁶ *London Gazette*, 1684 to 1700; numerous descriptions of deserters; lank brown hair, grey hair, brown hair, black wig, black hair not much curled, short brown hair, black short hair cut close to his ears, &c., &c.

"close to the ears"; the general preference seeming to have been for short hair over long hair. The dandyisms of "periwigs" and "bob-wigs" were more frequent in the Horse than in the Dragoons or infantry.

For some years after the Revolution the neck of the soldier was free and uncovered, save for a large turn-down linen collar. But about 1670, or shortly before, it became the fashion to swathe the throat in thick folds of white, similar to the neck-cloths with which the grandfathers of this generation persist in choking themselves, and with cloth ends or muslin bands depending, such as may still be seen in the assize court or in the pulpit.

Officers' CRAVATS were more or less richly laced, while those of the men were plain and less voluminous.

There is extant a bill for furnishing the Granadeers of the First Foot Guards in 1678⁸⁰⁷ with "seventy cravats of fox tails "at three shillings and sixpence a piece and with ribbon (scarlet) "for them"; and it has been supposed that these cravats were made of the brushes of foxes. This is quite improbable, and I have no doubt that fox-tail cravats were so called from their form and appearance, being made in the bushy shape of a fox's tail, the material being some sort of lace. A specimen of such a cravat occurs in the portrait of General Monck (Ill. I), and in illustration No. XXIII.

The COAT, which was collarless, commencing in the shape of the modern tunic, grew gradually longer and fuller in the skirts. In 1660 a coat with "great skirts" was unusual.⁸⁰⁸ Three years later "gowns" came into fashion, that is, coats worn loose and open, and having full skirts (*see* Ill. XVIII). In 1666 these gowns were worn by civilians as long as to the knees,⁸⁰⁹ and in the Army they were not much shorter.⁸¹⁰ Before James's accession coats of a like length were worn but buttoned down the front, this change⁸¹¹ being probably caused by the adoption of waist-belts in lieu of baudricks. The same coat was worn throughout King William's reign, but latterly open at the top so as to shew the waistcoat. By the end of the

⁸⁰⁷ Warrt., 28 Octr., 1678; W.O. records.

⁸⁰⁸ Pepys.

Hollar, &c.

⁸⁰⁹ Pepys, Apr., 1666.

⁸¹⁰ Throughout this chapter wherever no special authorities are quoted for any statement, the authorities will be found in order of date under the general list quoted in Note ⁹²³ of this chapter, and in the notes to the illustrations.

⁸¹¹ This change took place in 1684; *see* Chap. XXI on Accoutrements.

century the skirts were worn so long as to reach even below the knee: and to avoid the inconveniences attendant on these large skirts, it began to be customary about 1696 to loop them back on to a button ⁸¹² placed on the sides in such a way that the two corners of each skirt met on the button. In cold or wet weather the soldier could unloop the corners and obtain the benefit of a full skirt.

The coat was of much the same make for both cavalry and infantry, except that the skirts of the former were more full than those of the latter. Horse soldiers used to be furnished with a doublet ⁸¹³ of stout buff to wear under the coat until this was superseded by the cloth WAISTCOAT, ⁸¹⁴ a change which took place in 1686. It would seem, however, that even as late as 1696 ⁸¹⁵ it was customary for Horse soldiers on active service to wear buff coats. In Rochester Cathedral are preserved Dragoon buff coats of James II's reign.

The waistcoats of the officers were fringed with gold or silver. ⁸¹⁶

Dragoons also wore cloth waistcoats, ⁸¹⁷ but it is very doubtful

⁸¹² The earliest instance I have met with of this mode is in a painting by Rugendas of 1696.

⁸¹³ Pepys, Aug., 1664, speaks of Mrs. Stewart having her portrait taken "in a buff doublet like a soldier," whence it may be concluded that at this time the outside coat was worn only on special occasions of parade.

Mercurius Publicus, 31 July/7 Aug., 1662; Earl of Orrery's Horse; four troops "all in buff coats and caps."

Lond. Gaz., 23/26 July, 1666; Gloucester Militia Horse, "all in their buff coats."

Sandford Hist. of Coronation of James II, 1685, the Life Guards wore "good buff coats" besides their scarlet coats.

Mallet, 1684, mentions "une manière de juste-au-corps de buffle" for cavalry.

⁸¹⁴ Sandford, 1685, says that the Life Guards had buff coats besides their scarlet coats.

Lond. Gaz., 30 June/4 July, 1687; 1st Dr. Gds., "a white holland waistcoat." Schedule of clothing to 3rd Dr. Gds. 14 Janry., 1691/2; Try. State Papers "Grey waistcoats."

Particulars of Clothing of a Regt. of Horse (1696); Harl. MS. 7,018; "cloth waistcoats," App. LI.

Lond. Gaz., 11/15 Apr., 1695, and 24/28 Mar., 1698; Macclesfield's Horse, "grey cloth waistcoat," and a "blue waistcoat."

Lond. Gaz., 2/6 June, 1692, and 17/20 June, 1700; 5th Dr. Gds., "waistcoats of striped stuff," and "white waistcoats," &c., &c.

⁸¹⁵ Dublin, 13 Aug., 1666, Ormond MSS. Troopers of Irish Life Guards wore "buff coats."

Account of Clothing 7th Dragoon Guards while in Flanders 1692/7; Try. State papers.

⁸¹⁶ Lond. Gaz., 30 June/4 July, 1687.

⁸¹⁷ Lond. Gaz., 23/26 Apr., 1694; 3rd Drs., "blue waistcoats."

However, no waistcoats are mentioned in the Particulars of clothing of a regt. of Dragoons (1696); Harl. MS. 7,018, App. LI.

whether the infantry did so at all at this period,⁸¹⁸ or whether it was left to the individual to make an under garment of his cast-off coat, or not, at his pleasure.

The coats of the Horse⁸¹⁹ were much more expensive both in material and colour than those of the Dragoons or the Foot ; and while the latter were of red or scarlet those of the Horse were of crimson.⁸²⁰

Coats were lined and faced on the cuffs with the regimental colour, thence termed the "facings."^{820a}

The coats of Drummers of regiments (Ill. CLVIII) other than Royal regiments, were of the colour of the regimental facing and with red facings.⁸²¹ Hautbois, who were later subject to a similar rule, had their coats at this time of the same colour as those of the men.⁸²²

The coats of granadeers were ornamented with loops,⁸²³ or

⁸¹⁸ Among some fifty descriptions of clothing in advertisements for deserters from infantry 1686 to 1700, &c., there are only the three following references to waistcoats. Letter, Chester, 5 Aug., 1689, 12th Foot uniform "red with blue vests"; Thorpe Tracts.

Lond. Gaz., 9/13 June, 1687; Pr. Geo. of D.'s regt., a red coat with "an old "yellow coat under it"; (The regt. had worn yellow coats in 1685).

Lond. Gaz., 24/27 Oct., 1694; Lord Berkeley's Marine regt., "green "waistcoats."

Bill of J. Gore, 30 Oct., 1688, Clothing to 14th Foot; but waistcoats are not mentioned; Try. State Papers.

Report, 15 Oct., 1691, Paymr. Genl. on claim of Earl of Monmouth for 1689 contains List of Clothing, Monmouth's Regt. of Foot, but waistcoats are not mentioned; Try. State Papers.

Objections, 14 Janry., 1693/4; by Sir H. Bellasis 6th Foot, and other Cols. to contracts for clothing: but waistcoats are not mentioned; Try. State Papers.

Complete Clothing for a regt. of Foot (1696), Harl. MS. 7,018, does not mention waistcoats, App. LII.

⁸¹⁹ Particulars of Clothing, Horse, Dragoons and Foot (1696), Harl. MS. 7,018, Apps. LI, LII.

Various original bills, &c., &c.

⁸²⁰ Lond. Gaz., 1686 to 1700, Advertisements for deserters.

In the Particulars of Clothing Harl. MS. 7,018, the coats of Dragoons and Foot are set down simply as coats, whereas those of the Horse are specified to be "coats "of crimson cloth" and are priced accordingly.

Bill for clothing by F. Molyneux, 3rd Dr. Gds., 14 Janry., 1691/2; Try. State Papers; "Crimson coats."

^{820a} See supra, and Notes 786a and b.

⁸²¹ Lond. Gaz., 27/30 Mar., 1692; description of drummer, deserter, 13th Foot.

This was still the case very much later; (see future Vols.), and Clothing Regulations, 1751.

⁸²² Lond. Gaz., 7/11 Aug., 1690; description of Hautbois, deserter, 10th Foot; see Ill. LXII.

⁸²³ Girard, prints.

The following are some examples of looped clothes for granadeers; Sandford, 1685; Horse Granrs., scarlet coats, loops blue, edged and tufted black and white.

embroidered button-holes, in worsted lace, with tufts at the outer ends. The colours of the loops were subject to no general rule, but varied in each regiment. The fashion of looping coats was first introduced among civilians in 1663.⁸²⁴

A peculiarity of the Pikemen in the reign of Charles the Second was that they wore coats (*see* Ills. XVI, XVII), like those of the Drummers, with reversed colours; for instance the coats of the musqueteers of the Coldstream Guards⁸²⁵ in 1669 were red with green facings, while the pikemen wore green with red facings; but this peculiarity had become obsolete before the end of Charles's reign.⁸²⁶

About the year 1686 a general undress or fatigue coat was authorised for all arms, of grey cloth or frieze and made close-bodied;⁸²⁷ and generally these coats had facings of some such suitable colour as black or some shade of grey.

Lond. Gaz., 22/25 Aug., 1687; 10th Foot; coats blue, loops red and white.

Lond. Gaz., 24/28 Octr., 1689; Monmouth's Foot; coat grey, faced blue, loops red.

Lond. Gaz., 10/13 Febry., and 17/20 Febry., 1689/90; Cutts's Foot; coats red, lined dove colour, loops black and white.

Lond. Gaz., 9/12 June, 1690; Pembroke's Marines; coats red, loops blue.

Grose mentions an old granadeer song, but does not state the date of its composition, in which occurs the couplet:

"Come let us fill a bumper, and drink a health to those

"Who wear the caps and pouches, and eke the looped clothes."

Bill, Edinburgh record office, 1696, "For sewing loops on the granadeer companies coats."

⁸²⁴ Pepys, 1663.

⁸²⁵ Cosmo's travels.

See Authorities to Ills. XVI, XVII.

⁸²⁶ Sandford.

⁸²⁷ Lond. Gaz., 29 Novr./2 Decr., 1686; Prince Geo. of Denmark's Foot; deserters some in red, but one in a grey close-bodied coat "lined with plush of the same colour."

Lond. Gaz., 16/20 Sept., 1686, 1st Foot Gds.; deserters, some in grey coats faced with black velvet.

Lond. Gaz., 23/26 Apr., 1688; 9th Foot; deserters, coats "grey lined with black."

Lond. Gaz., 27/31 Janry., 1686/7; 3rd Dragoons; deserters, "grey coat, sleeves "faced with black."

Lond. Gaz., 18/21 Aug., 1690; 7th Dragoon Gds.; deserter with red coat and over this "a grey coat with black buttons."

There are many more such instances about the same times, and in regiments that can be conclusively shown to have worn red at the time. It is probably such grey undress coats as these that are spoken of in the following passage;

Letter, Dublin, 21 Mar., 1690/1; Coningsby (Lord Justice) to Ginckel (Commr. in Chief); "The Queen agrees in our method of clothing the army full, so I have "ordered Mr. Vanhumany to give directions to have all the frieze made into close "coats;" Clarke MSS.

Another sort of coat that was furnished in King William's reign to serjeants alone or at the most to serjeants⁸²⁸ and drummers, was styled a "Kittle." This kittle was doubtless the same as the German kittel which is a loose frock⁸²⁹ such as is used by soldiers employed in the laboratories.

There is no evidence to shew that what are now termed GREAT-COATS⁸³⁰ were issued to the infantry earlier than 1685 or 1689, and there is evidence that they did not form a regular portion of the equipment, although "centry-gowns," or in modern phrase watch-coats,⁸³¹ were supplied and kept in repair at the expense of the Crown for the use of men on duty in inclement weather or at night. The over-coats then served out to foot-soldiers about 1685-9 were styled "surtouts,"⁸³² and were

⁸²⁸ Objections by Cols. Sir H. Bellasis, Coote, &c., against a contract for clothing made 14 Janry., 1693/4; Treasy. State Papers; "The sum charged by the present "contract for Serjeants' Drummers' clothes the kittles and caps is £1,085 whereas we "are ready to make appear there ought to be charged but £896 13s. 8d., vizt. for "the clothes and caps £838 3s. 8d., and for the kittles £58 10s. 0d."

⁸²⁹ Duckett, Capt. C. F., Technological milry. dicty., German, English, and French, Lond. 1848.

⁸³⁰ Proceedings of House of Commons 26 Novr., 1689, whence it appears that none of the English infantry in Ireland on active service had cloaks, while the Horse had them. The foreign infantry also had cloaks and suffered less than the English accordingly.

⁸³¹ Quarter Master's Contingent Accts., Coldstream Guards, 1675/1678; 1683; 1684.

W.O. records; Mending or making centinel-gowns are charged in all the accounts for these years, and on 1st Novr., 1684, 36 new gowns are charged for at 18s. 0d. a piece; but in the accounts subsequent to this date no such charges appear, whence it is to be concluded that they were borne on some other fund, or more probably that the gowns were then first superseded by great coats or "surtouts" for the infantry.

⁸³² Lond. Gaz., 13/17 June, 1689; Lisburne's Foot, deserter in his uniform buff-coloured coat, and "with a red cloth surtout."

Ditto, 25/28 Novr., 1689; and 17/20 Febry., 1689/90; Cutts's Foot; deserters in "red coats lined and faced Isabella, and red surtouts faced ditto." "A red coat "lined with Isabella-coloured baize, and red surtout faced with same, with black and "white looping"; another "with all his mounting except the surtout."

Ditto, 1/4 Sepr., and 22/25 Sepr., 1690; 1st Ft. Gds., deserters with "red "loose coats over" their other coats; and "in red coats" both having upper red "coats over them."

Letter, Dublin, 6 Janry., 1690/1, Commry. Genl. Van Homrigh to Clarke; has "delivered 400 surtout coats" to the Inniskilling Foot; Clarke MSS.

Report, 15 Octr., 1691, of Paymr. Genl. on claim of Monmouth's Foot for 1689; Treasy. State papers; in the list of clothing appear "surtouts" for corporals, drummers and private soldiers, besides coats.

Objections by Cols. Bellasyse and others against a contract for clothing made 14 Janry., 1693/4; Treasy. State papers; shews that surtouts were supplied to the privates besides coats.

Representation, Apr., 1694, Col. Lillingston; Try. State Papers; that surtouts were provided for this year's service, but the men having worked the ships home from Newfoundland, he had to deliver them their surtouts to keep them warm and in health: these are evidently over-coats.

usually, if not invariably, red, of whatever colour the regimental coat might be; they also had facings to them.

The cavalry, whether Horse or Dragoons, always had loose cloaks with small capes to them; ^{833/834} with scarcely an exception these were of scarlet or red cloth ⁸³³ (even though the coats might be of crimson), and were often faced with the regimental colour, but equally often were only turned up with cloth of the same colour as the cloak itself. The most notable exceptions were the Earl of Macclesfield's Horse, who had their cloaks of grey the colour of the regimental facing, and the Blues whose cloaks were blue as well as their coats.

The cloaks of the cavalry were carried *en croupe* (see Ills. VIII, XLV, LX), ⁸³⁴ rolled up and attached to the saddle by straps: those of the infantry were usually carried in a roll diagonally across the chest the ends being brought together on the shoulder by a strap. ⁸³⁵

Loose BREECHES, stockings and shoes completed the dress of the infantry soldier. The breeches were of coloured cloth, and sometimes the stockings were of the same colour. ⁸¹⁰ Cloth bows adorned the garter-bands of the breeches.

The breeches of Horse-regiments seem to have been generally

Letter, Edinboro', 13 Jany., 1690, Mackay to Lord Melville; "*In order to our early camping*, I have given order for making surtouts for all the regiments"; the deduction is that surtouts were only issued for field service.

⁸³³ Nathan Brooks, 1684; Life Gds., Blues, and 1st Dragoons.

Sandford, 1685; Life Guards.

See also Note ⁸³⁰.

Lond. Gaz., 24/28 Novr., 1687; Pr. Anne of Denmark's Horse; deserter with "coat red lined yellow," but "cloak red faced red."

Ditto, 11/15 Apr., 1695, and 24/28 Mar., 1698; Macclesfield's Horse; deserters with "coats red lined grey" but "grey cloaks."

Ditto, 17/20 June, 1700; 5th Dr. Gds.; deserter with "coat red lined white," but "cloak red lined red."

"Schedule of clothing" to 3rd Dr. Gds., 14 Janry., 1691/2; Treas. State Papers; "coats crimson lined with green," and "cloaks red faced with green."

Particulars of Clothing for a regt. of Horse, Dragoons and Foot; (1696) Harl. MS. 7,018; for Horse "coats of crimson cloth," but "cloaks of red cloth"; Dragoons, cloaks for all ranks; but for the Foot no cloaks or surtouts are mentioned; Apps. LI, LII.

⁸³⁴ Van der Meulen, 1667/1685.

Funeral of the Duke of Rothes, 1681, Edin. Ant. Society.

Mallet, 1684.

Letter, Clonmel, 27 Aug., 1690; Sir A. Conyngham, 6th Dragoons, to Clarke; had lost 45 horses with saddles and cloaks at the battle of the Boyne; Clarke MSS.

Hughtenburgh; Prise de Namur, 1695.

Rugendas, 1695/1700.

⁸³⁵ Van der Meulen; Vue de Tournai, &c., 1667/1685.

Mallet, 1684.

of one material for all regiments, but not always ;⁸⁸⁶ the material was probably tawny leather, but in 1692 the 5th Dragoon Guards wore breeches of red shag striped. Dragoons wore cloth breeches.⁸⁸⁶

There is perhaps no part of a soldier's clothing of such importance as the clothing of his feet and ankles, at all events in marching regiments ; however, as this is not a disquisition upon, but only a historical record of, military changes, we must not now stop to inquire what clothing would best combine ease of motion and the minimum of fatigue with the greatest resistance to wear and weather, but must proceed briefly to state how the foot of the soldier was clothed during the period under treatment.

The buff BOOT (*see* Ill. VI) worn by cavalry at the period of the Restoration did not long survive that era : black jacked-boots (Ills. CLIX, CLX) of much the same pattern, only stiffer, came into wear in Horse regiments about the same time that in the infantry the low shoe gave place to the high fronted shoe.⁸⁸⁷ This shoe was high in front only, and one would imagine that on a campaign a shoe that barely covered the heel could not have been very serviceable. Some of my readers may however have seen peasants, especially in Ireland, trudging many a muddy mile in just such shoes and stockings as were worn by William's soldiers in Flanders.⁸¹⁰ About the time of

⁸⁸⁶ Particulars of clothing for Horse, Dragoons, and Foot (1696) ; Harl. MS. 7,018 ; mentions breeches for Foot and Dragoons, but none for Horse. Apps. LI, LII.

Schedule of Clothing, 3rd Dragoon Gds., 14 Janry., 1691/2 ; Try. State papers ; makes the same omission of breeches.

Sandford, 1685, although he describes all other garments and all equipments in detail, and although he describes the breeches of the Foot regiments, makes no mention of those of the Horse. From all this it is to be presumed that they were without distinction, and therefore so universally known as to require no description. The omission of them from the clothing favours the belief that they were of leather, for such breeches would last so long that they might be altogether omitted from an estimate or a bill for one year or two years. Lond. Gaz., 21/24 Apr., 1684 ; the Blues ; deserter with tawny-"coloured breeches."

Lond. Gaz., 2/6 June, 1692 ; 5th Dragoon Gds. ; deserter with breeches of "red shag striped."

Ditto, 23/26 Apr., 1694 ; 3rd Dragoons ; deserter with "waistcoats and breeches blue."

Ditto, 23/27 Aug., 1694 ; Northcote's Dragoons ; deserter with "white breeches."

⁸⁸⁷ Contemporary prints and paintings.

Original specimens of the jack-boot are preserved in several places in this country ; there is one pair in the Tower, and another in the Meyrick collection, and another in the Londesborough collection.

In 1690 it was considered slovenly to wear a boot that wrinkled much ; Story.

King William's accession the bows, hitherto worn on the shoe, were dropped in favour of metal buckles.

Dragoons (*see* Ills. VIII, LXXXII) wore neither jacked-boots like the Horse, nor shoes like the Foot, but a sort of short boot (termed in French bottines).⁸³⁸

Trumpeters and drummers of Horse and of Dragoons wore shoes with spurs instead of boots.⁸³⁹

GLOVES⁸⁴⁰ were not issued to dragoons or infantry regiments at this period, except to the pikemen, who wore gauntlets; the troopers of Horse regiments also wore large gauntlet gloves of buff leather,⁸⁴¹ while their officers wore similar gauntlets but fringed round the tops⁸⁴² and along the slit with gold or silver

⁸³⁸ French Govt. Edict, 1676; Briquet; "Les cavaliers auront tous des bottes et "les dragons des bottines."

Particulars of Clothing of a regt. of Horse and of Dragoons (1696) App. LI; "Jack-boots" for Horse but only "Boots" for Dragoons, with difference of price.

Daniel, 1715, has a picture of a Dragoon in a close boot reaching to the knee and with buttons at the side like a gaiter.

Some boots answering to "bottines" are preserved in the Tower, that is "bottines" as compared with the "bottes" of the same period also preserved there. *See* also Notes to Ill. VIII.

⁸³⁹ Funeral of Duke of Rothes, 1681; Brit. Mus.

Funeral of Queen Mary, 1695; ditto.

Particulars of clothing (1696), Apps. LI, LII.

⁸⁴⁰ Painting of embarkation and landing of Charles II; 1660.

Hollar, sketches at Tangier 1669; Brit. Mus.

Funeral of Duke of Albemarle, 1670; ditto.

Manner of curing the King's Evil, 1679; ditto.

In the above neither officers nor men of infantry have gloves.

In a print of the Siege of Stettin 1678, some infantry officers have gloves, others have not.

Mallet, 1684, infantry officers and pikemen in gloves.

Sandford, 1685.

Medals, 1689/1700.

I make this statement notwithstanding the mention of gloves for musqueteers in the drill regulations of the period, a mention which seems to be a mere relic of the time when they wore glove-gauntlets like those of pikemen: the clothing records make no such mention of gloves.

⁸⁴¹ Hollar, Coronation of Charles II, 1660.

Funeral of Duke of Albemarle, 1670.

Funeral of Duke of Rothes, 1681.

Sandford, 1685.

Funeral Queen Mary 1695.

Particulars of clothing for a regt. of Horse (1696); Harl. MS. 7,018, App. LI.

Medals 1689/1700, &c., &c.

⁸⁴² Mallet, 1684.

Lond. Gaz., 30 June, 4 July, 1687; Officer, 1st Dragoon Gds. "silver fringed" gloves."

St. Helena official records, 2 Decr., 1690; List of deceased Governor's wearing apparel; gloves with silver fringed tops, and with gold ditto.

Many portraits.

Mallet, 1684; the infantry gloves are not fringed while those of the Horse are so.

fringe: and about the year 1680 infantry officers began also to wear gloves but not so long as the gauntlets; occasionally these also were fringed.

The professional reader can scarcely fail to have observed that in many matters, and in dress as much perhaps as in any, we have lately reverted largely to the practices and modes of the earlier years of our Standing Army: and there is one article of equipment that has lately been the subject of infinite discussion and endless experiments, which will possibly also result in a modernised modification of its primitive fashion; this article is the KNAPSACK, the carriage of which is a vexed question affecting the results of campaigning in a superlative degree.

The Knapsack⁸⁴³ of this epoch was merely a canvas or leather bag tied at the mouth or with a flapped cover. Sometimes it was carried slung on the musket, or the rest, or on a stick, but more commonly and more correctly it used to be slung to the back (*see* Ills. CLXI, LXII) by a strap passing across the chest over one arm and under the other, just as pedlars or gipsies may be seen carrying their packs now. The word was often written "Snap-sack" being evidently derived from the German "Schnappsack," and probably the bag was originally fastened by a catch or snap. In this bag the soldier carried all his kit, spare boots, clothing, and food: of spare

Fortification by Capt. J. S., 1689; officers of infantry wearing short gauntlets but not fringed.

Landing of William III, 1688 (Hampton Court Palace); some officers of infantry with fringed gloves.

Medals, 1689/1700.

⁸⁴³ Snayers, painting by; obiit 1663.

Van der Meulen, *Vue de Gray*, &c. 1667/1685.

Mallet, 1684.

Rugendas, 1695/1700.

Albemarle, 1670; "each soldier ought to have a knap-sack" (*sic*).

Act 31 Chas. II, C. 1, 1677.

Letter, Dublin, 20 June, 1691; Drogheda to Clarke, for money "to furnish my "regt. with accoutrements, as some better snapsacks" (*sic*). Clarke MSS.

Lond. Gaz., 11/15 Febr., 1691/2; 24th Ft., deserter with "a pack containing coats, shirts, stockings and other accoutrements of soldiers."

Warrt., Dublin, 18 Decr., 1697; all disbanded soldiers allowed to carry away their "snapsacks" (*sic*); Dublin State Papers.

Royal Warrt., Whitehall, 14 Febr., 1697/8, Lond. Gazette, to same effect "snap-sack" (*sic*).

Particulars of clothing for a regt. of Foot (1696); App. LII.

Story.

D'Auvergne, &c., &c.

Court-Martial Mélé 25 June, 1692, on soldier of Sixth Foot; his musquet caught in "the strings of his knapsack"; W.O. records.

clothing the soldier of the seventeenth century had not commonly a very heavy load.

HAVER-SACKS or Aver-sacks appear to have answered the same purpose in the cavalry⁸⁴⁴ as the knapsack in the infantry; and the word doubtless derives itself from "Hafer" the German for oats,⁸⁴⁵ and signified originally a portable corn-sack.

When soldiers were on active service or on long marches they of course carried WATER-BOTTLES;⁸⁴⁶ these were slung with a string, or were fastened to the ball bag or other convenient part of the equipment, and were of different shapes (III. CLXII); some of them being in the form of a little barrel while others were round stone bottles with short necks:⁸⁴⁷ they were sometimes also of tin.

The subject of BADGES, as distinctive marks of rank, is both curious and interesting. Sometimes these distinctions were common to a whole corps: the Life Guards, for instance, wore gold and silver lace in the ranks, and the carbine belts of the privates were covered with velvet and lace. The Blues again were distinguished by gold lace, and by a red edging on their carbine belts. Such badges signified the superior rank of these regiments over others. The livery or facings worn by the different regiments were another form of badge.

There were general as well as particular distinctions betwixt officers and rank and file. The general distinctions were the quantity and quality of lace on the clothing, and the wearing of epaulets or of sashes by officers.

The distinction of lace on the clothes was common to all grades of officers⁸⁴⁸ commissioned or non-commissioned, the

⁸⁴⁴ Instructions for Musters and Arms, &c., 1623.

Each Cuirassier to have "his necessary sack of carriage."

Dragoons to have a saddle, &c., and "crooper with straps for his sack of "necessaries."

⁸⁴⁵ Plan of a descent to be made in England by James II 1692. "The Horse-men to be provided with Aver-sacks, forage-ropes," &c.; Macpherson.

⁸⁴⁶ Van der Meulen, &c., &c.

⁸⁴⁷ Royal Warrt., 27 Febr., 1691; "For the gunners, Tin bottles with girdles"; Brit. Mus., Add. MSS. 5,795.

⁸⁴⁸ True Protestant Mercury, 1/5 April, 1682; "His Grace the Duke of Grafton (Col. 1st Ft. Gds.) hath ordered against May next, that every officer under his command, from the colonel to the corporal, shall have new coats, all laced; also that "every common soldier shall have new clothes."

Sandford, 1685.

Report, 15 Octr., 1691; of Paymr. Genl. on transfers from Monmouth's Foot, with schedule of clothing; the corporals are distinct from the privates; Try. State Papers.

Schedule of clothing 3rd Dr. Gds., 14 Janry., 1691/2; Try. State Papers; the Corporals' coats and waistcoats distinct from the others.

quantity, breadth and richness of the lace varying with the rank of the wearer. In Foot regiments the difference between a Corporal's and a Private's coat must have been very slight subsequently to about 1690,⁸⁴⁸ for they then ceased to be of distinct prices in the clothing contracts.

A badge of officers which was in vogue from 1660 to about the end of Charles the Second's reign was the epaulet⁸⁴⁹ (*see* Ills. III, XVIII); formed of bows of ribbon, it was worn on the right shoulder only. When this epaulet went out of fashion⁸⁵⁰ wings took its place for a time in the higher ranks (*see* Ill. XXXIII), and sometimes the cloth wing had laced tags or ribbons depending from it. In Charles's reign aiguillettes⁸⁵¹ were worn by General Officers (*see* Ill. CCLXIV).

The sash was worn by all officers from the General down to the Serjeant, whether of Horse, Foot, or Dragoons. The material was generally similar to that still in vogue, the fringes,⁸⁵² however, being, in the case of Commissioned officers, of gold or silver. In this as in most other details considerable licence prevailed prior to the Revolution,⁸⁵³ some officers preferring silver network, others gold, while others again favoured the plain crimson silk; but by degrees greater uniformity was ensured, and the use of gold and silver network became confined to the

Contract 1693, Castleton's Foot; serjt's. but not corporal's distinct; Harl. MS. 6,844.

Lond. Gaz., 17/20 Sept., 1694; Northcote's Dragoons, Serjeant's coat "had silver "lace down the seams."

Particulars of clothing for Horse, Dragoons, and Foot, (1696); Harl. MS. 7,018; Privates and Corporals distinct in the Horse; Serjeants, Corporals, and Privates distinct in the Dragoons; and Serjeants and Privates in the Foot; Apps. LI, LII.

In 1696, in Scotland, Corporals appear to have been distinguished by loops on the coats; Bill, Edinburgh record office, "For sewing loops on thirty-nine Corporals' "coats," Argyll's regt.

⁸⁴⁹ Embarkation of Charles II from Holland, 1660.

Van der Meulen, 1667.

Hollar, 1669.

Funeral of Duke of Albemarle, 1670.

Binning, Capt., 1675, portrait frontispiece of that date.

Manner of curing the King's Evil, 1679, &c., &c.

⁸⁵⁰ Dress of James II, Tower of London.

Portrait of Genl. the Earl of Feversham, &c.

⁸⁵¹ Orrery, Art of War, 1677.

⁸⁵² Travels of Cosmo the Third, Duke of Tuscany, in England in 1669. Sandford.

Contemporary Portraits.

Order, Dublin, 9 July, 1697, to pass free of duty thirteen "scarves of crimson dyed "silk" for officers of the Dublin County Militia; Dub. State papers.

Rugendas, Mallet, &c., &c.

⁸⁵³ Sandford.

highest officers, as is the case to this day. The sashes of officers of Horse were exceedingly handsome, having rich fringes⁸⁵⁴ two, three, or even four deep round the waist, and very deep fringes at the ends. The Private Troopers of Horse⁸⁵⁵ also wore sashes, the only exception to the general colour being the Fourth Dragoon-Guards whose sashes were white. Pike-men in Foot regiments were similarly distinguished by sashes,⁸⁵⁶ but of white worsted with a coloured fringe. In some regiments of Foot, all the men appear to have worn sashes in Charles's reign.^{856a}

There is nothing new under the sun, and the fashion introduced but a few years ago, of wearing the sash over the shoulder,⁸⁵⁷ was usual also in the beginning of the seventeenth century: during the latter half of the century, however, the custom was generally to wear it round the waist.⁸⁵⁸ The sash was commonly tied slightly in front of the left side;⁸¹⁰ although would-be dandies would often have the tassels quite in front and the sash loosely knotted in a very *négligé* style.

Personal badges of rank had been in vogue long before the establishment of a standing army; and but fifteen years prior to the Restoration we find such distinctions laid down by Markham.⁸⁵⁹ He tells us that in his time a captain of Horse might be armed *cap-à-pied*, with plumes on his own head and on his horse's head and buttocks, and that he was to carry a

⁸⁵⁴ Mallet.

Riley, Portrait of Duke of Monmouth.

Sandford.

Lond. Gaz., 15/18 Apr., 1689; advertisement for "an officer's scarf, with four fringes of gold round the waist, set on crimson silk, a very deep fringe at each end."

Closterman's portrait of M. Genl. T. Maxwell, 4th Drs.

Lond. Gaz., 4 July, 1687, *see* Notes to Ill. XX.

⁸⁵⁵ Print of the Grand Traitor's Execution, 1660; Brit Mus.

Hollar, Coronation of Charles II, 1660; ditto.

Mallet, 1684.

List of King James's Army on Hounslow Heath, June, 1686.

Van der Meulen.

Contemporary print of Battle of the Boyne; Brit. Mus.

Medals for Battle of the Boyne, 1690.

French medal for Leuze, 1691, &c.

⁸⁵⁶ Nathan Brooks.

Sandford.

Complete clothing of a regt. of Foot (1696); App. LII.

^{856a} Clothing of D. of Buckingham's regt. of Foot 1672; W.O. Records, Misc. Books, 18 June, 1673.

⁸⁵⁷ An instance of this so late as the year 1670, is given in the illustration of a Drum Major in this volume, Ill. CLXXXV.

⁸⁵⁸ Different authorities already quoted.

⁸⁵⁹ Markham, Soldier's Accidence, 1645.

white truncheon charged on his right thigh, and the lieutenant might also be armed to the knee, but was to carry a different truncheon. Of old also, just as the rank of an admiral nowadays may be known by the flag he flies, so the rank of any military leader could be at once discerned by his colours or standard,⁸⁶⁰ and these distinctions of ensigns were kept up until the close of King Charles the Second's reign.⁸⁶¹

After the institution of the standing army and the abolition of armour, field officers do not appear to have had any distinction beyond the superior richness of their uniforms and the bearing of a half-pike,⁸⁶² except that the Colonel wore some sort of gorget.

The grades of captain, lieutenant, and ensign, of Foot or Dragoons were more distinctly marked.⁸⁶³ The first carried a pike and wore a gilt gorget. In 1661 the Captains carried "leading-staves." The lieutenants also bore a pike from 1684 to 1688, but both before and after those few years he had a partisan;⁸⁶³ his gorget in 1684 was of sanguined steel studded with gold. The ensign,⁸⁶³ when not bearing the colours, carried a half-pike, and his gorget was of silver plate.

Officers of granadeer companies and of fusileer regiments⁸⁶⁴ carried a light fusil instead of pike or partisan.

The Serjeant's badge of office⁸⁶⁵ was a halberd (III. CLXIII);

⁸⁶⁰ Ensigns of the London Trained Bands, 1643, R.U.S. Inst.

Markham.

See also Chap. XXIII.

⁸⁶¹ Sandford.

⁸⁶² D'Auvergne, 1693. They still carried the half pike nearly a hundred years later; Military Arrangement 1784. Regl. Orders, Coldstream Guards, May, 1686, ordering Colonels to wear their gorgets on duty; Mackinnon.

⁸⁶³ Royal Warrants, 15 April, 1667; 2 Apr., 1672; 17 Janry., 1677/8; 13 April, 1678; 1 Sept., 1684; 30 Decr., 1695. Apps. XI, III, XII, XIII, VIII, X. Sandford, 1685.

D'Auvergne 1691.

Leading Staves 1661; Mercurius Publicus, 12 Decr., 1661.

See also Chapter XXI on Arms, under Gorgets.

The sanguined steel mentioned in above Warrants is the same as blued steel, *i.e.*, almost black.

Brit. Mus., Add. MSS. 18,023, Estimate for Officers of Lord Geo. Hamilton's Regt. 1691: it is noticeable that in this a pike is set down for the Lieutenants as well as the Captains; but possibly this was an error of the contractor.

⁸⁶⁴ Story, 1691.

But up to 1684, lieutenants of granadeers carried partisans; Royal Warrant 26 April, 1684. App. XXIX.

⁸⁶⁵ Royal Warrants, 15 April, 1667; 2 April, 1672; 3 May, 1672; 17 Janry., 1677/8; 13 April, 1678; 28 June, 1683; 26 Janry., 1683/4; 28 April, 1684. Apps. XI, III, IV, XII, XIII, XIV, XXIX, XXX.

St. Helena official records 1687/8.

De Puysegur.

&c., &c.

and at one time in dragoon regts.⁸⁶⁶ the Corporal's was the same.

In 1683 the corporals in the Foot-Guards carried pole-axes,⁸⁶⁵ but generally corporals assumed the ordinary arms of the privates, and were distinguished from them by nothing beyond the narrow lace binding on their coats (*see* Ill. XLII).

Drummers and trumpeters wore a very peculiar badge and one that has in a modified form survived to this very day. Prior to, and up to about the middle of the seventeenth century it became the mode to wear a sort of loose extra sleeve hanging from the shoulder (*see* Ills. CLVIII, CLXV, CLXXXII). This strange custom probably originated from the practice of wearing a doublet over the jerkin :⁸⁶⁷ some leader of fashion probably happening during hot weather to carry his doublet about his neck without inserting his arms into the sleeves (just as soldiers may often be seen to do with their cloaks), the novelty at once commended itself to the prevailing taste for dress, and the hanging sleeve was produced (*see* Ill. IV). In 1660 this appendage was still worn by some troops,⁸⁶⁸ but about that time it lapsed into a badge of a trumpeter or drummer. After a time it was for convenience sake hooked up to the waist-band : it was ornamented with lace, and appears to be the origin of the lace stripe or coloured piping still worn down the two seams of the back of the coat by drummers and trumpeters (Ill. CLXV).

During James the Second's reign it was ordered that the trumpeters of the Life-Guards⁸⁶⁹ should be mounted on white horses when attending court ceremonials.

Drummers and trumpeters also wore a "badge"^{869a} em-

⁸⁶⁶ Royal Warrt., 2 Apr., 1672, App. III.

⁸⁶⁷ *See* the Illustration (IV) of the First Foot-Guards in 1660, and observe that the hanging sleeve is of the colour of and pertains to the outer coat or doublet ; while the sleeve on the arm is of buff leather, being that of the jerkin.

A similar appendage is still retained by certain regiments of the Russian army.

⁸⁶⁸ Contract for clothing Castleton's Foot ; Harl. MSS. 6,844 ; mentions a "Drummer's badge" as costing 3s. 6d. Grose refers to this, but he did not know what the badge was. However, it is more likely that it was the Colonel's or King's cypher or crest on the back than the hanging sleeves.

See Ill. CLVIII. The paintings of Marlborough's Wars in St. James's Palace also shew these Drummers' appendages.

⁸⁶⁹ Orders, James II, 1685, for the Band of Gentlemen-Pensioners ; Art. 18, "The Trumpeters of our household attending on the said band when they are under arms, shall, on every such attendance, be mounted on white horses." Grose quotes many more of these articles.

^{869a} Estimates for clothing Lord Geo. Hamilton's regt., 1691. Brit. Mus., Add. MSS. 18,023, "Drummers' badges and setting them on."

See also Notes to Ills. CLVIII and CLXXXII.

broidered on the back and breast, which consisted of the Royal cypher or the crest of the Colonel.

The Drum-major's emblem⁸⁷⁰ of office was, as it remains to this day, a large walking staff (*see* Ill. CLXXXV).

As to General officers,⁸⁷¹ they not only had much more ornamentation on their dress than had other officers, but they continued, for some time even after the accession of Queen Anne, to wear body armour (*see* Ills. XXXIV, LXX, LXXIV) when going into action or on very special occasions. Their badge of office was a short bâton or truncheon tipped with gold (*see* Ill. CCLXIV); and in Charles the Second's time aiguillettes also.

Although at the present time SPURS (Ills. CLXVI, CLXVII, CLXVIII) are used as a badge of rank, I cannot discover that they were so at this period;⁸⁷² but it is by no means improbable that such was the case, for gold and silver spurs formed from early times an universal distinction between knights and squires. The spur of this period resembled that now known as the hunting spur. Similar spurs are worn to this day by the Life Guards and other troops.

HORSE-EQUIPMENT has naturally been much the same in all ages; and the military saddle of to-day is not very different in shape from the saddle of the seventeenth century (Ill. CLXIX); the latter was heavier⁸⁷³ and resembled closely that still used by the Moors. The seat used to be of cloth,⁸⁷⁴ plush,

⁸⁷⁰ Print of the funeral of General Monck, Duke of Albemarle, 1670.

Print of the Coronation of William and Mary, 1689.

⁸⁷¹ *See* General Authorities at close of the chapter. Also Ill. CCLXIV.

⁸⁷² The spurs worn at the battle of the Boyne by Major Toby Purcell of the 23rd Foot were until lately preserved in the regiment. Those who have seen them say that they were of steel or silver. These spurs were lost with the Mess plate in crossing a lake in Canada. Chamberlayne, *Anglice Notitia* 1679, says that Knights bachelor were termed "equites aurati" "from the gilt spurs usually put upon them."

Brit. Mus., Add. MS. 26,683; Note of work done for the (military) funeral of Sir R. Peake, Vice-President and Leader of the Artillery Company, in 1667. "For a pair of gilt spurs garnished with velvet," which were borne in the procession.

⁸⁷³ Several original specimens, Edinburgh; Tower; Madrid Armoury; Turin armoury; Brussels armoury.

Van der Meulen.

Print of funeral of Duke of Rothes, 1681.

Large print of the saddle used at the coronation of James II, 1685; Brit. Mus.

Portrait of Duke Schonberg (killed 1690) by Sir G. Kneller.

Rugendas, &c., &c.

This was written about 1870; the military saddle is lately undergoing modifications (1890).

⁸⁷⁴ Mercurius Publicus, 1661; several advertisements for lost saddles with descriptions.

or velvet, and the "skirts" of leather with ornamental stitching: the fit was not so exactly attained as in these days of horse-measurement, and it was generally necessary to have both fore-pattern (or breast-strap) and crupper as well as girths.⁸⁷⁵ The stirrups were of much the same shape as they are now (III. CLXX).

The HOUSING or saddle-cloth⁸⁷⁶ was usually of the regimental colour, except in the case of certain regiments which had them of the royal scarlet (*see* Ills. XL, XLV, LX). The word housings, properly pronounced hoosings and often so spelt in old English works, is derived from the French housse a horse-cloth⁸⁷⁷ or saddle-cloth, or in its primitive meaning an equestrian spatter-dasher or mud-switcher.

The Holster-caps were of the same colour as the housings and were similarly ornamented⁸⁷⁸ with a border, and the crown and cypher or other regimental badge. The pistol-holster itself

Lond. Gaz., 21/24 Janry., 1678; advertisement for a "green plush saddle."

Lond. Gaz., 3/6 Decr., 1688; advertisement for "blue velvet saddle" belonging to the 6th Dragoon Guards.

Originals, &c., &c.

⁸⁷⁵ Albemarle.

Print of Coronation of Charles II.

Ditto funeral of Duke of Rothes.

Original in the Tower, temp. Wm. III.

Van der Meulen.

Rugendas, &c., &c.

⁸⁷⁶ This continued to be the case when the clothing Warrant of 1 July, 1751, was issued.

See the Authorities and Notes to the various illustrations of cavalry.

⁸⁷⁷ Nathan Brooks, 1684, spells the word "hoose," plural "hooses."

Sandford, 1685, spells it "housses."

The corruption housing is akin to the German "hüsing."

⁸⁷⁸ The following are some of the authorities for the shape and ornamentation of the housings and holster-caps:—

Print of Coronation of Charles II, 1660.

Print of funeral of Duke of Rothes, 1681.

Chamberlayne, 1679; Life-Guards.

Nathan Brooks, 1684; Life-Guards, Horse-Guards, and 1st Dragoons.

Sandford, 1685; Life-Guards.

Original in the Tower, temp. James II.

London Gazette, 24/28 Novr., 1687; Princess Anne of Denmark's Horse; deserter took away his "holster caps with the Princess's cypher."

London Gazette, 3/6 Decr., 1688; 6th Dr. Gds., "saddle blue velvet with silver "twist, new holster caps of the same."

Painting of the landing of William III at Brixham, 1688.

Kneller, portrait of Duke Schonberg (ob. 1690).

Medals, 1690 to 1697.

Particulars of clothing for Horse and Dragoons (1696), Harl. MS. 7,018, "Hoose "and caps embroidered." App. LI.

Van der Meulen.

Rugendas.

was of leather footed with metal.⁸⁷⁹ Cloth holster-caps were an innovation of the time of Charles the Second. The word holster is from the German holster spelt also halster and hulster, probably from hülse a shell or husk.

The BRIDLE,⁸⁸⁰ head-stall, and leather halter, completed the horse equipment (Ill. CLXXI). It was the custom to adorn the horse with knots of ribbon⁸⁸¹ of the regimental colour, officers' horses having the mane garnished as well as the head and the tail (*see* Ills. VI, XLV, LX).

There was in the French army at this period a class of cavalry unknown in our service then but common enough since, namely HUSSARS. The Hussar is of Hungarian origin; he was also to be found among the Poles,⁸⁸² but the Polish hussars were originally lancers and quite different in arms and dress from the Hungarian hussars. Many of the soldiers of these nations having deserted to the French, it was resolved in 1692 to turn

⁸⁷⁹ Original in the Tower, temp. James II.

Contemporary paintings.

⁸⁸⁰ Albemarle.

For the style of bridle in illustrations in this volume, the authorities are especially;

An original in the Tower, temp. William III.

Kneller, portraits of Duke Schonberg, and of William III.

Rugendas.

Besides many of those quoted in preceding notes.

Specimens also in armouries at Brussels and Madrid and Turin.

⁸⁸¹ Chamberlayne, 1679, mentions the distinction of ribbons, but does not make it clear whether he refers to the horses or only the hats.

Sandford, 1685, says that the officers of the Life-Guards had "the manes, cruppers, and tails of their horses garnished with large knots of broad blue taffata ribbon"; and of the men that "blue being the distinguishing colour of this troop from the others, the heads of their horses were adorned with knots of like ribbon."

A print of the Duc de Bourgogne, Chez F. Jollain, Cologne, 1687, shews exactly the mode of this garnishing with ribbon.

⁸⁸² Lond. Gaz., 14/18 Febr., 1666/7; Letter from Vienna: "Especially the Hussars that are the King of Poland's guard."

Diary of the Hon. Laurence Hyde during his embassy to John Sobieski, King of Poland in 1676.—26th October. "As we were going Monsieur Zamoiscye, who is another very great man here, sent to let me know there was a troop of Hussars come into the camp, and to desire me to come out to see them; and so we went on as we were going, and at the head of the camp the Palatine of Siradia, who is General of this little army, came to me. Then he gave orders for the Hussars to march by us; all the rest of the army is foot and not extraordinary, but this troop is the finest thing that ever was seen; they were about 80 horses, admirably mounted, and most of them with embroidered housings on their horses; they usually have back and breast and head piece: but these had only head pieces, that is pots, and on their bodies as it were a net of steel, which preserves them against the arrows. Every one carries a long spear, and at the end of it a long red and white flag with a swallow tail, and when they charge, they run full speed with these spears couched, so that nothing can stand before them. I never saw a more beautiful sight."

them to account by forming them into regiments of light cavalry,⁸⁸³ permitting them to retain their national dress and equipment.

The horses⁸⁸⁴ of these hussars were swift and of great endurance, though small. The men, who were remarkable for dexterous horsemanship,⁸⁸⁵ rode very short with the knees almost to the pommel; and when galloping or at the charge they rose in the stirrups and leaned forward so that their heads almost touched the horse's neck. Their head-dress was a round fur cap with a long cloth hood bagging down behind (III. CLXXII). The jacket or jerkin was short, and the breeches and stockings were all in one piece. Soft loose boots of Russia leather covered the leg as far as the calf. The cloak was long to the heels, without sleeves and with cape similar to those now worn. Sometimes a cape alone was worn fastened loosely about the neck;⁸⁸⁶ and in some instances, if not in all, its material was the skin of a sheep, leopard, or some other animal.

The saddle⁸⁸⁵ was smaller than usual and covered with cloth; the "houssen" was cut swallow-tailed so as to hang quite low on either side down the horse's legs: to this day hussars retain the swallow-tailed shabraque while other regiments have it rounded off. The arms of the hussar were pistols⁸⁸⁷ and a very heavy sort of scimeter. He also carried a sabretache or dispatch-bag (III. CLXXIII), but strapped up quite short like that sometimes worn now in the field by staff officers. The only distinction of an officer⁸⁸⁵ was a brass socketed feather sticking straight up from the front of the cap. One peculiarity of Hussars was the wearing of a moustache, and without whiskers.⁸⁸⁶ The modern furred holster cap is borrowed from the hussar.

The ancient practice of donning some sort of cognizance or

⁸⁸³ D'Auvergne, Campaigns in Flanders, 1694.

Daniel, Hist. de la Milice Française 1725.

⁸⁸⁴ D'Auvergne, 1695.

⁸⁸⁵ D'Auvergne, 1694.

Wood carving in possession of Rev. J. Moore, Saintfield, Co. Down, given in Illustration CLXXII.

⁸⁸⁶ Rugendas.

In the museum at Namur is a sword with a curved blade on which is engraved a figure circumscribed "Vivat Hussar"; the cape is loose slung and apparently meant to represent a *leopard's* skin.

⁸⁸⁷ D'Auvergne.

Contemporary paintings, &c.

Wood carving in illustration,

badge as a "sign of battle" had not quite expired in King William's reign,⁸⁸⁸ for throughout the wars in Ireland (1690/92) and in Flanders (1691/97) it was the custom of English soldiers on going into action to fasten a green bough into their hats, an emblem that probably originated at the battle of the Boyne, where we first read of its being worn as a necessary distinction from the enemy.

The MODE OF THE SUPPLY OF CLOTHING to the troops at this period was most objectionable; and it is marvellous that, in spite of inquiries and consequent revelations, it was suffered to continue to within a comparatively few years of the present time.

A certain portion of the daily pay of a soldier was set apart for subsistence.⁸⁸⁹ The remainder over and above the subsistence was termed the off-reckonings. Out of the off-reckonings was deducted one shilling in the pound on the whole pay, besides one day's pay per annum, for Chelsea Hospital and other purposes. For instance the off-reckonings of a private of foot would produce a "net" off-reckoning to the amount of two pounds eight shillings per annum: thus;

	£	s.	d.
Total pay at 8 <i>d.</i> per diem	12	3	4
<i>Deduct</i> —Subsistence at 6 <i>d.</i>	9	2	6
	<hr/>		
Gross off-reckonings	3	0	10
	<hr/>		
	s.	d.	
<i>Deduct</i> —1 <i>s.</i> per £ on annual pay	12	2	
One day's pay for Chelsea	0	8	
	<hr/>		0 12 10
	<hr/>		
"Net" off-reckonings... ..	£2	8	0
	<hr/> <hr/>		

The net off-reckonings were paid over to the colonels,⁸⁹⁰ and out of them each colonel was to clothe his regiment.

⁸⁸⁸ Story. Impartial Hist. of the war in Ireland (1691). Lond. 1693.

D'Auvergne. Campaign in Flanders, 1695. "Two squadrons put green boughs in their hats which is our sign of battle."

Van Wyck.

⁸⁸⁹ See Chap. XXIX on Finance.

⁸⁹⁰ Act 31 Chas. II, C. 1, S. 14.

Royal Warrts., 1 Febry., 1677/8, and 30 May, 1690, App. IX, and Lond. Gazette. Proclamation, Dublin, 26 July, 1697, App. XC.

In 1678⁸⁹¹ two pounds thirteen shillings and in 1693 about two pounds nine shillings was considered to be the proper cost of the annual clothing of an infantry soldier; so that, making allowance for the saving to be effected by regimental contracts, and the falling in of clothing by casualties and non-effectives or "dead pays," the net off-reckonings were sufficient, but only barely so, to cover the cost of clothing.

Regulations were issued from time to time showing what clothing the soldier had a right to expect for the deduction from his pay. In 1677, the supply consisted of a baize-lined cloth coat,⁸⁹² one pair of lined kearsey breeches, two shirts, two

⁸⁹¹ Royal Warrt., 1 Febr., 1677/8; App. IX.

Votes of the House of Commons, 30 Chas. II, vizt. :-

	£	s.	d.	
Foot per man... ..	2	13	0	
Dragoons per man	6	10	0	
Horse per man	9	0	0	} Includes horse equipment.
Horse Granadeers	8	0	0	

Contract for clothing Lord Castleton's regt., 1693; Harl. MS. 6,844 :-

<i>Private Centinel.</i>				<i>Prices demanded.</i>			<i>Prices allowed.</i>			
				£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.	
Grey coat and breeches	1	12	0	...	1	5	0
Hat	0	6	6	...	0	5	0
Shoes	0	4	0	...	0	4	0
Shirt	0	3	6	...	0	3	0
Neckcloth	0	1	0	...	0	0	10
Stockings	0	2	0	...	0	1	8
				<hr/>			<hr/>			
				2 9 0			1 19 6			
				<hr/>			<hr/>			
<i>Serjeant.</i>										
Grey coat and breeches	4	12	0	...	3	12	0
Neckcloth	0	2	0	...	0	2	0
Hat	0	12	0	...	0	10	0
Stockings	0	5	0	...	0	4	6
Total	6	1	6		4	18	0
				<hr/>			<hr/>			
<i>Drummer.</i>										
Purple coat and grey breeches	3	10	0	...	3	0	0
Total	4	7	0	...	3	15	6
				<hr/>			<hr/>			
Granadeer serjeant's cap	0	16	0	...	0	14	0
„ privates „	0	9	0	...	0	8	0
Drummer's badge	0	3	6	...	0	3	6

Complete clothing for a Regt. of Foot, 1696, see App. LII.

⁸⁹² Royal Warrt., 1 Febr., 1677/8; App. IX.

The same articles are shewn in Warrts. 11 Febr., 1674, 18 June, 1673, W.O. records; being special issues to recruits.

cravats, *one pair* of shoes, *one pair* of yarn stockings, one hat with band, one sash, a sword and belt. In 1690 it was ordered that the clothing,⁸⁹³ with slight exceptions, should be biennial ; that sealed patterns should be established which should be adhered to ; that the contractor's patterns should be inspected by a regimental board of officers prior to acceptance of the tender ; and that the captains should sign the contract as well as their colonel.

In 1697 very detailed instructions were published for the army in Ireland respecting the clothing : and a reference to the Appendix⁸⁹⁴ where they are given *in extenso* will show what articles were to be furnished out of the off-reckonings.

Sometimes it was inconvenient for the colonels to employ contractors, as for instance when their regiments were on active service : in such cases the Commissariat would sometimes find the supply,⁸⁹⁵ and the price was deducted from the troops ; even the officers themselves could not but acknowledge the advantage at such times of supplies being made from the government stores and the disadvantage of the stores not being always prepared to meet their uncertain demands. Sir Albert Conyngham,⁸⁹⁶ Colonel of the Inniskilling Dragoons, wrote thus to the Secretary for War in 1691 ; premising that he is desperately in want of saddles and that they are absurdly dear in Dublin, he proceeds, "and the stores are not provided with " them that we might have them for payment ; I wish the " stores could furnish both Horse and Dragoons with so necessary accoutrements." Before the end of the Irish war it was even found necessary, chiefly in consequence of the faulty system of finance and the consequent long delays in the pay-

⁸⁹³ Royal Warrt., Whitehall, 30 May, 1690 ; App. CII.

⁸⁹⁴ Proclamation concerning the pay and clothing of the Army, Dublin, 26 July, 1697 ; App. XC.

⁸⁹⁵ Memorandum, Dublin, 16 Sept., 1690, Commissary-General Van Homrigh to Clarke ; shoes and stockings.

Letter, Belturbet, 29 Janry., 1690/1, Crounton to Van Homrigh ; coats, shoes, and stockings ; Clarke MSS.

Warrant, Dublin, 9 Febry., 1690/1.

Letter, London, 3 July, 1694, Fielding to Blathwayt ; Brit. Mus., Add. MSS. II, 759.

Letter, Whitehall, 1 Sept., 1691, Blathwayt to Clarke ; the army to pay for the 20,000 pairs of shoes going to Ireland, will be stopped out of the next consignment of pay ; Clarke MSS.

Warrant, Dublin, 21 June, 1697 ; coats and shoes ; Dub. State Papers.

Accounts wanting in relation to the Army 1694 ; Harl. MS. 7,018.

⁸⁹⁶ Letter, Belturbet, 10 Janry., 1690/1 ; Conyngham to Clarke, Clarke MSS.

ment of the off-reckonings, to clothe whole regiments⁸⁹⁷ through the Commissariat; and the uniform selected, though cheap and serviceable, was by no means smart, for it was grey frieze close-bodied coats: the adoption of the grey over-coat already mentioned probably originated in this supply of frieze coats to the regiments in Ireland.

There were certain exceptions to the rule that soldiers should be clothed out of their off-reckonings: the coats and trumpet-banners of kettle-drummers and trumpeters, who wore very richly ornamented and consequently very expensive coats, were supplied, those of the former by the colonels of regiments⁸⁹⁸ and those of the latter by captains of troops. In the Blues the trumpeter of the King's troop was clothed out of the royal wardrobe,⁸⁹⁹ and one thousand pounds a year was contributed from the same source towards the clothing of those of the other troops: and in the Life-Guards and the Foot-Guards the King entirely clothed all the trumpeters, drummers, and hautbois.⁹⁰⁰ The Yeomen of the Guard were also clothed from the same source.⁹⁰¹

Many regiments clothed their officers by contract.⁹⁰²

Such things as were purchased out of the off-reckonings were presumed to become the soldier's own property⁹⁰³ upon his discharge, and, with the exception of the sword for which

⁸⁹⁷ Letter, Dublin, 21 Mar., 1690/1, Coningsby to Ginkell; "The Queen agrees in our method of clothing the army full, so I have ordered Mr. Vanhumany to give directions to have all the frieze made into close coats. I am as sensible as your Lordship that all our mischief proceeds from the not better and more regularly paying of the army."

Letter, Dublin, 24 Mar., 1690/1, Commissary General Robinson to Clarke; Has been directed "to make close coats of frieze for all the regiments that are to be clothed by the King and desires you to let me know which those are"; Clarke MSS.

⁸⁹⁸ Letter, Keppox Park, 3 Aug., 1691, John Bland to Clarke; Clarke MSS.

Particulars of clothing for a regt. of Horse (1696); App. LI.

⁸⁹⁹ Memorandum minuted 21 June, 1693, Earl of Oxford; Try. State Papers.

⁹⁰⁰ Royal Warrt., Whitehall, 28 July, 1678; Mackinnon's App.

Report, 29 June, 1699, E. of Montague to Try.; Try. State Papers.

Report, War Office, 9 Novr., 1717, when the practice of supplying from the King's Wardrobe ceased.

⁹⁰¹ Royal Warrts., 29 Octr., 1677; Octr., 1678, and June, 1679, &c., &c.; Signet books, State Papers.

⁹⁰² Report, 17 Aug., 1698, by Earl of Ranelagh on clothiers' petitions; Try. State papers.

⁹⁰³ Act 31 Chas. II, C. I.

Order, Whitehall, 14 Febr., 1697/8; Lond. Gazette.

Warrant, Dublin, 18 Decr., 1697, and 28 Febr., and 1, 5, 9 and 18 Mar., 1697/8, respecting reductions, Dublin State papers.

"Clothes, belts, and knapsacks" are specified in these authorities, besides swords. State of the Protestants in Ireland, 1689 (Housings).

compensation was allowed upon its return into store, he might carry them away.

It has been shewn that the net off-reckonings were barely sufficient to cover the expense of the clothing; nevertheless most of the colonels contrived to screw a very considerable income out of them⁹⁰⁴ varying from £200 to £600 a year. This money they, in plain language embezzled, inasmuch as, although it was handed to them for a particular purpose, they diverted it to their private benefit. That it was the fashion of their class to steal does not render the theft less disgraceful. Some colonels were not satisfied with misappropriating the off-reckonings, but even trenched largely on the soldiers' subsistence money—as some of themselves very expressively put it, “got so much money into their own pockets out of the poor ‘soldiers’ bellies”;⁹⁰⁵ and many of the regulations already quoted were directed against this enormity. So long as the colonels continued to have the appointment of the regimental agents, through whose hands the cash transactions passed (and who were thus mere servants of the colonels), and the making of the contracts, the door could not be shut against misappropriation and fraudulent collusion. All sorts of sordid practices were quite common and notorious. Sometimes the contractors would offer a colonel a direct bribe of a lump sum reaching even to as much as £600 for the year. One particularly iniquitous instance of collusion between Colonel Farrington and his agent in 1694 is recorded; the colonel demanded from the parties tendering for the clothing contract a gratuity of £300, but his own agent offered him £400 and took the contract: it may be easily imagined how the men fared that year. Some-

⁹⁰⁴ See subsequent notes.

⁹⁰⁵ Letter, Dublin Castle, 10 Apr., 1686; Clarendon to Rochester; “And some ‘colonels told me they were offered £600 by tradesmen to have the clothing of their ‘regiments, which they thought a very unconscionable thing, to get so much money ‘into their own pockets out of the poor soldiers’ bellies. I confess I thought it very ‘hard that the King should allow 6*d.* a day, and the poor soldier have but 2*d.* of ‘it”; Clarendon corresponce.

Petition of Alexr. City (cir. 1695/6) and proceedings thereon; Harl. MS. 7,018; puts forth that the agent of Lord Lorne's regt. had demanded £150 for himself in addition to 10 per cent. demanded by Lt.-Col. Hume; that Col. Farrington in 1694 took £400; that Col. Lauder took £400, the contractor being a Captain Baird; that others did the like. Colonel Hume's defence was that he only did as others did.

Proceedings of House of Commons, Janry. 1694/5:—Agents taking the Contracts themselves; charging the regts. so much more than they actually paid Contractors, sometimes even double; taking from 1*s.* to 3*s.* in the pound from the Contractors; altering amounts on the bills, *e.g.*, £81 to £181.

times the bribe took the form of a per-centage on the contract,⁹⁰⁶ and these bribes were not even limited to the colonels; the agents also demanded their share of the plunder. Sometimes the fraud was perpetrated by the simple plan of accepting a contract with nominal prices higher than the actual prices to be paid;⁹⁰⁷ this was where it was desirable to hoodwink the officers of the regiment as well as outsiders. And it is significant that this form of speculation does not discover itself until a Brigadier got the chance of calling for contracts for all the regiments of his brigade, and then for the first time the colonels of these regiments exclaimed against the prices agreed upon between the brigadier and the tradesmen. Two names were mixed up in this affair which afterwards became unpleasantly notorious in connexion with similar practices, those of Colonel Hastings, and Mr. Tracy Pauncefort one of the contractors and a regimental agent. The exorbitant prices charged by the clothiers were in great measure due to the financial short-comings of the Bureaucratic administration as well as to the mal-practices of the Colonels and their Agents; for the tallies⁹⁰⁸ in which the clothiers were paid were disposed of by them at a loss of thirty-five per cent.

⁹⁰⁶ Alexr. City's petition; Harl. MS. 7,018.

Concerning the Agents of the Army (cir. 1693/6), Harl. MS. 7,018.

Proposals for the clothing of the Army (1696), Harl. MS. 7,018; states that colonels have usually ten per cent. from the clothiers, and the agents expect five per cent. more; Aps. LI, LII.

See also previous note.

Proc. Ho. of Commons, 11 Decr., 1696, contain a petition from J. Corbier, shoemaker, that the agent to Belcastel's regt. had received the money for 800 pairs but refused to pay him.

⁹⁰⁷ Objections offered to the Lords of the Treasury by Sir H. Bellasis, Colonels Coote, Rowe, and Mitchelburne against a Contract for clothing made by Brigr. Stewart with Tracy Pauncefort and Paul Derby; 14 Janry., 1693/4; To the effect that "surtouts" "coats and breeches" for the private men were overcharged, surtouts being 12s. 6d. whereas they should be 7s. 2d., coats and breeches 38s. instead of 32s., shirts 3s. 6d. instead of 3s. "The sum charged by the present contract for Serjeants "Drummers clothes the Kittles and caps is £1,085 whereas we are ready to make "appear there ought to be charged but £896 13s., vizt., for the clothes and caps "£838 3s. 8d. and for the kittles £58 10s.," &c.; Try. State papers.

Particulars of clothing for Horse and Dragoons (1696); Harl. MS. 7,018, Aps. LI, LII.

Letter, London, 2 Octr., 1699, Thos. Hall, tailor, to Lord Raby, Col. of the Royal Dragoons: encloses estimate of the real cost of clothing the regt., and begs His Lordship to alter the rates to whatever he pleases, "if you intend to put in "anything on account of your living"; "set down your rates and what you intend "to have out of it towards your living, that we may have no misunderstanding"; Strafford MSS. 22,231.

⁹⁰⁸ Proc. Ho. of Commons, 16 Mar., 1698.

In 1690⁹⁰⁹ it was judged advisable to order the retention in the hands of the Paymaster General of the off-reckonings until the debts for clothing had been satisfied out of them; but still in some way the balance of the off-reckonings came into the colonels' hands and there remained.⁹¹⁰ In the contract for Castleton's regiment of Foot quoted a few pages back, the contractor appears in his offer to have framed his prices so as to swallow as nearly as possible the total net off-reckonings. On the other hand the question naturally arises, what became of the difference between the accepted prices and the net off-reckonings. At 8s. 6d. per man for a battalion 700 strong the surplus would be about £300. In 1693 Castleton's regiment was on active service in Flanders, and it was reckoned by D'Auvergne on the spot that the average strength of a battalion was not under 600, but it must be recollected that the *whole* of the net off-reckonings for *vacant* men would become surplus, and of vacancies there would be plenty on service.

The duty of expending the off-reckonings in clothing was seized upon with avidity, and the colonel of the Irish Foot-Guards having left this business to each captain⁹¹¹ gained thereby the entire affection of his officers, while his successor incurred much odium by resuming the duty himself. The cheats upon the soldier were numberless, and it was only by the soldier being deluded into considering his rights as limited to his daily subsistence that mutinous discontent was avoided. As we have seen, a soldier upon his discharge became entitled to the clothing and necessaries paid for out of his off-reckonings: sometimes it would happen that a soldier would be discharged at the end of the year when all deductions had been made from his pay, but before his new clothing had been served out: the custom in such cases had been to hand the discharged man

⁹⁰⁹ Royal Warrt., Whitehall, 30 July, 1690.

⁹¹⁰ Proposals for the clothing of the Army (1696); Harl. MS. 7,018, Apps. LI, LII.

Proclamation, Dublin, 26 July, 1697; App. XC.

⁹¹¹ Letter, Dublin Castle, 10 Apr., 1686, Clarendon to Rochester; "Speaking of the clothing of the army puts me in mind to tell you of a particular. My Lord Arran (who loved to get money) left the clothing of the regt. of Guards to each particular captain to take care of his own company, which got him the perfect love of the officers. My Lord of Ossory has ordered it otherwise, and sent orders to the Receiver-General (at least it is come in his name) to pay the deductions no more to the Captains, but that he will appoint one to take care of the clothing of the regiment. This makes a loud noise among the officers, and I doubt it will not be represented in England to his advantage"; Clarendon corresponce.

the price of his clothing;⁹¹² advancing it out of the deductions to be made from the recruit who replaced him: will it be credited that officers could be found who attempted to turn the discharged men adrift without either clothing or compensation, and who at the same time continued to make the full deductions from the recruits!

Duke Schonberg, when commanding the expeditionary army in Ireland in 1689, complained repeatedly in his dispatches of the neglect and cheating of the men by their officers,⁹¹³ of the bad state of the men's clothing, and of the astonishing avarice of the colonels who thought of nothing beyond making an income out of their regiments. The scandal was so notorious and the public disgust so roused, that the authorities were at length compelled to sacrifice one or two of the most prominent offenders. Colonel Sir John Edgeworth of the Eighteenth Foot was tried and casheered⁹¹⁴ for purchasing old clothing of the Jews and charging it to the recruit as new; and a number of his officers (including the Lieutenant-Colonel and a captain, sons of Sir J. Edgeworth), were casheered with him for participating in the disgraceful job. The cheat in this case consisted in this: there was, for the protection of colonel and soldier alike, a recognised list of articles to be periodically furnished out of the off-reckonings. Of course the soldier himself was liable for any intermediate clothing, otherwise there would have existed a premium on carelessness. So that the

⁹¹² Letter, Dublin Castle, 26 June, 1686, Clarendon to Blathwayt; "It is now thought fit to put near 500 men out of this regiment: they say they have paid for their clothes, and pray that if they may not have them, they may be repaid the money which has been deducted for clothes; which the old officers say has been the constant practice here, for the captain to pay the men who go out for their clothes, and to reimburse himself by deducting from the new men who come in. The new officers say, the clothes being paid for out of the money deducted for that use are the King's, and the soldiers who go out ought to have no consideration for them, and yet they own they will take the same deductions from the new men, from the time they come into service; but this is to be guided by the practice in England, which I would be glad to know, as soon as you can conveniently."

Letter, Dublin Castle, 29 July, 1686; Clarendon to Blathwayt; "I have likewise ordered the disbanded foot to have a consideration for their clothes; which wonderfully dissatisfies some of the new officers, though, indeed, I think without reason"; Clarendon correspce.

⁹¹³ Schonberg's Dispatch, Dundalk, 20 Sept., 1689, "Il y a (says he, for instance) bien encore d'autres officiers que je voudrais qu'ils fussent en Angleterre. Je n'ai jamais vu de plus méchants et de plus intéressés; tout le soin des colonels n'est que de vivre de leurs regiments, sans aucune autre application."

And similarly in other dispatches.

It was just at this time that the punishment of Colonel Edgeworth referred to in the text took place.

⁹¹⁴ Parker.

man who received a second-hand coat for a new one, and who had to pay because it naturally failed to last out the prescribed period, was defrauded. In the Mutiny Act in 1695,⁹¹⁵ a clause was inserted rendering it penal to traffick in soldiers' clothing. But sharp measures so spasmodic as the raid upon the Eighteenth Foot soon lost their effect, and fresh scandals shortly forced the government to take further action. In 1695,⁹¹⁶ Mr. Craggs, a contractor, was committed to prison for refusing to produce his books; and in the same year Colonel Hastings of the Thirteenth Foot⁹¹⁷ was casheered for charging extortionate prices for necessaries, and for confining and threatening those who objected to take the clothing at such prices.

It seems almost incredible that officers and gentlemen, colonels of regiments, could thus have stooped to rob their comrades in arms, their inferiors, those who looked up to them for protection, men that were paid barely sufficient to keep them from starvation. Yet later investigations proved that the two instances above quoted were no solitary exceptions; but that, on the contrary,⁹¹⁸ there were very few colonels honourable in opposition to the hateful practice of their compeers.

One ill effect of this corruption, though an effect of very minor importance, was, that some regiments were far better clothed than others.⁹¹⁹ One regiment in a brigade would look as smart as could be desired, while the battalion next to it would present an almost ragged appearance.

This form of peculation was of older date than the corrupt days of Charles the Second, for Shakespeare has portrayed it in his incomparable caricature of a worthless officer:

"If I be not," says Falstaff,⁹²⁰ "ashamed of my soldiers I

⁹¹⁵ In France an Edict had been issued in 1686, 28 October, forbidding such traffick "*à peine du Fouet et de la Fleur de lys*"; Briquet.

Story, 1691; says the English soldiers "for a little money were apt to sell "their clothes or shoes," and that it was necessary to issue an order against the practice in the Army in Ireland, 1689-91.

⁹¹⁶ Proceedings of House of Commons, 7 Mar., 1695.

⁹¹⁷ Representation of House of Commons, 26 Feby., 1694/5.

⁹¹⁸ Report of Committee of the House of Commons, 1746.

⁹¹⁹ Proposals for the clothing the Army (1696); Harl. MS. 7,018.

⁹²⁰ Shakspeare; Henry IV, Act 4, Scene 2.

That Falstaff was furnished with means to clothe his men is apparent from another passage, wherein, after obtaining recruits he bids Bardolph "give the soldiers coats." Shakspeare would, too, form his notions of such matters from the customs of his own day; and in Queen Elizabeth's time Sir John Harrington tells us, in recounting "Her Majesty's good wise and gracious providing for us her captains and her soldiers, in

" am a soused gurnet. And now my whole charge
 " consists of ancients (*i.e.*, ensigns), corporals, lieutenants,
 " gentlemen of companies, slaves as ragged as Lazarus in the
 " painted cloth; ten times more dishonourably ragged
 " than an old faced ancient; and such have I to fill up the
 " rooms of them that have bought out their services. A mad
 " fellow met me on the way, and told me I had unloaded all
 " the gibbets and pressed the dead bodies. No eye hath seen
 " such scare-crows. I'll not march through Coventry with
 " them; that's flat :—nay, and the villains march wide betwixt
 " the legs, as if they had gyves on, for indeed, I had the most
 " of them out of prison. There's but a shirt and a half in all
 " my company; and the half shirt is two napkins tacked
 " together, and thrown over the shoulders like a herald's coat
 " without sleeves; and the shirt, to say the truth, stolen from
 " mine host at Saint Alban's or the red-nosed inn-keeper of
 " Daintry. But that's all one; they'll find linen enough on
 " every hedge."

Experience proves that there is a moral contained in Sir John's concluding reflection; to wit, that soldiers unfairly dealt by become dangerous members of society, and that therefore, in the matter of soldier's pay and soldier's clothing, justice and generosity will eventually be found more truly economical than either ill-treatment or a short-sighted endeavour after pettifogging savings.

The following list ⁹²¹ shews the prices of various articles of clothing and equipment up to the year 1700:

" summer heats and winter colds, in hunger and thirst, for our backs and our bellies,—
 " that there was allowed for every common soldier twenty pence weekly to be
 " answered to the full value thereof in good apparel of different kinds," according to
 specified patterns; Nugee Antiquae, quoted by Grose.

⁹²¹ Votes, House of Commons, 1678.

Contractors' bills for Fourteenth Foot, 1688; in Report, 10 Febr., 1691, by Paymaster-General; Try. State Papers.

Respites, &c., Monmouth's Foot, 1689; ditto.

Schedule of Clothing delivered by Francis Molyneux to 3rd Dr. Gds., 14 Janry., 1691/2; ditto.

Objections by Colonels Sir H. Bellasis, Coote, Rowe and Mitchelburne against a contract for clothing made 14 Janry., 1693/4; ditto.

Contract by F. Molyneux for Lord Castleton's Foot (cir. 1690/4); Harl. MS. 6,844.

Particulars of Clothing for Horse, Foot and Dragoons (1696), Harl. MS. 7,018; Apps. LI, LII.

	Horse.	Dragoons.	Foot.
Shirts, Serjeant's ... ..	...	...	6/-
„ Private's ... ..	...	...	3/- to 3/6
Coat, Serjeant's ... ..	...	and breeches, 50/- to 70/-	and breeches, 45/- to 72/-
„ Corporal's	60/- to 90/-	and breeches, 26/- to 42/-	and breeches, 32/-
„ Private's	50/- to 65/-		and breeches, 20/- to 38/-
Hats, Serjeant's ... ..	...	10/- to 15/-	10/- to 15/-
„ Private's	11/- to 15/-	4/4 to 8/6	4/- to 7/-
Waistcoat	16/- to 25/-	...	...
Gloves	5/6 to 7/6	...	...
Boots or shoes	21/- to 26/-	10/- to 12/-	4/- to 4/6
Knapsack ... ..	...	...	3/6
Cravat, Serjeant's ... ..	...	1/8 to 2/6	2/-
„ Private's ... ..	...	1/- to 1/6	-/9
Sashes for pikemen ... ..	...	...	2/6
Caps, Granadeer Serjt.'s ... ..	...	...	14/- to 15/-
„ „ Private's ... ..	...	...	8/- to 9/6
Cap, Dragoon Serjt.'s ... ..	...	6/- to 10/-	...
„ „ Private's ... ..	...	3/- to 5/-	...
Stockings, Serjeant's ... ..	...	3/6 to 6/-	4/- to 6/-
„ Private's ... ..	...	1/4 to 2/-	1/8 to 2/-
Cloak, or Surtout	28/- to 45/-	26/- to 40/-	7/6 to 18/-
Housings, } Serjeant's ... ..	...	12/- to 18/-	...
Holster caps } Private's	18/- to 25/-	7/6 to 12/-	...
Drum carriages ... ..	...	...	10/-
Drummer's suit ... ..	...	35/- to 50/-	...
Hoboy's suit... ..	...	50/- to 70/-	...
Corporal's suit ... ..	...	35/- to 50/-	...
Coat, Drummer's ... ..	...	...	and breeches, 31/- to 60/-
Badge „ ... ..	...	...	3/6

Military human nature was much the same two hundred years ago as it is now, and always some officers seem to have expended their time and their energies in striving after additional finery for themselves and their men, a disposition which had to be curbed by regulations. There was especially a desire to substitute fusileers' caps for the less showy felt hat, and the final reason put forward by a Colonel Lillingston in favour of such a change for his regiment is too good not to be quoted, and will form a fitting conclusion to a chapter so full of small details as this has necessarily been. Colonel Lillingston had evidently pressed this matter before, and had been asked to give some good reasons for the necessity or advisability of the change sought by him: and these are the reasons he gives; ⁹²²

“Memorandum:

“His Majesty being unwilling the Detachment Colonel

⁹²² Representation, 12 Decr., 1694; by Colonel Lillingston, Try. State Papers.

" Lillingston is to command to Jamaica should have other than hats, the said Colonel begs leave to offer

" That hats are made less useful and convenient than Caps for the country they are going to, and but twelvepence in a Cap dearer than hats.

" That the Caps will last two years whereas the hats can serve but one year. That the Caps take six times less stowage than the hats ;

" That the hattts taken the last expedition were two-thirds of them eat up by the Ratts on ship board ; and the Capps they took not touched.

" 12 Decr., 1694."

As the zealous colonel did not succeed in inducing the soldier-King to authorise the *capps*, it is to be hoped the regiment was allowed a trifle for *catts* to keep down the depredations of the voracious " Ratts."⁹²³

⁹²³ General Authorities for details of clothing and equipment, in support of text and illustrations of this volume.

Hats :

Contemporary Painting of Charles II leaving Holland, 1660 ; (Hampton Court Palace).

True and perfect relation of the Grand Traitors' execution, 1660 ; Harl. MSS. 7,018.

Print of Coronation of Charles II, 1661 : Brit. Mus.

Elton, 1668.

Hollar's drawings, 1669 ; Brit. Mus.

Print of funeral of Duke of Albemarle, 1670, Brit. Mus.

Print of siege of Graves, 1674, Brit. Mus.

Print of the manner of curing the King's evil, 1679, Brit. Mus.

Print of funeral of Duke of Rothes, 1680, Edin. Antiq. Society.

Royal Warrant, 1 Febry., 1677/8, App. IX.

[Print of the siege of Stettin, 1678, Brit. Mus.

Mallet, 1684.

Sandford ; Coronation of James II, 1685.

London Gazettes, 30 June/4 July, 1687, 24/27 Sept., 6/9 Aug., 1688 ; 13/17 June, 1689 ; 10/14 June, 1697 ; 24/28 Mar., 1698 ; Advertisements for deserters.

Contemporary Painting of William III landing in England, 1688 ; (Hampton Court Palace).

Fortification, &c., by Capt. J. S. (frontispiece), 1689.

Contemporary prints of Battle of the Boyne, 1690 ; Illuminations in Covent Garden, 1690 ; Siege of Londonderry, 1689 ; views of Namur, 1695 ; Brit. Mus. print room.

Print of Coronation of William and Mary by Sam. Moore, 1689.

Medals, for Coronation of William and Mary, 1689 ; the Boyne, 1690 ; Arrival of William III in Holland, 1691 ; Irish War, 1691 ; Aughrim, 1691 ; Leuze, 1691 ; Namur, 1692 ; Estinkerke, 1692 ; Opening of campaign, 1693 ; Huy, 1694 ; Namur, 1695 ; Union of France and Spain, 1700.

Wyck, Painting of the Boyne, 1690 ; (Lord James Butler).

Voyage de S. M. Britannique en Hollande, 1691 ; Haye, 1692.

Prints of funeral of Queen Mary, 1695.

Rugendas, 1695/1700; Hampton Court Palace, also Brit. Mus. print rooms.

St. Remy, 1697.

Particulars of clothing for Horse, Dragoons, and Foot (1695/6), Harl. MSS.

7,018.

Van der Meulen.

Hughtenburg.

Caps :

De Ville, 1672.

Dutch print of siege of Grave, 1674.

Print of siege of Stettin, 1678.

Nathan Brooks, 1684.

Sandford, 1685.

Lond. Gazette, 25/28 July, 1687; advertmt. for deserter.

Wyck, Painting of battle of the Boyne, 1690; painted 1693; Wyck died in 1702.

Particulars of Clothing (1695/6).

Medal for occupation of Dublin, 1690.

Hughtenburg, Prise de Namur, 1695, &c.

Victorien der Gallierden op Vankryk en Spangien, 1702; de Hooge, Amsterdam.

Girard.

Original, temp. Queen Anne.

Facial :

The Traitors Execution, 1660.

Coronation of Charles II, 1661.

Hollar.

Lely.

Kneller.

Funeral of Duke of Albemarle, 1670.

Binning, 1675.

Manner of curing the King's Evil, 1679.

Funeral of Duke of Rothes, 1680.

Mallet, 1684.

London Gazettes, 1684 to 1700; many descriptions of deserters.

Medals quoted above.

William III's landing, 1688.

"The Portsmouth Captains," 1688 (White engraver); all with long full flowing wigs, except one wearing his own hair shortish; Brit. Mus.

Coronation of William and Mary, 1689.

Wyck's Battle of the Boyne.

Funeral of Queen Mary, 1695.

Girard.

Rugendas.

Van der Meulen.

&c., &c.

Cravats :

Same authorities as already quoted.

also;

Order, 28 Octr., 1678, by Duke of Monmouth for payment of £12 5s. for "70 crevatts of fox-tails at 3s. 6d. a piece"; and of £3 12s. for scarlet "ribbon for them" for granadeers of the First Foot-Guards; see Mackinnon's App.

Gorget :

Originals.

French Prints, 1652 and 1677 (Brit. Mus. print room), style of wearing the large gorget on a cloth coat.

Mallet, 1684; ditto.

Landing of William III, 1688; ditto.
 Print of the battle of the Boyne, 1690; ditto.
 French medal for Estinkerke, 1692; ditto.
 Fortification by Capt. J. S., 1689; gorget on cuirass.
 Sandford, 1685; description of.
 St. Remy, 1697.

Coats:

Besides the authorities already quoted;
 Mercurius Publicus, 29 May, 5 June, 1662; deserter from Morgan's Horse in "a short horseman's coat."
 Merc. Pub., 31 July, 7 Aug., 1662; Earl of Orrery's regt. of Horse in Ireland, "all in buff coats and caps."
 Lond. Gaz., 23/26 July, 1666; Gloucester Horse Militia all "in their buff coats."
 Orrery's Art. of War, 1670; portrait of Charles II on horseback.
 Originals of precisely the same pattern as the coat in this portrait have been preserved in Rochester Cathedral, and I have suggested their transfer from an old chest up in the belfry to the Museum of the Royal United Service Institution; they are of stout buff with green velvet facings to the cuffs.

True Protestant Mercury, 1/5 April, 1682, all coats, from the Colonel to the Corporal, laced.

London Gazettes, 1666 to 1700; many advertisements for deserters, among others, 5/9 Decr., 1689, Hautboy of Lisburne's Foot, in a "blue cloth coat, laced with narrow gold lace."

7/11 Aug., 1690, Hautboy of 10th Ft., in a "blue coat lined with red with a narrow silver edging down the seams."

27/30 Mar., 1692, Drummer of 13th Foot, with a "yellow laced coat on lined with red" (being the regimental colours reversed).

17/20 Sept., 1694, Serjeant in Northcote's Dragoons "with a crimson (instead of red) coat, faced with green, had silver lace down the seams, and brass buttons."

Particulars of Clothing (1695/6), Harl. MSS. 17,018; coats of Horse all crimson instead of red: and those of N.C.O. more expensive than those of Privates.

Medals.

Lely.

Wissing.

Wyck.

Kneller.

Rugendas, &c., &c., &c.

Cloaks:

Nathan Brooks, 1684.

Sandford, 1685.

Particulars of Clothing (1695/6), cloaks of Horse and Dragoons red, while coats are crimson.

London Gazettes, 1686 to 1700, various descriptions of deserters.

For mode of wearing.

Coronation of Charles II, 1661.

Funeral of Duke of Rothes, 1681.

Letter, Clonmel, 27 Aug., 1690; Col. Sir Albert Conyngham (Inniskilling Dragoons) to Clarke; Clarke MSS.

Historical paintings already quoted.

Van der Meulen; cloaks of Horse en croupe, and of Foot diagonally across the body.

Mallet, ditto, ditto.

Hughtenberg.

Epaulets:

Hollar, 1669.

Capt. Thos. Binning, frontispiece portrait, 1675.

French Mis. Prints, Brit. Mus.

Manner of curing the King's Evil, 1679.

The Portsmouth Captains, 1688 ;

All the above have ribbon epaulets.

The last has also cord epaulets.

Original dress of James II, Tower ;

Portrait of Earl of Feversham, 1686 ;

The first of these has wings, and the other wings with pendent ribbons

Van der Meulen.

Mallet, &c., &c.

Breeches :

Most of the above quoted authorities

See also Note ⁶⁶.

CHAPTER XXIII.

REGIMENTAL ECONOMY.

1660-1700.

Institution of the Regimental system.—The Colonel.—The Lieutenant-Colonel.—The Major.—The Captain.—Subalterns.—The Lieutenant.—The Captain-lieutenant.—The Cornet.—The Guidon.—The Ensign.—Cadets.—The Adjutant.—The Quarter-Master.—Military titles as a prefix.—Non-commissioned officers.—The Serjeant.—The Corporal.—The Lance-Corporal.—Gentlemen of Arms.—Gentlemen of Companies.—Brigadeers.—The Private.—Composition and armament of Regiments : First, of Horse ; Second, of Dragoons ; Third, of Foot.—Precedence of Regiments.—Regimental and general precedence of command.—Brevet rank.—Temporary rank.—Double commissions.—Regimental promotion.—Origin of the purchase system.—Exchanges.—Ceremony of inducting the Colonel of a Regiment.—Regimental Colours.—Regimental Music.—The Drum-Major.—National Marches.

[*For Illustrations, see Note on p. xiii.*]

THE feudal method of levying troops naturally evolved a system of small bodies of retainers aggregated in independent troops and companies, which indeed acted in concert in the field, but whose internal economy was ordered entirely at the discretion of their several chiefs. The abolition of the feudal combination in favour of a national constitution, by inducing the establishment of national standing armies under one central control, led to the adoption of the REGIMENTAL SYSTEM. In a permanent State-paid army the independent companies could not long have continued independent, and the regimental system is co-eval in each nation with the rise of its standing army.

What a Company or Troop is to a Regiment, a Regiment is to a Brigade, a Brigade to a Division, and a Division to an Army.

A REGIMENT is the union under one chief of several companies or troops so trained as to act in one body, and under one uniform administration.

The word "COMPANY" is used for the units of a regiment of infantry, and the word "TROOP" for those of cavalry.

The idea of regimenting independent companies does not seem to have extended to this country until near the close of

the sixteenth century.⁹²⁴ The regimental system had, nevertheless, been in vogue in France since the middle of the century.⁹²⁵

Almost all our military improvements and the terms appertaining to them were at this time derived from the French. At the same time, it must be borne in mind, when searching for the etymology of military terms, that not a few of the French expressions are borrowed from the Spaniards, who were, until their defeat by the French at Rocroi, accounted the first masters in the art of war.⁹²⁶ It is, I imagine, owing to their forgetfulness of former Spanish prowess, or to their possible ignorance of the Spanish language, that Grose and other good writers have failed to elucidate satisfactorily the derivation of several technical words.

The English word Regiment is identical with the French word "régiment," and this was borrowed from the Spanish "regimiento."⁹²⁷ Now regimiento was not solely a military technicality; it had and has still a more ancient and primary signification: regimiento meant an administration of any sort, such as a local government,—a *regimen* in fact;—and so it came to be used to signify a subordinate military administrative organisation in the same way as it also signified a civil local administration.

There were regiments of cavalry as well as of infantry. Both these words,—cavalry, and infantry,—are also of foreign derivation.

In Spanish "caballeria" (pron. cavallería) means CAVALRY; from caballero, a horseman or cavalier, and caballo, a horse. The B in Spanish is pronounced almost like V.

⁹²⁴ Grose thinks as early as the reign of Henry VIII, but he scarcely adduces sufficient reasons for his opinion.

It was certainly prior to 1600, as appears from Fynes Morrison's Account of the Army in Ireland, 1600. The term regiment occurs in Shakspeare:

"Up higher to the plain, where we'll set forth,
"In best appointment, all our regiments."

Shakspeare; King John, Act 2, Scene 1.

Sir J. Turner says (1671-83) that the word was not then one hundred years old.

The regimental system was fully in vogue in the Army of the Commonwealth; Clarendon. Accounts of Soldiers, 1654, Dublin State Papers.

⁹²⁵ Daniel says since 1562.

⁹²⁶ The dearth, in English libraries, of Spanish military works of the 16th and 17th centuries, is greatly to be regretted.

⁹²⁷ The word "terzo" given by Sir J. Turner as the Spanish term for a regiment more probably applied to what we call a "Division," corresponding to the Latin "Legio." Grose says that "tertio" was also used in England to signify a corps or regiment so late as during the civil war of the Stuarts.

The etymology of the word INFANTRY is more doubtful. It has been said to be obtained from the fact of a Spanish Infanta having defeated the Moorish cavalry with a body of foot-soldiers. But this derivation appears to be rather the result of some twist of courtier-like flattery than a true one. The Italian word is "fanteria," and the old French word is "fantassins": and these come from "fanti," foot-boys or servants. Boccaccio uses the word fanteria for the "valets *de pied*" who followed the mounted Esquires, bearing their armour and otherwise aiding them. Some word for infantry must have existed prior to the use of foot-soldiers by the Spaniards against the Moors, and the balance of probability is quite in favour of the older and more universally reconcilable derivation.⁹²⁸

The chief of a regiment is denominated a COLONEL. The origin of this title has become obscured. As spelt now, it was certainly taken by us from the French "colonel," and for lack of a better derivation it has been suggested,⁹²⁹ though hesitatingly, that the French word is from "colonne," a column, "because the colonel marches at the head of the column,"—*lucus a non lucendo*, for a colonel does not march at the head of a column, but of a regiment. I have myself no doubt that colonel is but a French modification of the Spanish "coronel." In an English work published in 1627⁹³⁰ this officer is called a "crowner," which is still the vulgar for coroner. In other old English works the word is written "coronell" and "crownell."⁹³¹ All these are nearer to the Spanish than to the French both in sound and in signification. "Corona" is in Spanish identical with the Latin corona, and "coronilla" is the diminutive of corona. It demands no over-strained ingenuity to deduce from all this that "coronel,"—the head or top, the chief or crowning-point of a regiment,—is derived directly from "corona," the Spanish

⁹²⁸ See James's Military Dicty. 1810.

⁹²⁹ Grose.

⁹³⁰ Kelly, Pallas Armata, 1627.

⁹³¹ Grose states that he had seen it spelt "by some of our ancient writers coronel, 'and' crownell." It is spelt Corronell in Harl. MS. 4,685, a treatise of Mily. Discipline, temp. Eliz.—and Coronel by Barry, 1634.

In Report, 15 Octr., 1691, by Paymr. Genl. on Memorial of the Earl of Monmouth, 1689/90 (Treasury State Papers) the word occurs several times written thus "Corl.," and "Lieut. Corl."

Clarke MS. Vol. xi, Letter Capt. Toby Molloy addressed to the "Honble. Cornell Lloyd."

Act 31 Chas. II, C. 1, 1679. The spelling throughout is "Collonell."

Col. Hutchinson's Memoirs, 1663, have the same spelling.

Cornel is still the Irish and Scotch vulgar.

and Latin word for a crown. The early English adaptation of the title strongly supports this theory, for in crowner, "crownell," and "coronell," not only are the sound and spelling of the Spanish word preserved, but even its very meaning is anglicised.

The Colonel of a regiment was responsible for the whole discipline and economy of the Corps under his command. In him concentrated all the separate responsibilities of his several subordinates (III. CLXXIV). So far the position and duties of a colonel were the same as they are now,⁹³² but in some respects the powers and privileges of this office have been very materially curtailed, especially in the particulars of patronage and promotion.

There is no appointment in the Service of such immediate and vital importance as that of colonel, immediate in its action on the soldier, and therefore vital in its direct effect upon the mass of the army and upon whatever sources that army may be recruited from. The history of our army exhibits one continued oversight of the important bearing that the appointments of colonels (I of course mean the officers actively commanding regiments) have upon most military questions; and from the days of Schonberg's Irish dispatches down to this year of 1871, in which I write, almost every regimental abuse and difficulty may be traced to this oversight.

It is in the nature of things necessary to confer upon colonels a power virtually almost irresponsible,⁹³³ and yet it has ever been the case that they have been selected more by interest, purchase, or seniority, than by fitness or merit. It has been forgotten that it is in human nature to abuse arbitrary power. How excellent a government is a despotism in the hands of a good and large-minded man, yet how few despots make good monarchs. To bad Colonels were due the crying abuses of the pay system, as well as those of the clothing system,⁹³⁴—the systematic robbery of the soldier, the mean

⁹³² Ward.—Turner.—Daniel.—Military Arrangement 1784, Williamson.

⁹³³ I say *virtually* irresponsible, for it is one thing to tell soldiers that they can complain (once or twice a year at inspections) of their Colonels, and quite another thing for them to do it. Only the other day I was quartered in a garrison where a soldier laid a serious disciplinary complaint against the Officer under whose command he at that moment was. Instead of an inquiry being held on the *Officer*, the *soldier* was confined and tried for making a frivolous complaint,—and was acquitted for the reason that the complaint was justified. The Colonel of this battalion was not a favourite among the men.

⁹³⁴ Lord Macaulay, in his History of England, has (through an ignorance of the details of the subject) erroneously attributed the bad clothing of the troops in Ireland

frauds by which an income was literally swindled out of Government or sweated off the backs of the men. It was by unfit Colonels that the power of the lash was so abused that the history of the "Cat" in the British Army is as full of wanton brutality,⁹³⁵ of sickening indiscriminate barbarity, as all the tales of American slavery or Spanish cruelty. It is owing to the incapacity or tyranny of some Commanding Officers that, even with all modern restrictions and curbs on a colonel's power, the recruits of certain regiments become disgusted, reckless, and worthless ere they have served a twelvemonth. It is owing to this mere chance in selection that there is so marked a difference in regiments, in their crime, in their willingness and cheerfulness under hardship, in all those essentials that constitute the distinction between the patriot soldier and the mere mercenary.

So long as the appointment of Field-officers was made a matter of course to the next by purchase or seniority, so long the Service continued to be unpopular, and so long the soldier continued to be regarded in the light of a slave rather than of a hero. It has been at length discovered that the Officer commanding a regiment should be something more noble than a bantam-cock perpetually crowing in order to let people know that he rules a dung-hill of his own—something more paternal than a head-executioner—something more remunerative than a scarecrow to frighten away fresh recruits.

A colonelcy used not to be the sinecure that it now is, but a colonel was the active officer in command of a regiment,⁹³⁶ always present with it whether at home or in the field, and corresponding to the lieutenant-colonel of this day. Colonels

in 1689 to the fault of the Commissariat instead of to the avarice of the colonels. See Chap. XXII on Clothing, and Chap. XXIX on Pay.

⁹³⁵ Let those who think I exaggerate suspend their judgment until this topic comes to be treated of in its due course of history. Meanwhile Dr. Marshall's "Sketch of Military punishments" will serve in some degree to shew that I am justified in the use of strong terms. It is not to the necessary though much-to-be-regretted use of such punishments that I refer, but to the wanton abuse of them.

The above was written in 1871, since which time there has been a marked tendency towards more careful selection of Lieut.-Colonels commanding regiments (1889).

⁹³⁶ I have met with one instance of the same Colonel to more than one regiment, although it does not seem to have been more than a temporary arrangement: Letter, A. Cardonnel to Clarke.

Whitehall, 8 Jan., 1690/1, "Col. Erle has the command of Luttrell's late regt., "as well as of his own, he has no Commission but only an order to command it. Clarke MSS.

There are several instances of officers (generally General Officers) holding command of more than one Troop or Company, and of troops and companies together. State of H.M.'s Revenues of Ireland, 1665.

used to have troops or companies in all regiments except the Blues, and used to draw pay as Captains⁹³⁷ of these in addition to their pay as Colonels.

There used to be in the French service an officer entitled Colonel-Général.⁹³⁸ A perquisite of this officer was the pay as Captain of the senior company in each foot-regiment. This company was denominated "la colonelle," and the acting Captain of it was styled lieutenant-colonel because he was the "locum tenens" of the colonel-general.

When the grade of colonel-general was suppressed, the LIEUTENANT-COLONEL, being always the senior captain of the regiment, became the deputy or lieutenant of the colonel (as he is now), retaining a Company and taking rank above the Captains. At the period of the Restoration⁹³⁹ the duties and position of a lieutenant-colonel were the same as they are at the present time, excepting that the colonels themselves were generally doing duty with their regiments. In all regiments lieutenant-colonels used to have a troop or company,⁹³⁷ for which they drew a captain's pay.

The title of MAJOR is an abbreviation of Serjeant-Major,⁹⁴⁰ which used to designate the officer now styled Major. The prefix was generally dropped between 1640 and 1660,⁹⁴⁰ and it is easy to understand how this came about when it is recollected that soldiers now in speaking to or of their Serjeant-

⁹³⁷ List of the Officers in H.M.'s Army, Novr., 1687; Harl. MS. 4,847.

Establishment List, 1687 to 1689, Harl. MS. 7,018.

Warrant, Ireland, 2 May, 1698.—Account, Dublin, 30 Apr., 1698, Dub. State papers.

⁹³⁸ Daniel.

⁹³⁹ Ward.

Elton.

⁹⁴⁰ Ward, 1639, designates him "Serjeant-Major, the third Officer of a regiment."

Laws and Ordinances of War, 1640, to "all officers of the army, Colonels, "Lieut.-colonels, Serjeant-Majors, Captains," &c.

State of H.M.'s Revenues of Ireland, 1665; "Serjt.-Major-General," but otherwise "Major" is used.

Clarendon, 1641-3, uses Serjeant-Major and Major indifferently. He also mentions the "Serjeant-Major-General of the whole army," and Major-Generals, the two evidently meaning the same grade. The change was therefore obtaining at this date. Elton, 1659, also uses both Serjeant-Major and Major.

In the Muster of the Horse-Guards (Blues) in 1661 the term Major is used, as in all official lists of the army from that date up to 1700. Commission of a Major, 1664; App. CV.

Order for raising a Regt. of Marines, "Serjeant-Major," 1664; See Note 1383.

But in Harl. MS. 1,172, is the docquet of a grant of arms and crest to "Serjeant-Major John Miller, of H.M.'s Coldstreamer regt. of Foot-Guards," dated 27 May, 1672; and he is styled Serjeant-Major throughout the document. He was the Major.

major (except before their officers) almost invariably call him "Major."

The duties of the Major⁹⁴¹ were a combination of those now performed by both Major and Serjeant-major: he was the medium of communication betwixt the Colonel and the regiment; he received and distributed into their proper channel all orders, detailed parties and guards, and visited or inspected the latter; he was to drill and exercise the regiment, to correct errors or disorder on parade or on the march, and to see that the men had their quarters in due order, or were properly tented. After the establishment of Adjutants the Majors were enabled to devolve upon them the larger share of the work since assigned to the more modern Serjeant-Major.

Majors had always a Company⁹⁴² in Foot regiments; and from the first the Major of the Blues had a troop,⁹⁴³ but it was not so in other Horse or in Dragoon regiments, the pay of the Majors in these being consolidated in lieu.

In 1698⁹⁴³ Majors of Horse and Dragoons had begun to have troops. The three grades already mentioned are those of the regimental "Field-Officers," or as they used to be called Officers of the Field, that is to say who do not take a place in the ranks but range over the whole space of operations. These, with the Adjutant, the Quarter-master, and the Surgeon, constituted the regimental Staff, all the other officers being "company officers." These last were divided into three grades, Captain, Lieutenant, and Ensign or Cornet.

The word CAPTAIN derives itself through the Spanish "capitan" from the Latin *caput*, *capitis*, a head. This is the oldest military title extant, and used to imply far higher command than it does now, or than it did in the seventeenth century. A captain is the leader or commander of a troop or

⁹⁴¹ Ward.

Mily. Dicty., 1702.

Elton.

⁹⁴² Ward.

Establishment of the newly raised forces, 26 Jan., 1660/1.

Establishment of the Forces, 1 Jan., 1679/80, Harl. MS. 6,425.

Brooks, 1684.

List of Officers in H.M.'s Army, Novr., 1687, Harl. MS. 4,847.

Establishment of the Forces, 1687 to 1689, Harl. MS. 7,018.

⁹⁴³ Warrant, Dublin, 2 May, 1698.—Account, Dublin, 30 April, 1698.

Warrant, Dublin, 27 June, 1698, "to the Majors of Horse that have troops" 3s. pr. diem subsistence "over and above their subsistence of Captain," as per instructions in Royal Letter of 10 May, 1698: Dub. State papers.

company, and is responsible for his charge to the colonel,⁹⁴⁴ just as the colonel is to his superiors for the regiment.

The company officers below the grade of captain were styled SUBALTERNs from the Latin sub, under, and the German or Saxon word, *ältern*, elders; whence subaltern signifies a junior. The senior grade of subalterns was denominated LIEUTENANT, as becoming on occasion the *locum tenens*, or "lieu-tenant"⁹⁴⁵ of the captain.

In regiments where the colonel held a troop or company, the senior lieutenant acted for him as captain of it, and was styled the CAPTAIN-LIEUTENANT.⁹⁴⁶ The two next senior lieutenants acted in like manner for the lieutenant-colonel and the major when they held companies.⁹⁴⁷ The captain-lieutenant took precedence as youngest captain,⁹⁴⁸ insomuch that in the Foot-Guards he held rank as a lieutenant-colonel as the other captains did.

The junior grade of subaltern was styled Cornet in the cavalry, and Ensign in the infantry.

The Spanish for a broad pendant is "corneta," as the French is "cornette," and in both languages the words stand for a CORNET of horse. Formerly each troop had its own colour or standard, and it is a curious illustration of adhesion to first patterns that one of the standards of a cavalry regiment is to this day a curtailed form of broad pendant, in fact *cornet* or *horn-shaped*.⁹⁴⁹ The Officer whose duty it was to carry the "corneta" derived his title from his duty, and as there was a standard to each troop so there was a standard-bearer or cornet.⁹⁵⁰

⁹⁴⁴ A specimen of a Captain's Commission, 1668, from Harl. MSS. 7,018, is given in App. XCIII.

⁹⁴⁵ The word is still often pronounced *lifenant* or *lieftenant*. It is so spelt ("lieftenant") in Col. Hutchinson's *Memoirs*, 1663.

A Lieutenant's Commission is given in App. XV, 26 June, 1660.

⁹⁴⁶ Royal Warrant, 31 Jany., 1677, App. XVI.

Letter, Lord Drogheda to Clarke, Loughbrickland, 21 June, 1690; Clarke MS.

Letter, Brigr. Stewart to Clarke, Dublin, 16 July, 1691; Clarke MS.

Nathan Brooks.

Military Dicty., 1702.

Daniel.

⁹⁴⁷ Nathan Brooks.

⁹⁴⁸ Royal Warrt., 14 Jany., 1687/8, App. XVII.

Mily. Dict., 1702.

⁹⁴⁹ See also under the head of Regimental Colours in this chapter.

⁹⁵⁰ In the seventeenth century the spelling "Coronet" was not unfrequent; Mercurius Publicus, 17/24 Octr., 1661.

Kingdom's Intelligencer, 21/28 Octr., 1661.

Letter, Sir W. Temple to Sir J. Trevor, Hague, 12 Aug., 1670.

In the Life-Guards alone there was a sub-grade of Cornet, entitled a GUIDON.⁹⁵¹

In the infantry the ENSIGN corresponded to the Cornet of cavalry; but the colour was not pennon-shaped whence the difference in the appellation of the two corresponding grades. The derivation of the word Cornet may be traced to the fifteenth century;⁹⁵² but as infantry is an older arm than cavalry, we must go much farther back for the origin of the word Ensign. I imagine that it is derived through the French "enseigne"⁹⁵³ from the Latin for a military standard, namely "insignia."

Of the correctness of this derivation we find additional corroboration in two ancient spellings of the title. In French enseigne signifies also a sign or sign-board, and in a work⁹⁵⁴ published in 1627 the English word is spelt "Hand-signe." Again, in other works as for instance in Shakspeare we find the word "Ancient"⁹⁵⁵ used to signify the ensign of a company, —the officer, as well as the colour;—while the same word Ancient was employed as late as Queen Anne's reign to signify a ship's flag or colour.⁹⁵⁶

The titles of Cornet and Ensign did not lapse to one or two officers, as standard-bearers, upon the substitution of regimental standards and colours for troop or company ones, but still remained common to the whole grade of junior subalterns.

The duties of subalterns⁹⁵⁷ were simply to assist the captains of their troops or companies, and they had no responsibility of their own.

Appointments to Commissions were often made from the

Evelyn's Diary, 1651.

Letter, Capt. Toby Molloy to Colonel Lloyd, Boyle, 4 Sept., 1691; Clarke MSS.

⁹⁵¹ Royal Warrt., 1 Decr., 1675. App. XVIII.—Nathan Brooks.—Mily. Dicty., 1702.

Establishment Lists, 1687/89; Harl. MS. 7,018, &c.

⁹⁵² Daniel.

⁹⁵³ In The laws and Ordinances of War, 1640, the word is spelt "Enseign."

⁹⁵⁴ Kelly; Pallas Armata, 1627.

⁹⁵⁵ Instructions for musters and arms, &c., 1623.

Shakspeare; Othello, frequently.

Shakspeare; Henry IV, Act 4, Scene 3;

"And now my whole charge consists of *ancients*, corporals, lieutenants, gentlemen of companies, . . . slaves ten times more dishonourably ragged than an *old-faced ancient*."

⁹⁵⁶ De Foe; Robinson Crusoe.

St. Helena official records, 1 June, 1706.

⁹⁵⁷ For a specimen of Ensign's Commission, 1664, see Appendix XIX.

grade of CADETS.⁹⁵⁸ "Cadet" is a French word signifying the younger or junior, and a cadet (sometimes termed a "volunteer") was one who, being otherwise qualified for a Commission, was content to serve in the ranks until an occasion offered for his advancement to the commissioned grades. In William's reign every regiment seems to have had its own cadets: the First Foot-Guards had a complete company of Cadets attached to it during the war in Flanders,⁹⁵⁹ consisting of three Serjeants, one "Captain of Arms," three Corporals, two Drums, and eighty-six "Cadees." The idea of thus educating young officers in the most practical details of a soldier's duties was probably taken from the French; for, some years before our Revolution, Louis XIV had established⁹⁶⁰ a rule that no one should be granted an Officer's Commission without first serving in one of the Companies of Cadets that were formed in the different large garrisons.

An Officer who at his first introduction and for a great many years afterwards corresponded, as regards duties, with the modern Serjeant Major, was the ADJUTANT.

Frequently, but by no means always selected from among the subalterns, the Adjutant⁹⁶¹ was not, as he is now, in the direct line of regimental promotion,⁹⁶² but was regarded strictly as a Regimental Staff Officer.

The title will be at once recognised as meaning simply an assistant; and in an official document of 1690 the Assistant

⁹⁵⁸ Letter, Dublin, 14 Octr., 1690, Lord Meath to Clarke, recommending "the eldest cadet" in his regt. as Ensign *vice* another promoted.

Letter, Cork, 11 May, 1691, Col. Hastings to Clarke; "I desire you to speak to the General for a Commission for J. Scott to be Ensign to my Company; he has served more than twelve months as a Cadee."

Letter, Dublin, 16 July, 1691, Brigr. Stewart to Clarke, recommending several promotions, and "Mr. Wallace who has served volunteer ever since Dundalk, and is now shot through the body, to be my own Ensign, and Mr. Cunningham, who is a volunteer of the same standing, and whose father was a Captain in my regt., to be Ensign in the room of Jones."—Clarke MSS.

⁹⁵⁹ Letter, Horse-Guards, 9 Octr., 1697, App. XX.

⁹⁶⁰ De la Colonie.

⁹⁶¹ Adjutant's Commission, 23 June, 1665; App. CVI.

Commission to G. March to be Adjutant of the First Troop of Life Guards, Whitehall, Jany., 1661; Domestic State Papers.

Report, 5 Jany., 1692, on Petition of Hercules Russell, late Adjutant and Cornet, Wolseley's Horse.

Letter, Dublin, 19 Sept., 1690, Col. Foulkes to Clarke, recommending a Lieutenant to be Adjutant; Clarke MSS.

Nathan Brooks.

Establishment Lists.

⁹⁶² This continued to be the case until 1802; Circular Letters, Secy. at War, 10 and 25 June, 1802.

Quarter-Master-General⁹⁶³ is styled the Quarter-Master-General's Adjutant. The duties of the Adjutant were to assist the Major, and accordingly the French title aide-major, which at once expresses the nature of the appointment,⁹⁶⁴ was sometimes used in England.

After the peace of 1697, an economy was effected⁹⁶⁵ by the combination of the two offices of Adjutant and Quarter-Master in one Officer.

These then were all the Commissioned Officers of a regiment; the Colonel, the Lieutenant-Colonel, the Major, Captain, Lieutenant, Ensign or Cornet, Guidon, and the Adjutant.

But between the Commissioned and the Non-commissioned grades there was the QUARTER-MASTER, for at this period the Quarter-Master was only a warrant-officer⁹⁶⁶ (unless he happened to hold a separate combatant commission), with the sole exceptions of the Life and Horse-Guards, in which regiments he held a Commission,⁹⁶⁷ and ranked as junior captain, taking both command and precedence accordingly. The office must have been a highly respectable one, however, and a fairly remunerative one, to judge by the style of men seeking it,⁹⁶⁸ often Officers on full or half-pay.

⁹⁶³ Instructions, Dublin, 19 June, 1690; Clarke MSS.

Our word is derived from the Latin through the Spanish "Ayudante," and the French Adjutant: *ayudar* in Spanish means to assist.

⁹⁶⁴ Military Dictionary, 1702.

Guy; Schedule of Secret Service money, 1686; to the late "Aide-Major" at Tangier, being evidently the Fort-Adjutant. Registry Books of the Royal Hospital, Kilmainham, 26 Mar., 1684.

Eng. Military Discipline, 1686.

⁹⁶⁵ Order, Dublin, 28 July, 1698, for reductions of regiments to the same establishment as allowed in England.

⁹⁶⁶ Military Dictionary, 1702.

Albemarle, 1670 (posthumous) says that Quarter-Masters of Horse used to correspond to Serjeants of Foot.

By Elton, 1659, the Quarter-Master is placed next after the Serjeants.

Court-Martial, Tangier, 22 July, 1665, a Quarter-Master tried by an ordinary Court the same as a N.C.O. and with Ensigns sitting as members.

⁹⁶⁷ Chamberlayne, 1679.

Commission to F. Watson to be Quarter-Master of Albemarle's troop of Guards; Dom. State Papers.

Sir J. Turner says that Quarter-Masters of Horse had command, but Quarter-Masters of Foot had not.

Venn, 1672, says that all Quarter-Masters then held substantial command, and sometimes led the Lieutenant's squadron.

⁹⁶⁸ Chamberlayne, 1679; "Quarter-Master and Capt. Richd. Binnes Esqre., "late a Major in the Queen's regt. of Horse."

Report, 7 Aug., 1689, Paymr. Genl. on petition of M. Dobinson "Qr. Mr. and "Ensign" of late Prince George of Denmark's regt. Try. state papers.

Letter Lord Jedburgh to Mr. Carstairs, 15 Apr., 1699; Macpherson.

Regiments of Horse or Dragoons had a Quarter-Master to every troop,⁹⁶⁹ but regiments of Foot had only one to the whole corps. The duties of the Quarter-Master⁹⁷⁰ were the distribution of quarters and billets, castrametation, the receipt and distribution of regimental supplies and stores of all sorts, including arms and clothing, and at one time the receipt of pay from the Colonel's Clerk and the detail payments and account. In the reign of Charles the Second the office of Provost-Marshal⁹⁷¹ was also often held by the Quarter-Master *ex officio*.⁹⁷²

The prefix of an officer's title to his name has been a custom varying with the fashion of the day. In France it was thus used first about 1560;⁹⁷³ but under Henri IV the mode changed again, and to greet a man as Captain instead of Monsieur was considered ill-bred or insulting. During the reign of Louis XIV the fashion was still to address officers simply as Monsieur, as well as to style them so in writing. This was also the case in England⁹⁷⁴ for many years, but during the reigns of James and William it was usual to prefix the title.⁹⁷⁵

⁹⁶⁹ Establishment Lists, 1679/80, 1686, and 1687/89; Harl. MSS. 6,425; 4,161; and 7,018.—List of officers, &c., Novr., 1687, Harl. MS. 4,847.—Nathan Brooks, &c.

⁹⁷⁰ Elton, 1659.

Clarendon, 1643.

Heads of the late Lord General's function, 1678; App. XXI.

Harl. MS. 4,685.

Sir J. Turner.

St. Helena Records, 1680-1700.

Quarter-Master's periodical contingent accts., Coldstream Guards; W.O. records.

Letter Croulton? (late G. Hamilton's regt.) to Commry. Genl. Van Homrigh, Belturbet, 29 Janry., 1690/91. Clarke MSS.

Venn.

⁹⁷¹ Several instances in W.O. records, e.g.;

Commission, 11 Novr., 1664, John Symonds as "Quarter Master and Marshall" to the Admiral's Regt., W.O. records.

Commission, 23 June, 1665, Patrick Vaux as "Quarter Master and Marshall" to the Holland Regt. (3rd Ft.), W.O. records and Dom. State Papers.

Establishment List, 1679/80, Harl. MS. 6,425.

⁹⁷² In the time of Queen Elizabeth the Quarter-Master-General was styled the "Harbinger" and Quarter-Masters "Harbinger's Clerks," Harl. MS. 4,685.

In the service of the Hon. E. India Company the Quarter-Master was styled the "Husband" in Charles II's time and later. A Captain Johnson was "husband or storekeeper" in St. Helena; St. Helena official records, 1660/1700.

⁹⁷³ Daniel.

⁹⁷⁴ Clarendon; "Mr. Wilmot, the Lieut.-Genl. of the Horse," &c.; but Clarendon also uses the prefix in other places.

Chamberlayne, 1679.

⁹⁷⁵ Story.—D'Auvergne.

However, Lediard in his life of Marlborough, published in 1736, speaks of him always as *Mr.* Churchill after recording his promotion to both captaincy and lieutenant-colonelcy; but after his next step he commences to designate him *Colonel* Churchill.

The NON-COMMISSIONED OFFICERS, or officers holding no commission,⁹⁷⁶ yet having authority and command over the men, were of three grades, Serjeants, Corporals, and Lance-corporals.

SERGEANT or Sergeant is by Père Daniel derived from "servientes" by which word the office is expressed in old military works written in Latin. This derivation does not afford entire satisfaction for two reasons: it is difficult to see the connexion between servants (servientes) and men placed *in authority over* others: again, "serviente" is still a Spanish word for servant, while "sargento" stands for serjeant; if the Spaniards have in one instance preserved the word intact, why should they in the other have arrived at such a marked corruption, if the two words were originally the same?

The duties of serjeants were the same as they are now. This necessary and most valuable class of soldiers, raised from the ranks, were ever the channels of communication between the commissioned grades and the men,—the arteries, as it were, by which discipline was distributed over the whole body of the regiment.

The CORPORALS and Lance-corporals assisted the serjeants, and might indeed be regarded as simply candidates⁹⁷⁷ for promotion or serjeants on probation.

The word Corporal is from the Italian "caporale," which comes from "capo" a head or leader, a corporal being the leader of his squad or section. In fact corporal is in its derivation identical with captain. Corporal is an entirely English corruption of caporal.⁹⁷⁸

The term LANCE-CORPORAL also comes to us from the Italian. A "lanspecade" or "lancia spezzata"⁹⁷⁹ was originally a trooper, who, having become non-effective by some loss of arms or horse⁹⁸⁰ (which used to be the property of the trooper

It is curious that latterly in the best society there has been again a marked tendency to drop military titles as a prefix and to return to the more simple "Mister," (1875).

⁹⁷⁶ The term "Non-commissioned-officer" is to be found in Royal Warrant, 28 May, 1686, App. XXII.

⁹⁷⁷ English Mily. Discipline, 1686; "If each Company have 2 Serjts. and 3 "Corporals (who are designed to do serjeants' duty)."

Mily. Dicty., 1702.;

Elton.

⁹⁷⁸ Sir J. Turner writes the word "caporal."

⁹⁷⁹ Instructions for Musters and Arms, 1623; "The officers both of Horse and "Foot Bands, as well in the chief as inferiors, as Serjeants (*sic*), Corporals (*sic*), and "Lamprizados" (*sic*).

⁹⁸⁰ Sir J. Turner; In the wars between Francis I of France and the Emperor

himself), and by inability to replace his loss was "broke" from the cavalry and took service in the infantry until such time as he should be in a condition to be reinstated. The Italian word implies a broken-lance; and this might apply to the damaged weapon or to the "breaking" of the man himself; for the term lance used to be synonymous with trooper.

Meantime, pending his restoration, the *lancia-spezziata* received somewhat higher pay than his new comrades of the infantry, and thus assumed a sort of superiority over them, ultimately becoming an assistant to the corporals; hence the grade and title of lance-corporal.

Although the lance-corporal in our Service received no more pay than a private,⁹⁸¹ he was considered more as a corporal than as a private,⁹⁸² and was held to be as a rule exempt from all the more irksome duties of the ranks.

Between the lance-corporal and the Private came the "Gentlemen of Companies" and the "Gentlemen of Arms."

The GENTLEMAN OF ARMS was simply a sort of store-keeper for the regimental arms and ammunition;⁹⁸³ he was responsible for the preservation, repair, and marking of all arms.

The GENTLEMAN OF A COMPANY was a soldier on probation for promotion,⁹⁸⁴ and as such he acted as file-leader, was

Charles V "when a *gentleman* of a troop of horse had broke his lance on the enemy "and lost his horse in the scuffle, he was entertained (under the name of a broken "lance) by a captain of a foot company as his comrade till he was again mounted. "But as all good orders fall soon from their primitive institution, so in a short time "our Monsieur Lancespesata (for so he was called) was forced to descend from being "the captain's comrade and become the corporal's companion, and assisted him in "the exercise of his charge, and therefore was sometimes called by the French aide- "caporal."

Daniel.

See Note ⁹⁸⁴ below.

Hence there appear to have been no lance-corporals in Horse regiments.

⁹⁸¹ Establishment lists, 1660-1700.

Milry. Dicty., 1702.

Courts-Martial, Tangier, 1665 and 1667; styled "Lances," punishments same as Privates, and term Reduction not used.

⁹⁸² Milry. Dicty., 1702.

Elton.

⁹⁸³ Elton.

Courts-Martial, Tangier, 1663, 1664, 1665, and 1669; Sloane MSS.

⁹⁸⁴ A Colonel his charge and employment, &c.; Harl. MS. 5,109, "A number "of wise and worthy soldiers should be retained by the Colonel to be gentlemen of "his company, lance spezzates, or to serve for extraordinary lieutenants"; (temp. Elizabeth).

Shakespeare, Henry IV, Act 4, Scene 3, uses the term "gentlemen of companies," the context tending to the conclusion that they were much the same as lance-corporals. See Note ⁹⁸⁵.

Elton, 1659: "A gentleman of a Company ought to have such worth in him as

placed on centry over posts of trust or responsibility, and occasionally drilled a squad consisting of his own file: in fact he was a lance-corporal on probation.

In Horse-regiments there were no serjeants⁹⁸⁵ but only corporals; and although this is no longer the case in the cavalry of the Line, yet in the Household Cavalry there are to this day only "Corporals of Horse" and no serjeants.

Dragoon-regiments had serjeants⁹⁸⁵ and corporals the same as the infantry, although their junior subalterns were styled cornets instead of ensigns.

In the Life-Guards Corporals used to be styled BRIGADEERS⁹⁸⁶ (except in the Granadeer troops which had serjeants and corporals like the dragoons), and Lance-corporals Sub-brigadeers. These brigadeers held commissions⁹⁸⁷ as eldest

"may make him capable to be a file-leader, or Captain of his file, and he more especially above the rest ought to be well skilled in all the postures of such arms as he wears, and at convenient times instructing and teaching his file in the neat and graceful handling of their arms. He ought to be of an undaunted courage and gallant resolution, for the better example and imitation of the rest, whose worth and valour many times indears them so much into the favour of their Commanders that they raise them up to greater places of preferment. In the Low Countries a gentleman of a Company hath his full pay, having nothing kept back for after reckonings, as common private soldiers have. At his first entrance he sometimes stands Sentinel to inform himself of the duties thereof, but most commonly he is placed to be a Sentinel-perdue in time of imminent danger, either in the field or upon approaches. He is to lie perdué with his sword and pistol not removing from his place till he be relieved, nor is he to retreat for one man, but in case of more, then he is to fall back to the second, and discovering an enemy he is to come off betimes, and silently to give the alarm, whereby the Corps du Guard or company may be provided for their own defence. A Gentleman of a Company doth many times go the round with the Captain of the watch, or his fellow Gentlemen who are likewise rounders either in the field or in garrison, and do give the Corporals of the Guards the word charging the Sentinels to look well about them. To conclude, he ought truly to love, respect, and obey his Captain and to stick close unto him, vindicating him upon all just occasions, when he shall be wronged and injured by any mutinies of the common soldiers, or others."

Royal Warrt., 2 April, 1672; for raising a regiment of dragoons, "3 Corporals, 2 Serjeants, the gentlemen at arms, and the soldiers"; here the gentleman at arms is evidently a lance-corporal; App. III.

⁹⁸⁵ Establishment Lists, 26 Janry., 1660/1; State Paper Office.

Ditto; 1680, 1687/9; Harl. MSS. 6,425, and 7,018.

Military Dictry., 1702.

⁹⁸⁶ Chamberlayne, 1669/79.

Establishment lists, 1687/9.

In the est. list for 1680, Harl. MSS. 6,425, they are set down as corporals, but at 7s. a day.

Letter, Robinson to Clarke, Dublin, 2 June, 1691; Clarke MSS.

Military Dictionary, 1702.

Autobiog. James II, 1658.

⁹⁸⁷ Chamberlayne.

Commissions, E. G. to L. Billingsby, Esqre., to be "Brigadeer and Lieutenant"

lieutenants of Horse or as youngest captains taking rank next to the Guidons,⁹⁸⁹ and receiving pay accordingly. The sub-brigadeers "commanded as officers but had no commissions,"⁹⁸⁸ and their pay was a quarter as much again as that of a private gentleman trooper.⁹⁸⁹ These titles were borrowed from the French service, in which they were used in the cadet college and in certain corps, to signify corporal and lance-corporal of Horse.⁹⁹⁰

All soldiers, not being musicians, below the grade of lance-corporal were denominated PRIVATES or more correctly private centinels⁹⁹¹ or private soldiers.

This word Private seems to be derived from the Latin "privatus" a man "deprived," that is, deprived of rank in contradistinction to those possessed of it. The word "deprived" is still and always has been the military technical term for the adjudication of loss of pay, rank, or honours to a soldier; and it is highly probable, therefore, that originally the term Private applied only to men reduced to the ranks from a higher grade, whether by the misfortune of loss of arms or horses, &c. or by way of punishment. In sentences of reduction by Court-Martial, the technical phrase is reduction "to the rank and pay of a private centinel." The word Centinel is, like so many of our military words, of Spanish origin. "Centeno" means a mass of a hundred, the number of which a Company used invariably to consist, and "centinela" or centinel therefore originally signified a unit in a company of a hundred. The corruption of the c to an s in the erroneous spelling⁹⁹² sentinel arises from the soft pronunciation of the c in the Spanish.

of the King's Troop, 15 Decr., 1679. Others similar for Duke of York's Troop: Home Office records.

Royal Warrt., 27 May, 1678, W.O. records; Promotion of Corporal Stanhope to Captain, and Corporal Oglethorpe to Major (without passing through intermediate grades).

Military Dictionary, 1702.

In Royal Warrt., 1 Decr., 1675, they are not assigned any rank, App. XVIII.

⁹⁸⁸ Chamberlayne.

⁹⁸⁹ Est. List, 1680.

Chamberlayne.

Letter, Robinson to Clarke, Dublin, 2 June, 1691, Clarke MSS.

⁹⁹⁰ De la Colonie.

Milry. Dicty., 1702.

⁹⁹¹ In Clarendon's Rebellion frequently "Common soldiers."

⁹⁹² The word used to be commonly spelt centinel; e.g., Hutchinson's memoirs, 1663/4.

London Gazette, 14 Novr., 1687, &c., &c.

In the Horse-regiments a private used to be termed a Trooper,⁹⁹³ and in the Life-Guards a "Private Gentleman."⁹⁹⁴

In the seventeenth century there were three established regimental arms of the Service, namely Horse, Dragoons and Foot. We have enumerated the several grades of regimental rank; and it now remains to recount how these several grades were incorporated into regiments, and with what arms they were equipped.

To begin with the HORSE. At the first establishment after the Restoration⁹⁹⁵ the strength per troop of Horse was 1 Captain, 1 Lieutenant, 1 Cornet, 1 Quarter-master, 3 Corporals, 2 Trumpets, and 60 Troopers; and this establishment continued until 1680. In 1680 the number of troopers was fixed at 50.⁹⁹⁶

In 1687⁹⁹⁷ the Blues had 50, while all the other recently raised regiments of Horse had but 40 troopers in each troop: but in 1688 all had been alike raised to 50,⁹⁹⁸ and this limit was adhered to throughout the war in Flanders.

After the peace of Ryswick the number per troop was reduced⁹⁹⁹ first to 40 and then to 36 troopers, and but 2 corporals and 1 trumpeter were allowed.¹⁰⁰⁰

To these limits there were one or two exceptions. Thus the establishment of the Life-Guards¹⁰⁰¹ per troop was usually

⁹⁹³ Est. lists, Clarke MSS., &c., &c., &c.

Accounts of soldiers, 1654, Dublin State Papers.

⁹⁹⁴ See Chap. I, Notes ^{15 16}.

⁹⁹⁵ Royal Warrt., 26 Jan., 1660, for Est. of the New raised forces.

Ests. 1660/63, Brit. Mus., Add. MSS. 28,082.

Cosmo's travels, 1669.

Royal Warrt., 31 Jan., 1677, App. XVI.

Royal Warrt., 13 Feb., 1677/8, App. XXIII.

⁹⁹⁶ Est. list, 1680, Harl. MSS. 6,425.

⁹⁹⁷ Est. list, 1687/89.

⁹⁹⁸ Est. list, 1 Novr., 1688.

Est. Warrt., 1 Septr., 1688, Harl. MS. 7,436.

Est. Warrt., 1 May, 1689, Harl. MS. 7,437.

Est. list, 1 June, 1690, Harl. MS. 7,441.

Royal Warrt., 1 Jan. (?), 1689/90, App. LXXIV.

Particulars of Clothing of a regt. of Horse, 1696, App. LI. Regulation of subsistence, &c., 1 July, 1697.

⁹⁹⁹ Order, Dublin, 28 July, 1698, to reduce the regts. to the same strength as "allowed in England"; 3 Offrs., 1 Qr. Mr., 1 Chaplain (Regimental); and (Troop) 3 Offrs., 2 Corpls., 1 Trumpet, 40 Troopers.

¹⁰⁰⁰ Royal Letter, 20 Mar., 1698/9, App. XXVII.

¹⁰⁰¹ Authorities as in Notes above.

Also Chamberlayne.

Letter, Horse Guards, 9 Octr., 1697, App. XX.

Ests., 1660/63; Brit. Mus., Add. MSS. 28,082 (150 only).

200 "Gentlemen" besides officers; and the King's troop of the Blues was stronger than the others.¹⁰⁰²

The number of troops¹⁰⁰³ per regiment of Horse varied from nine to six, but the limit of six was seldom exceeded except in the Blues and the First Dragoon Guards.¹⁰⁰⁴

Three troops composed a Squadron.¹⁰⁰⁵

The troops of Horse-Granadeers attached to the Life-Guards consisted at first¹⁰⁰⁶ of 1 Captain, 2 Lieutenants, 3 Serjeants, 3 Corporals, 2 Drums, 2 Hautbois, and 80 Troopers. One troop was attached to each of the three troops of the Life-Guards.¹⁰⁰⁷ In 1687 their number was reduced¹⁰⁰⁸ to 50 Granadeers, and 2 Serjeants and Corporals in place of 3; but in 1688,¹⁰⁰⁸ 10 Granadeers were added to each troop, bringing the number up to 60, at which it had been fixed previously¹⁰⁰⁹ in 1684, and at which it remained afterwards.¹⁰¹⁰

The Fourth Dragoons also had a troop of Horse-Granadeers attached to it in 1690.¹⁰¹¹

The armament of Horse-soldiers underwent far fewer changes than did that of the infantry.

For arms¹⁰¹² a trooper had at the first a sword, a pair of pistols fourteen inches long in the barrel, a cuirass, or more properly speaking a back and breast, and a pott. In the Life-Guards and the Blues a carbine was added.¹⁰¹³ The pott

¹⁰⁰² Authorities as in Note 76.

Ests., 1660/63.

¹⁰⁰³ Authorities as in preceding notes.

D'Auvergne.

¹⁰⁰⁴ The Inniskilling Horse, however, had twelve troops at its first establishment in 1689/90; Est. Warrt., 1 Jany. (?), 1689/90; Harl. MS. 7,439.

¹⁰⁰⁵ De Puysegur.

D'Auvergne.

Eng. Military Discipline, 1686.

¹⁰⁰⁶ Chamberlayne, 1679.

¹⁰⁰⁷ Est. lists.

Chamberlayne.

¹⁰⁰⁸ Est. list, 1687/89; Harl. MS. 7,018.

¹⁰⁰⁹ Nathan Brooks.

¹⁰¹⁰ Letter, Horse Gds., 9 Octr., 1697; App. XX.

¹⁰¹¹ Royal Warrt., 24 May, 1690; Ordnance papers; for granade-pouches "for one company of granadeers on horseback" in Berkeley's Dragoons.

¹⁰¹² 14 Car. II, Cap. 3, 1662.

Regulations for the Musters, 5 May, 1663; App. XXIV.

Numerous orders, W.O. records, for issues in exchange to Life Gds. and Oxford's Horse, of backs, breasts, and potts; e.g., 16 Novr., 1670, 2 July, 1672, 24 Novr., 1674, 26 Novr., 1675.

¹⁰¹³ Reg. for Musters, 5 May, 1663; App. XXIV.

Various orders, W.O. records; e.g., 4 Febry., 1670/1, to exchange 53 unserviceable carbines of E. of Oxford's regt. for new ones: 10 Sept., 1671, for new carbines

appears to have been worn upon occasion only, the men carrying hats as well.¹⁰¹⁴

Precisely the same armament remained in vogue until the year 1673,¹⁰¹⁵ but between that year and 1677¹⁰¹⁶ carbines were issued to other Horse regiments besides the Life-Guards.

When armour became obsolete in the ranks generally owing to the improvements in fire-arms and artillery, and the consequent demand for light troops, Horse-soldiers had adopted the stout buff coat as their only defence: but in 1643 during the civil wars in this country the Parliament raised "a regiment of five hundred Horse"¹⁰¹⁷ under the command of Sir Arthur "Haslerig, which were so completely armed, that they were called by the other side the Regiment of Lobsters, because of their bright iron shells with which they were covered, being perfect cuirassiers; and were the first seen so armed on either side."

Cuirassiers were, then, first introduced into this country in 1643; and cuirasses continued to be worn by the Horse,¹⁰¹⁸ as did potts also, until after the Revolution, within a few years of which period the latter seem to have been discontinued.¹⁰¹⁹

throughout the regt. There are also numerous similar orders for issues to the Life Guards.

¹⁰¹⁴ Print of Coronation Charles II.

True &c. relation of the Grand Traitors' execution, Lond., 1660/1.
Hollar.

Prints of funeral of the D. of Rothes, 1681, Edin.

¹⁰¹⁵ Articles of War, 1673, Cl. 37.

¹⁰¹⁶ Royal Warrt., 13 Feby., 1677/8; App. XXIII.

¹⁰¹⁷ Clarendon.

¹⁰¹⁸ Reg. for Musters, 1663, App. XXIV.

Art. of War, 1673, App. XXIII.

Royal Warrt., 13 Feby., 1677/8; App. XXIII.

R. Warrts., 22 Mar. and 13 Apr., 1678; 29 Aug., 1678; 28 May, 1679; issues to newly-raised Horse-Regts. of carbines, pistols, Backs, Breasts, and Potts; W.O. Records, and 7 June, 1680, same to the Blues.

Royal Warrt., 6 Novr., 1688: this Warrant directs a return into the Ordnance Stores of the "armour" of the Blues; App. XXV.

Contemporary prints and paintings; Van der Meulen.

¹⁰¹⁹ Brit. Mus., Add. MSS. 28,082 (bearing internal evidence of date cir. 1680 to 1688) Arms for Horse, Foot and Dragoons, specifies "Backs, Breasts, and Potts" for Horse, the Potts being possibly skull caps.

Medal for the Boyne; Hats.

Royal Warrant, 6 Novr., 1688; App. XXV.

States of the Ordnance Stores, 1687/91; Harl. MSS. 7,458-7,463; by which there seem to have been large issues in 1687, returns into store in 1689, and scarcely any fresh receipts or issues afterwards.

Letter J. Tooke to Clarke, Dublin, 6 June, 1691, and Letter Sir C. Compton to Clarke, Dublin, 9 June, 1691; these two letters mention swords, pistols, carbines,

The pott was replaced by the iron skull-cap made to fasten into the crown of an ordinary hat.¹⁰²⁰

When the Horse-regiments of the Line were raised they all received the same armament as the Blues had carried,¹⁰²¹ including both carbine and pistols.

Sword-belts,¹⁰²² carbine-belts, and cartridge-boxes completed the accoutrements of troopers. "Cross-belts," that is the sword and carbine belts crossing each other on the chest were for a long time, from 1684, a distinctive mark of Horse-regiments,¹⁰²³ insomuch that the privilege of wearing them is said to have been conferred as a mark of honour upon a regiment of dragoons¹⁰²⁴ that had distinguished itself in action.

These Horse-regiments were often termed "Light-Horse"¹⁰²⁵ in contradistinction to the old harquebussiers who wore other

coats, and hats, as expected for the Blues but neither cuirasses nor potts: Clarke MSS.

A Bill of lading, Ship "Fortune," Plymouth to Waterford, 29 August, 1690, contains among the other war-like stores, "Harquebuss Armour musket-proof," and "ditto Carbine-proof," "Backs 3, Breasts 3, Potts 3," of each sort, but, both from the paucity of the numbers shipped and from the nature of all the other stores in the consignment, it is highly probable that these were only for use of granadeers in an assault; Clarke MSS.

Proc. Ho. of Commons, 11 Novr., 1690; Petition from armourers of London recites that armour was no longer worn by Militia, Horse or Foot.

¹⁰²⁰ Above authorities.

Also St. Remy, 1697 and prior to.

De la Colonie, 1703.

¹⁰²¹ Ordnance Estimate, 1679, Harl. MS. 4,251.

Particulars of Clothing (1696); App. LI.

Lond. Gazette, 3/6 Decr., 1688; 24/28 Nov., 1687; 24/27 Sept., 1688.

De Puysegur.

Royal Warrts., 1689/92; Ordnce. papers and Home office records; for issues of arms.

¹⁰²² Albemarle.

Chamberlayne.

Nathan Brooks.

Particulars of Clothing (1696); App. LI.

Report, 18 June, 1697, on first equipment of 7th Dragoon-Guards, Try. State papers.

¹⁰²³ See Chap. XXI on Arms and Accoutrements.

Report, 18 June, 1697, as per last note.

¹⁰²⁴ The 8th Drs.; Cannon.

¹⁰²⁵ Letter, Dublin Castle, 20 July, 1686, Clarendon to Sunderland.

De Puysegur.

R. Warrt., 29 May, 1692, W.O. records, styles all the Horse regts. in Flanders "Light Horse."

Royal Warrant, 23 Feby., 1692; Ordnce. papers; styles the Blues and all the Horse-regts. "Light-Horse"; also Home office records.

Horse Regts. are also styled "Light Horse" in Chamberlayne's list of Chelsea Pensioners, 1694.

armour besides the cuirass. At one time there was no regiment of Horse not so termed except the Life-Guards.

The first regiment of DRAGOONS established in our army was raised in 1672.¹⁰²⁶ Each of its twelve troops consisted of 1 Captain, 2 Subalterns, 1 Quarter-Master, 2 Serjeants, 3 Corporals, and 80 Privates including musicians.¹⁰²⁷ This regiment was disbanded in 1674, as in 1678 were two others (raised for war service), and when this arm of the Service was revived six years later,¹⁰²⁸ a regiment consisted of six troops, the number of Privates per troop being reduced to 50, with 2 Hautbois and 2 Drums.¹⁰²⁹

In September, 1688,¹⁰³⁰ an addition of 10 per troop was ordered, and this establishment remained in force until the Peace of Ryswick,¹⁰³¹ the number of troops to a regiment varying from six to eight.

In January, 1698,¹⁰³² troops were reduced to 46 Privates, including officers' servants. And in July of the same year¹⁰³³ the strength per troop was fixed at a peace establishment of 1 Captain, 2 Subalterns, 1 Quarter-master, 1 Serjeant, 2 Corporals, 1 Drum, 1 Hautbois, and 40 Dragoons,¹⁰³⁴ but the number of privates was a few months later further reduced to 36.

The armament of Dragoons at first was very peculiar ;¹⁰³⁵

¹⁰²⁶ There had however been Dragoon regiments prior to the Restoration ; *see* Chap. II.

¹⁰²⁷ Royal Warrt., 2 Apr., 1672 ; App. III.

Royal Warrts., 12 Mar., 1678, W.O. records ; for raising Sir J. Talbot's and P. Rupert's Drs., and 13 April, 1678, E. of Feversham's.

In the French Army, in 1678, Horse and Dragoons had only 2 Corps., with 50 Privates and 1 Musician.

In a letter D. of York to P. of Orange 20 Aug., 1678, 60 Ptes. are estimated per troop.

¹⁰²⁸ By the conversion of the Tangier Horse into the Royal (First) Dragoons ; *see* Chap. I.

¹⁰²⁹ Nathan Brooks.

¹⁰³⁰ Royal Warrt., 1 Sept. (?), 1688, Harl. MS. 7,436.

¹⁰³¹ Est. List, 1 Novr., 1688, Harl. MS. 7,018.

Est. Lists, 1689 and 1690, Harl. MSS. 7,437, 7,439, 7,441.

Regulation, 23 Aug., 1697, of subsistence for the Forces in Ireland ; Dub. State papers.

¹⁰³² Royal Letter, 1 Jany., 1697/8 ; Dub. State papers.

Order, Dublin, 11 Jany., 1697/8 ; App. XXVI.

¹⁰³³ Royal Letter, 22 Feby., 1697/8, respecting reductions ; Dub. State papers.

Order, Dublin, 28 July, 1698 (*see* Note ¹⁰⁷¹) to reduce the regiments to the same strength as allowed in England.

In the French Army from 50 to 40 was the established strength per troop ; De Puysegur.

¹⁰³⁴ Royal Letter, 20 Mar., 1698/9 ; App. XXVII.

¹⁰³⁵ Royal Warrt., 2 Apr., 1672, App. III.

twelve soldiers in each troop, besides the non-commissioned officers, carried halberds and a pair of pistols, while the remainder were equipped like infantry, except that they all had bayonets in addition to matchlocks and bandaleers. Their matchlocks had slings to them.¹⁰³⁵

Dragoons were still allotted musquets¹⁰³⁷ and bayonets in 1684, but in 1687 a complete change was effected in their equipment; they were ordered¹⁰³⁸ to "have snaphance musquets, "strapt, with bright barrels, of three foot eight inches long, "cartouch-boxes, bayonets, granado-pouches, buckets, and "hammer-hatchets." The armament of the Horse-Granadeers in 1678, when they were first introduced, was precisely similar to this. The buckets were for resting the fusil.

In 1695, dragoons still carried "leather bags"¹⁰³⁹ or granade-pouches, and bayonets, and cartouch-boxes. In what year they ceased to be furnished with pistols cannot be said with accuracy, but in 1697 it was not deemed well for dragoons to have pistols, and the Eighth Dragoons were refused leave to provide themselves with them.¹⁰⁴⁰ This regiment seems to have been rather behind others, for in the same year it was obtaining fusils in lieu of musquets;¹⁰⁴⁰ the probability is that, being regarded at the time it was raised rather as a regiment likely to be disbanded at the peace than as a permanent part of the regular army, it was at first hastily equipped with whatever spare arms there might

In the French Service, in 1676, dragoons had but one pistol and in place of the other a hatchet or other pioneering tool; Briquet.

¹⁰³⁶ Lond. Gaz., 13/16 Octr., 1684; Advertisement for deserter from Cornbury's Dragoons with "slung musquet."

States of the Ordnance Stores, 1687/91, Harl. MSS. 7,458-63.

¹⁰³⁷ Warrt., 13 April, 1684, Home Office records; for issue to Royal Dragoons, 318 Musquets, 318 Bayonets, 318 Buckets, and 13 Partisans, whereof 7 to be gilt.

Nathan Brooks.

Arms proposed for force of Horse, Ft. and Drs. (internal evidence between 1680 and 1688); Add. MSS. 28,082. The musquets were 4 inches shorter than those used by the Guards; Home office records quoted above.

¹⁰³⁸ Royal Warrt., 21 Feby., 1687, App. XXXIX.

Royal Warrt., 24 Mar., 1689; Ordnce. papers; issue to 4th Dragoons Musquets, Long daggers, Buckets, Cartouch-boxes, Halberts, and Drums.

26 Mar., 1689; to 2nd Dragoons Fuzees strapped, Bayonets, Cartouch-boxes, Buckets.

Royal Warrt., 13 April, 1678; W.O. records, for armament of Horse Granrs. of three troops of Guards.

24 May, and 17 June and 14 July, 1689; to 3rd troop of Granadeers; Long fuzees strapt, Pistols, Cartridge-boxes, Granade-pouches, Partizans, and Halberds; Buckets.

¹⁰³⁹ Particulars of clothing of a regt. of Drs.; App. LI.

¹⁰⁴⁰ Order, Dublin, 2 Sept., 1697; App. XCII.

be, the most improved armament being reserved for the heavy additions then making to the troops on active service. The granade-pouch was laid aside by dragoons between 1695 and 1697.¹⁰⁴¹

Swords always formed a portion of the armament of dragoons,¹⁰⁴² and the swords supplied to the Eighth in 1697 are termed "broad swords."¹⁰⁴³ In 1691 the Inniskilling Dragoons made a demand¹⁰⁴⁴ for broad swords, "good broad cutting "swords with three barred hilts ;" whence it is fair to conclude that this style of sword was in vogue throughout William's reign.

It must not however be imagined that the troops were equipped as regularly and uniformly as they are now. The Inniskilling Dragoons in 1691, the third year after their formation, complained that they had never had any bayonets¹⁰⁴⁴ and but few cartouch-boxes. The same regiment in 1697¹⁰⁴⁵ was still having "musquets" served out to it instead of the fusil laid down as the regulation arm ; and the Royal Irish was, as we have already seen, in the same antiquated condition.

At the epoch of the Restoration a Company of FOOT still corresponded with the old Roman Century or Hundred, that is to say, it consisted of 100 rank and file besides officers and drummers.¹⁰⁴⁶

The commissioned officers of a Company were, throughout the period under consideration,¹⁰⁴⁷ 1 Captain and 2 Subalterns. In battalion, or ordinary, companies, these subalterns were 1 Lieutenant and 1 Ensign ; but in Granadeer companies¹⁰⁴⁸ and

¹⁰⁴¹ Proclamation, Dublin, 26 July, 1697, in which it is no longer mentioned ; App. XC.

¹⁰⁴² Abridgement of Eng. Mily. Discipline, 1686.

Particulars of Clothing, 1695, App. LI, LII.

Proclamation, Dublin, 26 July, 1697, App. XC.

¹⁰⁴³ Order, Dublin, 2 Sept., 1697, App. XCII.

¹⁰⁴⁴ Letter Sir A. Conyngham to Clarke, Mountcharles, 16 Mar., 1690/1, Clarke MSS.

¹⁰⁴⁵ Order, Dublin, 2 Sept., 1697, App. XCII.

¹⁰⁴⁶ Elton, 1659.

¹⁰⁴⁷ Elton.

Royal Warrt., 17 Jany., 1677/8, App. XII.

Nathan Brooks.

Est. Lists.

¹⁰⁴⁸ Royal Warrt., 13 April, 1678, App. XIII.

Nathan Brooks.

Royal Warrt., 28 April, 1684, App. XXIX.

List of the Officers of H.M.'s Army, Novr. 1687.

Est. Lists, 1687/89 ; 5 Novr., 1688 ; 1 May, 1689.

Regulation of subsistence for the Forces in Ireland from 1 July, 1697, Dublin, 23 Aug., 1697, Dub. State Papers.

in all companies of Fusileer regiments both subalterns were lieutenants.¹⁰⁴⁹ A peculiarity of the First Foot used to be that it had two lieutenants¹⁰⁵⁰ besides one ensign to each company, but about 1686 the second lieutenancy was ordered to be dropped as the vacancies occurred.

The strength of a company¹⁰⁵¹ remained fixed at 100 Privates, with 3 Serjeants, 3 Corporals, and 2 Drums until 1685: but this was considered a war-footing, while 80 seems to have been deemed the peace establishment, although the number was sometimes allowed to fall as low as 60. In 1680 this latter number was the regular strength in the Foot-Guards,¹⁰⁵² while other regiments were established as low as 50 per company; there being but 2 Serjeants, and in Line regiments only 1 Drum, instead of 3 Serjeants and 2 Drums.

¹⁰⁴⁹ List of Officers, &c., 1687.

Est. Lists, 1687/89, Harl. MSS. 4,847, 7,018.

¹⁰⁵⁰ Royal Warrant, Whitehall, 28 Apr., 1679; Brit. Mus., Add. MSS. 27,277, twelve lieutenants were added to "the Regiment of Foot in garrison at Tangier," "so that each Company should have two Lieutenants."

Nathan Brooks.

Est. Lists, 1687/89.

¹⁰⁵¹ Est. List, 1660/63 and 1668/9; Brit. Mus., Add. MSS. 28,082.

Letter, Whitehall, 7 Novr., 1663, King to Commry. Genl. Sir Thos. Clarges; to reduce the 7 companies at Berwick to 77 from 79, so as to appropriate the vacant pay.

Cosmo's travels, 1669; here it is stated that the Companies of the Foot-Guards were 80 strong, to be increased in case of war.

London Gaz., 21 Aug., 1672, contains a list of the French Army, in which appears "Douglas's Scotch Regt." (First Foot), and the "Royal English," the first having 35 compies. of 104 men, and the other 16 compies. of 103 men.

Royal Warrants, 11 and 17 Janry., 1677/8; 4 April, 1678; 13 April, 1678; and 13 June, 1685: all these are for raising companies of Foot-Guards, Third Foot, &c., to a strength of 100, and all were issued in time of war; W.O. Records, App. XII.

Royal Warrants, 14 and 17 Janry., 1677/8, taken in conjunction, lead to the conclusion that 40 men per company were required to make them up to 100. Apps. XXXI and XII.

Letter, Duke of York to Prince of Orange, 5 July, 1678; "We shall have 96 "Companies of Foot in Flanders, which will make upwards of 9,000 men."

Royal Warrants, 28 June, 1683, and 26 Janry., 1683/4, Apps. XIV and XXX.

Royal Warrant, 20 July, 1685; reduction from 100 to 80 after the Western Rebellion; W.O. records.

Autobiog. Jas. II, 1689; James in forming his companies had them of 62 men each.

The French had limited their companies to 50 (inclusive of N.C.O.) before James's accession; De Puysegur.

In the French Army, in addition to our numbers of officers and N.C.O., there were three anspeçades or lance-corporals, and in every probability the number of lance-corporals in our regiments was the same; De Puysegur.

¹⁰⁵² Est. Lists, 1679/80.

Royal Warrt., 28 June, 1683, App. XIV.

Nathan Brooks, 1684.

In 1685, after Monmouth's rebellion, the numbers again dropped ¹⁰⁵³ from the war-footing of 100 first down to 80, and then to 60.

From the year 1687 until the peace of Ryswick (1697) the company establishment remained unvaried, being fixed at 80 ¹⁰⁵⁴ in the Foot-Guards, and at 60 in other regiments.¹⁰⁵⁵

After the peace a reduction was effected,¹⁰⁵⁶ first to 50, next to 42 inclusive of servants, then to 40, and a year later to 36 Privates with 2 serjeants, 2 corporals, and 1 drum.¹⁰⁵⁷

When other companies were reduced to 2 serjeants and but 1 drum, granadeer companies were allowed 3 serjeants and 2 drums.¹⁰⁵⁸

A battalion of Foot ¹⁰⁵⁹ usually counted from ten to twelve

¹⁰⁵³ Royal Warrts., 20 and 27 July, 1685, for reducing each Company to 80 rank and file, and thence to 60, W.O. records.

¹⁰⁵⁴ Est. Lists, 1687/9; 1688; 1689.

Letter, Horse Guards, 9 Octr., 1697, App. XX.

¹⁰⁵⁵ In 1687 the Infantry of the Line numbered only 50 per company, but after that 60.

Est. Lists, 1687/9; 1688; 1689.

Est. List, 1690, Harl. MSS. 7,441.

Royal Warrt., 1 Jany. (?), 1689/90, establishing two regts. "out of the London-derry forces"; Harl. MSS. 7,437.

Royal Warrt., 30 Decr., 1695, App. X.

D'Auvergne, 1691 to 1697.

¹⁰⁵⁶ Regulation of subsistence from 1 July, 1697, Dublin, 23 Aug., 1697.

Royal Letter, 1 Decr., 1697, App. XXXII.

Order, Dublin, 18 Decr., 1697, App. XXXII.

Royal Letter, 31 Decr., 1697; Dub. State papers authorising further reduction of 2 pr. compy.

Orders, Dublin, 11 Jany., 1697/8, and Dublin, 7 July, 1698.

Order, Dublin, 28 July, 1698, being an order to reduce regts. to the *same numbers as allowed in England*, vizt., 40 pr. Coy., Dub. State papers.

¹⁰⁵⁷ Warrt., Dublin, 8 Apr., 1699, by H.M.'s Command, App. XXXIII.

Royal Letter, 20 Mar., 1698/9, App. XXVII.

¹⁰⁵⁸ Order, Dublin, 20 Novr., 1697, "Whereas there is allowed by H.M.'s establishment in this kingdom but 2 Serjts. and 1 Drum to a Compy. of Foot, except the Granadeers which have 3 Serjts. and 2 Drums" &c.; Dub. state papers.

King's Letter, 1 Decr., 1697, App. XXXII.

¹⁰⁵⁹ Cosmo's travels.

Royal Warrant, 17 Jany., 1677/8; App. XII.

Nathan Brooks; In 1684 the 1st Ft. Gds. had 24 Compies. (*i.e.* 2 battns.) besides Granadeers; the Coldstream had 12 Compies. besides granrs.; the Royals 21, the 2nd and 4th 10, the Buffs and the Maritime regt. 12 Compies., these two last only having no granadeers.

Est. Lists, 1687 to 1690; In 1688 all Foot regiments had 12 Compies. besides the Granr. Compy., with the exception of the Guards and the First Foot which had 2 battalions, and the Royal Fusileers which had one additional compy. of Miners.

Royal Warrt., 1 Jany. (?), 1689/90, established 2 Regts. of Londonderry Foot at 13 Compies. each, *i.e.* 12 and 1 of Granrs.; Harl. MSS. 7,439.

companies, and some regiments had two battalions. After the accession of King James twelve companies besides one of granadeers was the fixed establishment for every regiment, with scarcely an exception, until the year 1699 when a reduction to eleven companies in every battalion¹⁰⁶⁰ was ordered, the grana-deer companies being among those retained. The First Foot however was to have twenty-two companies.¹⁰⁶¹

During the war in Flanders the First Foot-Guards¹⁰⁶² had four companies of granadeers, instead of only two, to its 24 companies, the second having been added in the year 1684.¹⁰⁶³

A regiment of infantry was divided into but two arms at first, namely Musqueteers and Pikemen, the proportion being two-thirds of the former to one-third of the latter.¹⁰⁶⁴ Up to the year 1678 this proportion was maintained.

In this year a third arm was introduced into "the eight "eldest" regiments¹⁰⁶⁵ by the formation of a certain number of granadeers from each company into one separate company¹⁰⁶⁶ of a strength corresponding to that of the battalion companies.

In 1684 two of the Foot regiments,¹⁰⁶⁷ the Buffs and the

Regulation of Subsistence &c., Dublin, 23 Aug., 1697, fixes the whole 11 Regts. in Ireland at 12 Compies. and 1 of Granrs.

Order, Dublin, 30 June, 1698, shews that 22nd Foot had the same establishment: Dub. State papers.

¹⁰⁶⁰ Royal Letter, 20 Mar., 1698/9, App. XXVII.

Warrt., Dublin, 8 Apr., 1699, App. XXXIII.

In France the ordinary establishment of a battalion was 17 Compies. up to 1678, when a reduction was made to 13 Compies., and this number remained in vogue until the close of the century, if we except two years of a return to the larger number; De Puysegur.

¹⁰⁶¹ Royal Letter, 20 Mar., 1698/9, Dub. State papers.

¹⁰⁶² Letter, Horse Guards, 9 Octr., 1697, App. XX.

¹⁰⁶³ Royal Warrt., 28 Apr., 1684, App. XXIX.

¹⁰⁶⁴ Elton.

Orrery.

Royal Warrts., 15 Apr., 1667; 11 Jany., 17 Jany., and 16 Mar., 1677/8. Apps. XI, XXXI, and XII.

Ordnance Estimates, 1679; Harl. MS. 4,251.

¹⁰⁶⁵ De Puysegur.

Evelyn, Diary, 29 Apr., 1678.

¹⁰⁶⁶ Royal Warrts., 4, 6, and 13 Apr., 1678, for payment of £100 levy-money for this purpose, Apps. XXXIV and XIII.

Order, London, 30 Mar., 1678, to raise a Granr. Compy. for the Coldstream, W.O. Records.

¹⁰⁶⁷ Nathan Brooks. This is, however, inexplicable, because these were among those ordered to have Granadeer Companies by R. Warrts. of 4 and 13 April, 1678; App. XIII; Possibly Brooks means by "without Granadeers" that there were 12 Companies besides.

Maritime regiment, may have been without granadeers,¹⁰⁶⁸ but three years later all had granadeer companies except the Royal Fusiliers (Seventh) which had instead a company of "Miners" 40 strong.¹⁰⁶⁸ Granadeers were evidently considered a useful arm of the Service as late as the close of the century, for in 1698 a deduction of one man¹⁰⁶⁹ from each battalion company was made in order to increase the strength of the granadeer companies.

If we reckon the granadeer and miner companies as supernumerary to the regular establishment (as in effect they were), the proportion of pikes per company may be still set down at one-third until about 1692,¹⁰⁷⁰ when the number of pikes per company of 60 men was reduced to 14. This proportion was enforced throughout the war in Flanders, but on their return home after the peace some regiments laid aside their pikes altogether: ¹⁰⁷¹ this led to a decisive order on the subject, establishing a fresh proportion of eight pikes per company, and this order was published in Ireland on the same day as another order received from England reducing the companies to 40; so that the proportion was only one-sixth less than it had been when fixed at 14 per company of 60.

Pikes continued to be carried for at least five years after the

¹⁰⁶⁸ Est. Lists, 1687 to 1690.

List of the officers of H.M.'s Army, Novr., 1687; Harl. MSS. 4,847.

¹⁰⁶⁹ Order, Dublin, 30 June, 1698, to Col. of 22nd Foot to this effect; Dub. state papers.

¹⁰⁷⁰ Royal Warrt., 26 Janry., 1683/4; 20 pikes to 43 fire-arms per compy. (this includes 3 fire-arms for Corporals), App. XXX.

Royal Warrt., 28 June, 1683, 1st Foot Gds. 43 musquets and 20 pikes per compy., App. XIV.

Royal Warrt., 18 Febry., 1691/2, only 14 pikes per compy. for service in Flanders; Home office records; also Issue Warrants, Ordnce. papers.

Est. 23rd Foot, 1692;—45 musqrs. and 13 pikes per compy.

Royal Warrt., 30 Decr., 1695, App. X; 14 pikes per compy. of 60, for service in Flanders.

In the French army 10 pikes per compy. of 55 was the proportion at this time, and the same rule was applied to Irish or other foreign regiments in the French service; de Puysegur.

Royal Warrts., 1689; Ordnce. papers; issues of one-third pikes to 14th Foot, 11th Foot, 8th, 13th, 15th, and 19th Foot.

¹⁰⁷¹ Order, Dublin, 28 July, 1698; "Whereas H.M. has been pleased to signify "his pleasure unto us that 8 pikes should be delivered to each company in every "regiment of foot in this kingdom in lieu of the like number of firelock musquets to "be returned into the stores, and Sir Matthew Bridge's regiment (17th Foot) having "on the landing thereof delivered into H.M.'s stores of war at Cork a considerable "number of pikes," &c. &c. —orders said regt. to draw out again 104 pikes in lieu of musquets being 8 per compy.; Dublin State papers.

close of the century,¹⁰⁷² and even those regiments whose musqueteers were furnished throughout with bayonets had a proportion of pikemen.¹⁰⁷³

Fusileer regiments, however, as well as the granadeer companies of all regiments, were exceptions to the rule; for they had no pikes at all.¹⁰⁷⁴

The arms and accoutrements of a pikeman were a pike, a sword in a shoulder-belt,¹⁰⁷⁵ a pott-helmet of polished metal, and back and breast pieces.¹⁰⁷⁶

¹⁰⁷² Orders, Dublin, 18 Janry., 23 Feby., and 20 Mar., 1698/9; 3 and 17 Aug., 1699. Dublin State papers; 100 pikes, 20th Ft.; 36, 15th; 151, 24th; 80, 5th; 30 to 10th.

The Guards had bayonets issued to "all the musqueteers" in 1686, Royal Order, 22 Feby., 1685/6, App. XXXV; yet they carried pikes after that, and as late as 1705, Royal Warrts., 21 Feby., 1686/7, and 30 Decr., 1695, Apps. XXXIX, X; also contemporary account of the lodging in Westminster Abbey of the Colours captured at Blenheim, in 1705.

¹⁰⁷³ Proposals for arms of a Force, Add. MSS. 28,082; all musqueteers with bayonets, yet one third Pikemen.

I use the word musqueteers for fire-arms-men generally, whether armed with fusil or matchlock, the term "fusileers" being liable to misinterpretation.

¹⁰⁷⁴ Royal Warrt., 30 Decr., 1695, App. X.

¹⁰⁷⁵ 14 Car. II, Cap. 3.

Regulns. for Musters, 5 May, 1663, App. XXIV.

Royal Warrt., 15 Apr., 1677, App. XI.

Articles of War, 1673, App. LIII.

Royal Warrt., 21 Feby., 1686/7, App. XXXIX.

Sandford, 1685.

The Complete Clothing of a regt. of Foot (cir. 1695), App. LII; In this estimate the belts are waist-belts for all arms of infantry.

Tangier Waste-book, 1661; Sloane MSS. 1,956.

¹⁰⁷⁶ 14 Car. II, Cap. 3, 1662.

Print of The Grand Traitors' Execution, Lond. 1660.

Albemarle, 1671 (posthumous); Arms of a pikeman; "a head-piece with back and breast, a buff girdle of double buff eight inches broad, the which is to be worn under the skirts of his doublet instead of tassess; the same buff girdle is to be hooked up to his doublet and fastened before."

It is curious that there is no mention of potts or armour in the Warrants for issues to pikemen, nor in the Regulations for Musters, 1663 (altho' armour for Horse is specified), the Warrant, 21 Feby., 1686/7, nor in any document that I have met with after the Act quoted just above. Neither Sandford nor Nathan Brooks mentions armour for pikemen. On the other hand these two authors also omit any mention of armour for Horse, whereas we know that the Horse certainly had cuirasses at this time; perhaps armour for Pikemen was deemed too much a matter of course to be worth mention.

Lond. Gaz., June, 1688, states that Backs, Breasts and Head-pieces for 4,000 men accompanied the Prince of Orange from Holland, for use in England.

States of the Ordnance Stores, 1687/91, Harl. MSS. 7,453/63, shew that there were considerable issues of infantry or "harquebuss armour," backs, breasts, and potts in 1688; but the stores remained almost stationary from 1688 to 1691, although many troops were being raised.

In the Print-room of the Brit. Mus. is a series of French Prints by Ciartras. (1652); one of these represents a "pikeman" of the Gardes Françaises with a cuirass and a plumed hat and carrying his pott behind his back; underneath are the words

For some time after other infantry soldiers had adopted the waist-belt, pikemen retained the broad shoulder-belt as a distinction, but this distinction seems to have been dropped between the years 1686 and 1695.

The pott seems to have been used on service only, the pikeman ordinarily wearing a hat, and carrying his pott slung at his back by means of a ring on the pott and a hook on the back piece. Whether pikemen wore armour until they were finally abolished is one of those points that I have not been able satisfactorily to clear up, but there does not appear to be any room to doubt that they wore potts as well as backs and breasts¹⁰⁷⁶ for some time after the accession of William.

Pikemen had been wont, prior to the Restoration, to wear tassets, or thigh-armour, but these were not worn after the Restoration, although it appears that at their first abolition a similar protection made of stout hide or buff was substituted.

The most simple armament was that of the musqueteer; it consisted of a matchlock,¹⁰⁷⁷ a collar of bandaleers with ball-

¹⁰⁷⁶ 'Quand j'ai mon corcelet, et ma pique à la main, L'épée à mon côté, la bourguignote en tête.'

Markham; "and lastly, if to the pikeman's head-piece be fastened a small ring of iron, and to the right side of his back-piece (below his girdle) an iron hook, to hang his steel cap upon, it will be a great ease to the soldier, and a nimble carriage in the time of long marches."

Mallet, 1684, gives an illustration of pikemen; the man in the foreground has a cuirass and a hat, but the body of men in the background are represented in potts.

Congreve; The old bachelor, 1693; Act 2.

Loq. Sir J. Wittol, "He is indeed back, breast, and head-piece to me"; in a popular play such a reference would lose its point if the objects of the simile had been obsolete.

St. Remy, 1697, tells us that pikemen wore cuirasses (or backs and breasts), and he gives us to understand that while Horse-soldiers had quite abandoned the pott for the skull-cap, pikemen still wore potts of polished metal, and were but beginning to take to the skull-cap.

The complete clothing of a regt. of Foot (cir. 1696), App. LII, estimates for hats for the pikemen.

In 1679 the officers of the Ordnance reported that the manufacture of defensive arms was "now almost lost"; Ordnance Estimate, 1679; Harl. MS. 4,251.

Van der Meulen, in his paintings 1667 to 1685, represents pikemen, some in hats, and some in potts.

Fortification and Mily. Discipline, Lond. 1689, contains a print with pikemen in potts and cuirasses, the costumes being contemporary.

In Maas's Victory of the Boyne, and in Pieter Persoy's funeral of Q. Mary, the pikemen appear to be all in hats.

¹⁰⁷⁷ 14 Car. II, Cap. 3, 1662.

Regs. for Musters, 5 May, 1663, App. XXIV.

Articles of War, 1673, App. LIII.

Sandford.

Regs. for Musters, 21 Feby., 1686/7, App. XXXIX.

Various Warris. for issues out of store, &c., &c., &c.

Tangier Waste-book, 1661; Sloane MSS. 1,956.

bag and priming-flask, and a sword. But in Charles the Second's reign, as in the reign of Queen Victoria, the question of the relative superiority of different sorts of fire-arms was necessarily much discussed, and the matchlock had to cede to newer and superior inventions.

The Duke of Albemarle was in this, as in most military matters, in advance of the age; and when he became Commander-in-Chief he lost no time in gratifying his own predilections. In 1660¹⁰⁷⁸ he ordered the whole of the matchlocks of his own regiment, the Coldstream, to be exchanged for fusils; so that the Coldstream was the first regiment of fusileers in the British Army.

Whether it was owing to some flaw in the manufacture, or to a genuine opinion in favour of the matchlock, or to the influence of private mercantile interests, for some cause or other the Coldstream¹⁰⁷⁹ had reverted to the matchlock in 1665; but in 1672 they had fire-arms in the exact proportion of one half fusils and one half matchlocks.¹⁰⁸⁰

That the fusil did not generally supersede the matchlock much earlier than was the case, is inexplicable except upon the presumption that in the seventeenth century, as occasionally even in later and more enlightened days, Prejudice, Ignorance, and Nepotism opposed their dull, inert, but weighty force to any improvement that did not flatter or benefit themselves. The firelock had been invented at the very beginning of the century. There had been non-regimented companies,¹⁰⁸¹ if not whole regiments, of infantry armed throughout with firelocks in the Parliamentary Army as early as 1647. The Life-Guards carried fire-lock carbines from their first establishment. The Maritime Regiment¹⁰⁸² 1,200 strong in 1664 was largely "armed with good firelocks," and was intended to be wholly so. The Duke of Albemarle was, as we have seen, strongly in

¹⁰⁷⁸ Warrants, 10 Febr., and 14 Apr., 1660, Apps. V and VI.

Warrt., Novr., 1664, assigns to a Compy. of the First Foot Gds., 30 Firelocks, 30 Matchlocks, 40 pikes, and 100 swords.

¹⁰⁷⁹ Warrant, 24 Febr., 1664/5, App. XXXVI.

¹⁰⁸⁰ Royal Warrt., 26 Sept., 1670, 27 pikes, 35 matchlocks, 32 firelocks in lieu of those lost at the fire in Southwark, &c.; W.O. records.

Royal Warrt., 3 May, 1672, App. IV.

Various Warrts., W.O. records, shew similar armament for 1st Ft. Guards, and for the Third Foot, Holland regt.

¹⁰⁸¹ Accounts of soldiers 1647/9, Dublin State Papers; "two companies of fire-lock-men non-regimented."

¹⁰⁸² Order-in-Council, 26 Octr., 1664; Admiralty records.

But see also Notes and Authorities to Ill. CLXXXVIII.

favour of flint-arms, and their use by dragoons at least was recommended by him in a work of his published in 1671 immediately after his death,¹⁰⁸³ nevertheless, when a regiment of dragoons was raised for active service in the year following this publication, the men were furnished with the matchlock and bandaleers,¹⁰⁸⁴ the disadvantages of which had long been manifest to military judges of ability.¹⁰⁸⁵

But it was impossible that the superior arm should not gradually creep into use.

In 1665, as already mentioned, a regiment once wholly armed with fusils had no fire-arms but matchlocks; and in this same year an edict was issued to the French Army re-iterating previous orders prohibitory of fusils¹⁰⁸⁶ and even empowering the Commissaries of War to destroy on the spot any such unauthorised arms found in possession of the troops: but in 1667 some newly-raised companies of the Coldstream Guards¹⁰⁸⁷ were furnished with firelocks in the proportion of one-seventh of the total number of fire-arms, besides 3 per company for the corporals. In 1669¹⁰⁸⁸ the proportion of fusils to matchlocks in the Foot-Guards had advanced as far as one-third, and thus

¹⁰⁸³ Albemarle.

¹⁰⁸⁴ Royal Warrt., 2 April, 1672, App. III.

¹⁰⁸⁵ Albemarle.

Turner.

Orrery.

In the Parliamentary army of the Civil war, there had been at least a proportion of 2 per cent. of firelocks; Clarendon.

¹⁰⁸⁶ Règlement du roi, 25 July, 1665, Art. 54; Lamont; Each regt. of infantry to have two-thirds musquets and one-third pikes, "sans qu'aucun puisse avoir de "Fuzil, enjoignant aux Commissaires de guerre de les briser sur le champ, et de "tenir la main aux ordonnances réitérées sur ce sujet."

¹⁰⁸⁷ Royal Warrt., 15 Apr., 1677, App. XI, each Company was to receive 30 pikes, 60 musquets, 13 firelocks, 2 halberds.

¹⁰⁸⁸ Royal Warrt., 21 Feby., 1669, App. XXXVII.

Royal Warrt., 12 Mar., 1671/2, being authority for an issue to the Second Foot-Guards of 10 snaphance musquets with collars of bandaleers; W.O. records.

Royal Warrt., 29 Apr., 1674, App. XXXVIII. By this Warrant it would seem reasonable to conclude that the same proportions applied to other regiments as to the Guards, for the men transferred from the Guards carried the "*usual*" proportion of fusils with them.

True Protestant Mercury, 1/5 April, 1682; "His Grace the Duke of Grafton hath "ordered, against May next," "and that two companies only in a regiment "shall have firelocks and those always to go before; the rest to be all matchlocks."

True and Domestic Intelligencer, 4 Apr., 1682; "His Grace the Duke of Grafton "hath been pleased to order," "and likewise that only two files in a "company shall have firelocks to their musquets, and the rest matchlocks." The Duke commanded the First Foot Guards. Thus these fusileers were regarded as forming a sort of light companies.

it remained until 1683, when the whole of the musquets of these Corps were exchanged for fusils.¹⁰⁸⁹

In what year other regiments than the Guards had a proportion of fusils similarly issued to them cannot be stated with precision,¹⁰⁸⁸ but there is good reason to conclude that it was not later than 1674; and in 1687 all regiments of the Line had one uniform proportion of matchlocks and fusils,¹⁰⁹⁰ the only exception being the Seventh Royal Fusileers; which corps, as its name implies, carried fusils only.

Granadeer companies also invariably carried fusils and no matchlocks.¹⁰⁹¹

Under William's rule the English infantry became perhaps the best armed in Europe,¹⁰⁹² and in 1692 the proportion of fusils was remarkably large. The power conferred by this superiority of armament was so palpable, that after the battle of Estinkerque the French King, attributing his great losses in that engagement to the greater number of firelocks in the hands of the allied troops, "especially the English,"¹⁰⁹³ ordered that on service half the musqueteers of every regiment¹⁰⁹⁴ should be armed with them, and in garrison sixteen men per company.¹⁰⁹⁵ This pro-

¹⁰⁸⁹ Royal Warrt., 28 June, 1683; App. XIV.

¹⁰⁹⁰ Regulation for Musters, 21 Febr., 1686/7; App. XXXIX. James the Second, however, in his account of the battle of Sedgemoor (1685) states that out of all the regiments present, including the Foot Guards, and the 2nd and 4th Foot, the 1st Foot was the only one that carried matchlocks. Perhaps this is only an exaggeration of the fact of the 1st and 2nd Foot-Guards being armed with fusils throughout: the statement does not quite tally with the regulations issued in James's own brief reign.

¹⁰⁹¹ See Authorities already given, and Note ¹¹¹¹.

¹⁰⁹² De Beaurain.

Royal Warrant, Whitehall, 26 June, 1690, to issue "130 firelock musquets (10 "whereof to be strapt for Granadeers)" to the Duke of Bolton's regiment of Foot, in exchange for a similar number unserviceable; Brit. Mus., Add. MSS. 5,015*.

The Danes were, however, apparently remarkably in advance of us, as regards fusils, for the Danish Contingent in Ireland in 1690 was armed throughout with fusils and cartridge-boxes. Letter, Belfast, 13 Mar., 1690; Dublin Society Thorpe Tracts.

¹⁰⁹³ De Beaurain.

¹⁰⁹⁴ Ordonnance, 1 Decr., 1692; "Il y aura à l'avenir en chacune des bataillons "qui servent en campagne, et qui ont des piques, autant de soldats armés de fusils "qu'il en restera armés de mousquets. Toutes les compagnies de grenadiers seront "armés de fusils." And in garrison only 16 fusils per company: Briquet.

¹⁰⁹⁵ Firelock musquets had been issued to the Militia in St. Helena prior to 1685, and "fusees" were there superseding matchlocks among the regular troops in 1693; St. Helena official records, 20 July, 1685, 24 April, 1693.

Besides the ordinary flint-arms there were lighter descriptions of them. The St. Helena Militia were partly armed in 1685 with "light carbines"; St. Helena records, 16 July, 1685.

Plan of a Descent to be made in England; Nairne Papers; "There should be "some long fusils to each battalion for taking off of officers."

portion, therefore, probably represents that in vogue in the English army at this particular time.¹⁰⁹⁶

At the close of the century the proportion of fusils had increased¹⁰⁹⁷ in still greater measure, although matchlocks had not even then become quite obsolete.¹⁰⁹⁸

Although fusils did thus supersede matchlocks to so great an extent, a corresponding supersession of bandaleers by the cartouch-box did not, as might naturally have been expected, take place.

In granadeer companies¹⁰⁹⁹ and in fusileer regiments the cartridge-box and cartridges were the invariable accompaniments of the fusil, but to battalion companies of regiments, other

¹⁰⁹⁶ States of the Ordnance Stores, 1687/91, Harl. MSS. 7,458/63, show a large number of both fusils and matchlocks to have been issued in 1688, but the stock of matchlocks to have been but little drawn upon after that year.

Conte des armes, &c., livrées pour le service de S.M. Britannique (from the Dutch Government), 1691; Harl. MS. 6,845. In this appear rather more fusils than musquets, but the numbers are as nearly as possible equal; 5,435 "tant fusils que musquets" (du magasin d'Amsterdam), and 4,865 fusils with 4,655 musquets purchased.

In 1691, the Twentieth Foot, then in Ireland, had been furnished with but "4 firelocks to a company"; but Caulfield's regiment having an order for 100 musquets from the magazines at Belfast "did not take them because the men of my regiment are more fond of firelocks," and he begged the Secretary at War to procure him "an order for firelocks in lieu of them; I am sure it would be an acceptable piece of service to the regiment." And Lord George Hamilton wrote in the same year; "We are full, but want about 200 firelocks, having never yet been fully armed." Letters Lt.-Col. Brasier to Ginckell, Birr, 17 Mar., 1690/1; Col. Caulfield to Clarke, Dublin, 14 Mar., 1690/1; D. Hodson to Ginckell, 11 April, 1691; Clarke MSS.

Ordnance papers, vizt. :—

Royal Warrt., 8 Mar., 1689; issue to Genl. Mackay 3,600 fire-arms, "whereof the greatest number to be firelocks." Harl. MSS. 6,334, 15 Mar., 1689; to 14th Foot 250 matchlocks and 250 firelocks, and to 11th Foot, both match and fire-locks. 19 Mar., 1690, to 14th Foot, 448 fire-arms, half match and half fire-locks.

¹⁰⁹⁷ Order, Dublin, 9 July, 1698, to 23rd and 27th Foot, 60 and 46 firelocks, but not in exchange.

Order, Dublin, 14 July, 1698, for 442 slings (*ergo*, for fusils) to the 20th Foot.

Order, Dublin, 3 Aug., 1699, for "242 snaphance musquets, whereof 50 with slings, 80 pikes, and 16 collars of bandaleers" (no matchlocks mentioned) "in lieu of the like number of musquets and 57 pikes repairable"; to the 5th Foot: Dub. State Papers.

¹⁰⁹⁸ Order, Dublin, 7 July, 1698, for powder and Match to 16th Foot.

Royal Letter, Kensington, 7 Jan., 1701/2, to Lords Justices of Ireland, touching the putting of the magazines into order; desiring measures to be taken "to fix and repair what snaphance and matchlock musquets, carbines, and pistols are now in store."

Royal Letter, Kensington, 21 Jan., 1701/2, to Lords Justices of Ireland, respecting repayment of cost on receipt of "2,000 musquets and 700 long pikes supplied out of the stores of our Ordnance here"; it is, however, just possible that these might have been snaphance musquets. Dublin State papers.

¹⁰⁹⁹ See Note.¹¹¹¹

than fusileers, bandaleers with ball-bag and flask continued to be issued in greater or less proportions up to the close of the seventeenth century. The battalion companies of the Foot-Guards used bandaleers only for many years after their exchange of matchlocks for fusils.¹¹⁰⁰ In other regiments (and probably in the Guards also), the change was made between the years 1692 and 1697,¹¹⁰¹ although even then it did not run throughout the Service;¹¹⁰² still, in 1697 the majority of regiments had discarded bandaleers altogether.

Another innovation that gradually gained ground in battalion companies was the use of bayonets. Bayonets or "Short Daggers" were used by the Foot at Tangier¹¹⁰³ as early as 1663, but the earliest issue of the sort at home was in 1673, when every foot-soldier carried a bayonet.¹¹⁰⁴ This was most likely in deference to the published opinions of the Duke of Albemarle; but the issue of bayonets to infantry soon ceased, and (although granadeers had bayonets from the first) battalion companies did

¹¹⁰⁰ Regulations for Musters, 21 Feby., 1686/7, App. XXXIX.

Royal Warrt., 9 May, 1692, W.O. records; being an order to issue to the Coldstream 20 Snaphance-musquets, 20 Collars of Bandaleers, and 3 Pikes.

¹¹⁰¹ States of Ordnance Stores, Harl. MSS. 7,458-63 shews only 800 cartouche boxes in 1689 and 14,000 in 1691.

Ordnance Papers: Warrants for issues in 1689 to several regiments, as 14th, 15th, and 19th, of as many bandaleers as fire-arms for battalion companies.

Warrant, 1 June, 1692, 540 Cartouch boxes and 60 granade-pouches to Tiffin's (27th Foot). Home Office records.

Warrant, 20 June, 1692, for 500 cartridge-boxes to 14th Foot. Home Office records and Ordnance papers.

The Complete Clothing of a regt. of Foot (1695/6), App. LII.

Proclamation, Dublin, 26 July, 1697, App. XC.

Order, Dublin, 17 Feby., 1697/8, "Whereas there is arrived in this port from "Liverpool 500 cartridge-boxes and 139 belts for the use of the regt. of Foot under "the command of Brigadeer Tiffin," &c. (27th Foot).

¹¹⁰² Letter James II to Commissary-General the Earl of Dover, 16 July, 1689; "There must be bandaleers in proportion to the musquets *and firelocks*."

St. Helena official records, 27 Sept., 1694; Received from England "30 collars "of bandaleers" with "one shot mould for fusees" (fusils).

Orders, Dublin State Papers, 1697, for powder and ball to several regts. (but this may have been for making cartridges themselves).

Order, Dublin, 3 Aug., 1699, for the issue to the 5th Foot of 242 snaphance musquets, "16 collars of bandaleers," &c.

1707. Instructions to Col. Hook "touching a diversion in Scotland"; "To know "who will furnish fusees, swords, bayonets, belts, bandaleers, and powder-flasks." (Macpherson.)

¹¹⁰³ Courts-Martial Tangier, 15 Aug., 1663, and 24 March, 1664; Brit. Mus., Sloane MSS. 1,957.

¹¹⁰⁴ Articles of War, 1673, Cl. 37. "And the Foot to have each soldier a sword, or dagger, for their musquets, &c."

Proposals for arms for a Force (internal evidence cir. 1680 to 1688) shews *all* musqueteers of all regts. to require bayonets; Add. MSS. 28,082.

not receive them again until 1686 when the Foot-Guards were ordered to be armed throughout with bayonets,¹¹⁰⁵ of course excepting the pikemen. With the exception, however, of these favoured regiments, musqueteers retained their old armament for some years longer;¹¹⁰⁶ but with the influx of William's Continental Generals and the pressure of war, there came a great impetus to improved armaments; in 1689¹¹⁰⁷ several regiments were given as many "bayonets" or "daggers" as there were musqueteers, although they still retained their proportion of pikes.

In 1692 or 1693, a sword-bayonet having been approved of, some, if not all, foot-regiments were armed with it.¹¹⁰⁸

In 1697 all battalion companies had bayonets,¹¹⁰⁹ and in some regiments, although not in all, these bayonets were still sword-bayonets.¹¹¹⁰

¹¹⁰⁵ Royal Warrt., 22 Febyr., 1685/6; App. XXXV.

Contingent Account of Quarter-Master Ingram, Coldstream Guards, 1 Janry. to 1 July, 1686, includes under date 21 May "For taking out and carrying of the bayonets for the regiment"; W. O. Records.

¹¹⁰⁶ Regulations for Musters, 21 Febyr., 1686/7. App. XXXIX, &c.

¹¹⁰⁷ Ordnance Papers, vizt. :

Royal Warrts., 8 Mar., 1689, 536 bayonets to 2nd Foot

15 Mar., 1689, 300 bayonets (to 500 fire-arms) to 14th Foot.

" " "Daggers, the whole complement" (besides pikes) to 11th Foot; 290 bayonets to 12th Foot.

23 Mar., 1689, 520 bayonets (besides 240 pikes) to 15th Foot.

" " 344 do. (do. 160 do.) to 13th Foot.

24 May, 1689; Monmouth's "the whole regt. wants bayonets."

3 April, 1689; 658 bayonets to 17th Foot.

14 and 22 April, 1690; Pembroke's and Torrington's Marine regts., no pikes and every man a bayonet.

20 June, 1692; 500 bayonets to 14th Foot.

R. Warrt., 18 Febyr., 1691-2, Home office records; Foot regts. from Flanders to have 14 long pikes per Company, and *those that were formerly armed all with musquets* to return to store accordingly.

¹¹⁰⁸ Sword-bayonets first appear in the Ordnance Stores in 1691; States of the Ordnance Stores, 1687/91; Harl. MSS. 7.458/63.

Bill, Contractor Roberts against Castleton's regiment, Harl. MSS. 6.844 "240 "Baggonet swords and 240 buff belts"; the date of this bill I have no hesitation in setting at 1693. The regt. was raised in 1689, but sword-bayonets were then unknown; and there happens to be extant a Contractor's bill for the articles of clothing not included in Roberts's bill, and which is dated 1693.

The Complete Clothing of a regt. of Foot (cir. 1695/6) App. LII. Doubtless the "Long bayonets" and "Long Daggers" as distinguished from the ordinary bayonets issued to the same regts. were these sword-bayonets: Warrt., 24 Mar., 1689, 324 long daggers to 4th Dragoons; Warrt., 20 June, 1692, for 500 bayonets to 14 Foot "whereof 60 to be long for granadeers"; Ordnce. papers.

¹¹⁰⁹ Proclamation, Dublin, 26 July, 1697, App. XC.

Military Dicty., 1702.

¹¹¹⁰ Order, Dublin, 2 Aug., 1698, for issue, to 27th Foot, of "50 Baggonett swords"; Dub. State papers. But the Proclamation, Dublin, 26 July, 1697, App. XC,

The armament of Granadeers was of a very heavy character,¹¹¹¹ consisting of fusil with sling, cartridge-box with girdle, granade-pouch, bayonet, and hatchet and girdle.

In 1684 the fusil was a "light fusil,"¹¹¹¹ and in 1687 it was ordered to be a "long carabine."

Granadeers appear to have had no swords until Hangers were served out to them about the year 1688.¹¹¹²

Matchboxes¹¹¹³ also formed a portion of a granadeer's equipment.

The granadeers and the pikemen, but especially the

orders an issue every three years to the whole regt. of "one sword, one bayonet," &c., whereas the sword was not required when the sword-bayonet was used. Thus in Roberts's Bill to Castleton's regt. (Harl. MS. 6,844) while swords for serjeants and hangers for granadeers are charged, no swords are charged to correspond with the 240 baggonet-swords.

The corollary is that some bayonet in lieu of the sword-bayonet was coming into vogue when the Proclamation of 1697 was issued.

The Mily. Dicty., 1702, mentions only muzzle-bayonets. But *see* also Chap. XXI on Bayonets.

¹¹¹¹ Royal Warrts., 19 May, 1677; 13 Apr., 1678; 28 Apr., 1684; 3 Apr., 1689; 12 Apr., 1689, App. XIII, XXIX, LXXXIX.

Regulations for Musters, 21 Feby., 1686/7, App. XXXIX.

See also Note ¹¹¹³.

Nathan Brooks.

Sandford.

Mallet.

St. Remy.

¹¹¹² Swords are not mentioned in the Warrants quoted in the preceding note, and the mention of them is evidently purposely omitted in that of 21 Feby., 1686/7.

Nathan Brooks specially remarks that the granadeers had not swords.

Sandford does not mention swords for granadeers while mentioning them for other arms of infantry.

On the other hand "Hanger-belts with frogs for swords" appear in the States of Ordnance Stores, 1687/91, together with "frogs for hanger-belts."

St. Remy distinctly states that the granadeer's belt was for sword as well as bayonet; 1697.

Hangers appear in the States of Ordnance Stores from 1687 to 1691, and a large issue of them was made in 1688; Harl. MSS. 7,458/63.

Royal Warrt., 8 Mar., 1689; Ordnance Papers; for issue of Hangers for granadeers, to 2nd Foot.

Roberts's Bill for Castleton's regt. (1693); Harl. MSS. 6,844.

Complete Clothing, &c. (1695/6); App. LI, LII.

D'Auvergne, 1693; "The granadeers fell to cut down the palisadoes with their "sabres."

Lond. Gaz., 17/20 June, 1689; advertisement for a granadeer with "sword" and belt, &c., this might be a sword or a hanger.

¹¹¹³ The Complete Clothing for a regt. of Foot (1695/6); App. LII.

Girard.

Royal Warrt., 23 April, 1691, for issue to Granadeers of 1st Foot-Guards: and this seems to be about the earliest issue of such articles from store; Ordnance Papers.

Royal Warrt., 23 April, 1691, Home Office records; for issue to Granadeers of Erle's (19th Foot), 58 sets Firelocks slinged, Hatchets, Bayonets, frogs and belts, Pouches, Cartridge-boxes, and Match-boxes.

former,¹¹¹⁴ were always the picked men of a regiment, the pikemen being selected for strength of build, and the granadeers for superiority of height as well as smartness and agility: even in our own time, when the duties of the granadeer companies had become assimilated to those of the battalion, they still, from mere force of tradition, continued to absorb the tallest and finest men.

The armament of Fusileer regiments most nearly approached that of the present century; it consisted of fusils with slings, cartridge-boxes, swords, and bayonets.¹¹¹⁵

The companies of Miners¹¹¹⁶ generally carried long carabines with slings, cartridge-boxes, bayonets, and hammer-hatchets of a style peculiar to themselves; but the Miner company attached to the train of Artillery in Flanders carried no fire-arms.¹¹¹⁷

Besides this company belonging to the Artillery, and one independent company on the Irish establishment,¹¹¹⁸ there was but one regiment having a company of Miners¹¹¹⁹ attached to it namely the Royal or Seventh Fusileers, which had one added in 1685.

This regiment also had a gunsmith attached to it, which, strange to say, no other regiment had.¹¹²⁰

The miners¹¹²¹ were entirely distinct from Engineers or

¹¹¹⁴ Mallet.

D'Auvergne, 1693.

Farquhar, *The Recruiting Officer*, Act 1, Scene 1;

Loq. Serjt. Kite; "Besides, I don't beat up for common soldiers; no I list only "granadeers, granadeers, gentlemen. Pray gentlemen, observe this cap,—this is the "cap of honour; it dubs a man a gentleman in the drawing of a trigger, and he "that has the good fortune to be born six feet high was born to be a great man."

Vindication of the present government of Ireland; Lond. 1688.

Bruce's Military Law, 1717.

¹¹¹⁵ Royal Warrants, 21 Febr., 1686/7, and 30 Decr., 1695, Apps. XXXIX and X.

¹¹¹⁶ Royal Warrant, 21 Febr., 1686/7, App. XXXIX.

Royal Warrt., 11 June, 1692; Ordnance papers; issue to a Company of Miners Long carabines strapped, Partisans, Drums, and Hatchets.

¹¹¹⁷ D'Auvergne, 1693 and 1694.

This Company was raised in 1690; Warrant, 17 May, 1690, Home Office records.

¹¹¹⁸ Est. of H.M.'s Forces in Ireland, 1 June, 1690; Harl. MS. 7,441.

¹¹¹⁹ Est. Lists, 1687/89, &c.; Harl. MSS. 7,018.

List of the Officers of H.M. Army, Novr., 1687; Harl. MSS. 4,847.

Report, 19 Sept., 1692, on petition of Capt. Brown; Try. State Papers.

Estimate for increase of the Royal Fusileers by 40 Miners in 1685; Brit. Mus., Hyde Add. MSS. 15,897.

¹¹²⁰ Est. List, 1687/89, &c.; Harl. MS. 7,018, &c.

¹¹²¹ D'Auvergne.

Plan of a descent to be made in England, 1692; Nairne Papers; "That there be

engineer artificers, and appear to have acted as pioneers on the march as well as to have been engaged in mining operations or on siege works generally.

One peculiarity of miner companies¹¹²² was that they had but one subaltern, and he was a lieutenant.

The danger of allowing soldiers to wear their side-arms when not on duty nor on active service was early perceived, and it was distinctly prohibited in 1687;¹¹²³ the necessity for the prohibition did not arise until the supremacy of the civil law over military feudalism had begun to make itself felt, and the date of the prohibitory order becomes therefore in some measure an historical land-mark.

I have heard it asserted by a military antiquarian that at least during some years of the latter part of the seventeenth century the foot soldiers in battalion companies did not wear swords at all, his reasons apparently being that swords are not mentioned in the different warrants for issues. It is however quite certain that swords were worn by both musqueteers and pikemen,¹¹²⁴ and the reason of their omission from warrants for

"a company of Miners and an able Captain to command them, with tools, &c., for "mining"; "That there be a sufficient number of engineers," &c. The item of engineers was allowed in this estimate, while that of miners was struck out.

¹¹²² List of the officers, &c., 1687; Harl. MSS. 4,847.

¹¹²³ Royal Warrant, 4 Mar., 1686/7, App. XL.

This Order does not, however, seem to have been strictly observed for long. The trial of George Cumming, Writer, in Edinburgh, for the murder of Patrick Falconer, a soldier in Lord Lindsay's regiment, on the 5 Sept., 1695, shews that soldiers did then sometimes wear their bayonets when not on duty.

Letter, 5 Decr., 1698, Hon. E. India Compy. to the Govt. of St. Helena, "That "no person not being an officer or soldier be permitted to wear any swords, it being "by the custom of all nations an unallowable thing in frontier garrisons; and we "think it may not be very proper for your private soldiers to wear swords in such a "drinking place as St. Helena is, except when they are upon duty"; St. Helena records.

Court-Martial, Guernsey, 26 June, 1686, W.O. records, and other Courts-Martial, show that side-arms were habitually carried up to that time.

¹¹²⁴ Regulations for Musters, 5 May, 1663, App. XXIV.

Articles of War, 1673, App. LIII.

Regulations for Musters, 21 Feby., 1686/7, App. XXXIX.

Order, Whitehall, 14 Feby., 1697/8, App. C.

Proclamation, Dublin, 26 July, 1697, App. XC.

Order, Dublin, 28 Feby., 1697/8.

St. Helena Official Records, 23 Decr., 1684, and 4 Apr., 1693; account of two mutinies, that musqueteers wore swords.

Nathan Brooks, 1684.

Sandford, 1685.

Swords were invariably mentioned wherever the arms or clothing were found complete by Government. Warrt., 20 May, 1670, Home Office records for delivery of some thousands of sets of arms at Windsor, shows swords in proportion to Infantry arms.

even complete sets of arms and accoutrements is, that they were furnished out of the clothing funds ¹¹²⁵ and were therefore generally purchased from contractors who delivered them direct to the regiments.

Lord Orrery ¹¹²⁶ remarked that in his time English soldiers frequently appeared without their swords, either from carelessness and indolence, or because they had lost them.

With regard to the armament of Officers and Non-commissioned Officers, the subject has, in order to avoid repetition, been incorporated into another chapter. ¹¹²⁷

Before quitting the subject of the composition and armament of regiments, however, there are one or two peculiarities to be noticed.

The first appointment of an Adjutant was to the First Troop of Life-Guards in 1661. ¹¹²⁸ In 1679 the Life-Guards had one adjutant common to the three troops; ¹¹²⁹ and from this period forth, if not earlier, every regiment of infantry had its adjutant, ¹¹³⁰ as had the dragoons also from the establishment of the Tangier Horse as the First Dragoons in 1684, and the Horse regiments from their establishment in the following year.

A peculiarity of the First Foot-Guards ¹¹³¹ at one time was

Warrt., 27 Octr., 1671, W.O. records, to four companies from Barbadoes, Pikes, Bandoleers, swords, and belts, &c.

Warrt., 11 Feby., 1673/4, W.O. records, for payment for *clothing* of recruits of the Holland Regt. (3rd Foot), includes swords and belts.

Account, 18 June, 1673, W.O. records, of *clothing* of recruits of D. of Buckinghamshire's regt., includes swords and belts.

¹¹²⁵ Royal Warrt., 1 Feby., 1677/8, App. IX.

Proclamation, Dublin, 26 July, 1697, App. XC.

Report, 16 Feby., 1691, on Thos. Hawgood's Bill for swords to the 14th Foot in 1688, &c., Try. State Papers.

Roberts's Bill against Castleton's regt., 1693; Harl. MS. 6,844.

The Complete clothing for a regt. of Foot (1695/6); App. LII.

¹¹²⁶ Orrery, 1677.

¹¹²⁷ See Chap. XXII on Clothing, under the head of "Badges"; the arms of officers being for the most part carried as emblems of their degrees of authority rather than as weapons.

¹¹²⁸ Commission, 26 (?) Janry., 1661, to George March to be Adjutant to the King's Guards under Capt. Charles Lord Gerard; Dom. State Papers.

¹¹²⁹ Est. List, 1679/80; Harl. MSS. 6,425.

¹¹³⁰ Est. List, 1679/80; 1686; 1687/89; 1689; &c., &c.; Harl. MSS. 6,425, 4,161, 7,018, 7,437.

List of the officers of H.M.'s Army, Novr., 1687.

Nathan Brooks, 1684.

See also Notes under head of "Adjutant" in this chapter.

R. Warrt., 13 Decr., 1673, W.O. records, shews that at least some of the then newly-raised infantry regts. had adjutants.

¹¹³¹ List of the officers, &c., 1687.

that it had three adjutants. Previously it had had two adjutants,¹¹³² instead of only one, on account of its larger establishment; although the Royals, whose strength was little inferior, had but one.¹¹³²

Another, and a very striking, peculiarity of the First Foot-Guards was that there was attached to the regiment in 1680, and for some time previously, a "Solicitor"¹¹³³ paid out of army funds. In 1690 the Coldstream Guards shared this privilege,¹¹³⁴ or nuisance, as it may be differently estimated. This Solicitor however was, in all probability, not a limb of the law, but a regimental baggage-master, as would appear from an English translation in 1726¹¹³⁵ of the Prussian Infantry Regulations. All regiments seem to have sometimes had these Solicitors on active service,¹¹³⁶ a time when of course the services of a baggage-master would be more required than ordinarily.

Some regiments had from the first asserted a PRECEDENCE of others on account of their special duties in guarding the Royal person; others again disputed this claim on the ground of more ancient origin. As may be conceived, it was early found imperative to restrain by authoritative declarations these contests of opinion; and in 1666 a Royal Warrant was put forth on the subject.¹¹³⁷

Its purport was that, of the Foot, the First Foot-Guards was to take precedence on all occasions, and the Coldstream next:

¹¹³² Nathan Brooks.

Another peculiarity, though of little import, of the First Foot-Guards was that the King's Company had an extra serjeant; Est. List, 1680; Harl. MS. 6,425.

¹¹³³ Est. List, 1680; among the "Allowances on several occasions" occurs the following item: "To the person employed as a Solicitor for the companies of Our "Own Regt. of Foot-Guards in the place of that Mr. Bulstrode had."

Warrant, 1678/9, for pay to J. Rawkins, Esqre., "being the person employed as "Solicitor to the companies of H.M.'s regiment of Foot-Guards" at 4s. a day, Brit. Mus., Add. MSS. 5,752.

¹¹³⁴ Est. List, 1 May, 1689, to 31 May, 1690; Harl. MSS. 7,018.

¹¹³⁵ Faucitt, Regulations for the Prussian Infantry, translated from the German original, Lond. 1744; originally published in 1726: Chap. XXVI, "Every Solicitor "shall attend the wagons of his respective regiment, and keep them in regular "succession." "When any Solicitor does not march with the baggage of "his regiment, to take the proper care of it and keep it in regular order, the Wagon- "Master-General shall be obliged immediately after the march to report him; and "the Solicitor so offending must be put under arrest." "The baggage must be "packed up and ready in good time, the day it is to march, and the Solicitor of every "regiment on the spot, in order to march off with his respective baggage regularly in "columns, according to the Wagon-Master-General's orders," &c., &c.

¹¹³⁶ Acct. of the Earl of Ossory's Company, 1678, contains each month "Solicitor's "wages"; Brit. Mus., Add. MSS. 28,943.

¹¹³⁷ Royal Warrt., 12 Sept., 1666, App. XLII.

of the Horse, the Life-Guards stood first, and the Royal Horse (Blues) second : all other regiments were to take rank according to the *seniority of their colonels*.

In 1675 two more Warrants on this subject appeared, and with a very important modification. While Horse-regiments continued,¹¹³⁸ with the exception of the Life-Guards and the Blues, to take precedence according to the seniority of the Colonels, Infantry regiments, other than three exceptions,¹¹³⁹ were to "take place according to their respective seniorities " from the time they were raised, so that no regiment is to "lose precedence by the death of their colonel."

But shortly arose the question of what constituted this seniority of age among regiments ; and the reader, if he will turn to the accounts of the origins of the different regiments, will at once perceive with how many difficulties this question was surrounded.

In 1694, when the army was in Flanders, although all acknowledged the rights of the Guards, there was still much bickering and debate among the other corps touching their relative seniority ; and, with a view to the final settlement of the whole question, the King nominated a Board of General Officers¹¹⁴⁰ to hear and decide upon the claims of the several regiments ; and a Warrant was issued accordingly. It is from this period that the consecutive ranking of the Line regiments dates.¹¹⁴¹

Some corps, however, felt much aggrieved by the decision of the Board. Captain Robert Parker of the Royal Regiment of Ireland (the Eighteenth Foot) states¹¹⁴⁰ that his regiment, among others, felt aggrieved, and he very succinctly tells us the reason :—"Now, as the Generals (composing the Board) were "most of them colonels of regiments raised in England by "James the Second, they shewed great partiality on this occasion, for they would not allow regiments raised in Scotland or "Ireland to have any rank in the army but from the time of

¹¹³⁸ Royal Warrts., 24 June and 1 Decr., 1675, App. XLIII and XVIII.

¹¹³⁹ Royal Warrt., 1 Decr., 1675, the exceptions were the First and Second Foot-Guards and the Duke of York's regt.

Chamberlayne, 1679.

¹¹⁴⁰ Parker.

Kane.

Royal Warrt., 10 June, 1694, App. CIX.

¹¹⁴¹ It was not now, however, that numbers were assigned to regiments : they continued to be designated by the names of their Colonels, unless they possessed some special appellation as "The Coldstream Regt.," the "Royal Fusileers" (now the 7th Foot), the "Scots Fusileers" (now the 21st Foot), &c.

"their coming into England and on English pay:
 "The King thought it very hard, but, as he had left the matter
 "to them, he confirmed their sentence."

PRECEDENCE OF COMMAND was with greater reason a subject of dispute betwixt the officers of different corps. The officers of certain regiments early obtained peculiar privileges of precedence, some of which they retained to our own day.

In 1666¹¹⁴² it was ordained that Captains of the Life-Guards should rank as eldest colonels of Horse, the Lieutenants as eldest majors, and the Cornets as eldest captains. The Colonel of the Blues was to rank after the captains of Life-Guards, but before all other Colonels of Horse.

The Warrant of 1675 repeated these regulations,¹¹⁴³ and added that Guidons of the Life-Guards were to rank as youngest captains of Horse.

The origin of such apparently disproportionate relative superiority over the officers of other corps was probably the class of men then to be found in the Life-Guards. When the regiment was first established after the Restoration, out of the four lieutenants of the First Troop¹¹⁴⁴ one was a Colonel and another was a Major-General; the Quarter-Master was a Colonel, and all the four Corporals were the same: even the place of a private in this superb corps was coveted by *ci-devant* captains.

This being the case, the conferring upon old and distinguished soldiers and tried servants of the Crown a rank rather proportioned to their merits and to their previous status, than disparaging to the merits of others, ceases to wear an aspect unnatural or impolitic.

The thin end of a wedge of abuse having thus crept in, we may be sure that it would not want for blows to drive it up to the head. Accordingly we find similar privileges accorded to the Foot-Guards, at first negatively but afterwards positively. By the Warrant of 1666¹¹⁴² the Colonel of the First Foot-

¹¹⁴² Royal Warrt., 12 Sept., 1666, App. XLII.

The Cornets ranking as eldest Captains, their Commissions appear to have been made out as "Cornets and Majors," *e.g.*, Commissions to Berkeley and Oglethorpe, 2 and 15 Decr., 1679; Home Office records.

¹¹⁴³ Royal Warrt., 1 Decr., 1675, App. XVIII.

We have also Commissions as "Guidon and Major"; *e.g.*, commission Chas. Butler, April, 1689, to the First Troop; Home office records.

¹¹⁴⁴ Mercurius Publicus, 14/21 Mar., 1661.

Kingdom's Intelligencer, 18/25 Mar., 1660/1.

Chamberlayne, 1669.

See also Chapter I.

Various lists of Officers, Brit. Mus. MSS.

Guards took precedence of all other colonels of infantry, the Colonel of the Coldstream stood second, and the Colonel of the Admiral's regiment third, while all other Colonels ranked according to the dates of their commissions.

Seven years later precedence over all other captains of Foot¹¹⁴⁵ was conferred upon the Captains of the First Foot-Guards, and precedence next after them upon those of the Coldstream Guards, these regiments to have a claim to the posts of honour accordingly. The posts of honour were the right hand of all infantry when on parades, and the van of them on the march, and the furnishing of the main-guard in garrison. The Captains of all other regiments of Foot were to take precedence and command according to the seniority of their regiments.

Thus, the same rule was made to apply to all, but nevertheless this was equivalent to the grant of brevet-majorities to the Foot-Guards only.

Two years later (1675), another Warrant¹¹⁴⁵ was published giving precedence still to the Colonels of the First Foot-Guards, and also re-affirming the above very curious rule respecting the precedence of other officers of infantry: the wording of this clause is so distinct that it may speak for itself;¹¹⁴⁶ "Fourthly, "That the eldest Colonels do on all occasions command, and "when there shall be no Colonel upon the place, then the Lieutenant-Colonel of the eldest regiment, and in like manner when "no Lieutenant-Colonel, the Major, and so down to the "Captains and other inferior officers."

The Captains of the Foot-Guards¹¹⁴⁷ continued to rank as senior captains only, until 1687, although they had made some efforts to get a change effected earlier.¹¹⁴⁸ In 1687¹¹⁴⁹ fresh commissions were granted to them styling them Captains and Lieutenant-Colonels, and conferring upon them precedence and command as youngest of the latter rank.

They were not long content with even this, for in 1691 King William was induced not only to continue to the Captains of the Guards the privileges accorded by his predecessor, but even

¹¹⁴⁵ Royal Warrt., 1 Mar., 1672/3, App. XLIV.

¹¹⁴⁶ Royal Warrts., 12 Sept., 1666, and 1 Decr., 1675, Apps. XLII and XVIII.

¹¹⁴⁷ Chamberlayne.—Nathan Brooks.

¹¹⁴⁸ Letter Monmouth to Feversham, Sept. 1678; see App. XLV.

¹¹⁴⁹ Royal Warrant, 30 July, 1687, Addl. MSS., Brit. Mus., 4,194: "His Majesty hath been pleased to grant new Commissions to the Captains of his Royal Regt. of Guards commanded by the Duke of Grafton, by which every Captain of "the said regiment is made Lieutenant-Colonel and Captain."

to bestow upon them the right of command¹¹⁵⁰ as Lieutenant-Colonels according to date of Commission. At the same time the rank of Captain was first granted to the Lieutenants¹¹⁵¹ of the First and Second Foot-Guards.

The rank of Lieutenant-Colonel seems to have been granted at this time also to the Captains of the Third or Scots Foot-Guards,¹¹⁵² although the Lieutenants of this regiment had been excluded from the privileges of the Warrants of July, 1691.

There was one marked difference, in respect of command,¹¹⁵³ between cavalry and infantry. In the infantry of the Line the officers took precedence of command according to the seniority of the regiments to which they belonged, so long as they were of the same grade; whereas in the Horse they took precedence, as is the case now, by date of commission. At the headquarters of a regiment¹¹⁵⁴ precedence was regulated by the seniority of the troops or companies of officers of corresponding degree, but when on detachment by date of commission. No matter, however, what seniority pertained to an officer when in the field, in garrison he was bound to obey the Governor¹¹⁵⁴ of the place for the time being.

A still more extraordinary anomaly was the rule that in

Commissions to Capts. J. Bridgeman, J. Burgess, and R. Wilkins, Coldstream Guards, to take rank as youngest Lieut.-Colonels of Foot, Aug., 1688; Commission and Court-Martial Books, State Paper Office.

Commission by "William Prince of Orange" to Henry Sandys, Esqre., "to be Captain of a Company of the 1st Regiment of Foot-Guards under the command of Henry Duke of Grafton, and to take your rank as youngest Lieutenant-Colonel of Foot," dated St. James's, 31 Decr., 1688; Brit. Mus., Add. MSS. 5,015*.

Add. MSS., Brit. Mus., 4,194, 3,929; "London, 2nd Augt., 1688, Col. John Miller, eldest *Capt.* of the Lord Craven's regt." (Coldstream), &c.

"London, 4 Aug., 1688, Col. Miller, Commander of the *first compy.* in Lord Craven's regt.," &c.

See Mackinnon; W.O. Court-Martial and Commission books, &c.

¹¹⁵⁰ D'Auvergne, 1691, Camp at Gerpynes, 11/28 July.

War Office Commission Books; Commissions to Captains of First and Second Foot-Guards to take rank as Lieut.-Cols., Park, 1 June, 1693.

¹¹⁵¹ Royal Warrts., 9/19 and 12/22 July, 1691, App. XLVI.

¹¹⁵² Commission Books.

¹¹⁵³ Royal Warrants, 12 Sept., 1666; 1 Mar., 1672/3; 1 Decr., 1675, Apps. XLII, XLIV, XVIII.

Eng. Mily. Discipline, 1686.

Mily. Dicty., 1702, "Among the Horse, when Captains of several regts. meet, he that has the eldest Commission commands; but among the Foot the Captain of the eldest regt. commands all that are of younger regts., though they have elder Commissions." The same rule is laid down under the head of colonel.

¹¹⁵⁴ Royal Wart., 1 Decr., 1675, App. XVIII.

Chamberlayne, 1679.

Eng. Mily. Discipline, 1686.

garrison Brigadeers of infantry¹¹⁵⁵ took command over Brigadeers of cavalry, and that in the field the rule was reversed, and Brigadeers of Horse took the precedence. The same distinction, or some other equally broad, seems to have run through all grades; for in all Warrants and official documents there is a marked emphasis upon Horse and Foot respectively, sufficiently so to shew that a Captain or Colonel of Foot and a Captain or Colonel of Horse did not hold the same precedence.

It was not probable that when Captains in the Guards obtained the rank of Lieutenant-Colonels, the Majors of those regiments could remain without a corresponding step of rank; and accordingly they appear to have been raised to the grade of Colonels.¹¹⁵⁶

The regulations above noticed opened the way to the institution of BREVET-RANK. Indeed the rank accorded to the officers of the Life-Guards was generally regarded rather as a brevet to a step higher than as a substantive appointment to the grade named in the Warrant. Thus, for example, in 1684 the Lieutenants of the Life-Guards ranked as eldest Majors and the Cornets as eldest Captains: yet in general estimation they were set down as Lieutenant-colonels and Majors respectively.¹¹⁵⁷

In 1692¹¹⁵⁸ some actual brevets were granted to officers of various grades down to that of Lieutenant.

The object of these brevets is not very clear, inasmuch as regimental promotion did not go by seniority.

Before proceeding, however, to describe how regimental promotion was regulated, it is worth while to note a curious instance of temporary rank which is to be found in the investment of Judge Jefferies with the rank of Lieutenant-General during his "bloody circuit" in the West after the battle of Sedgemoor, hence facetiously denominated by James the Second, "Jefferies' campaign."

There are instances of "double commissions"¹¹⁵⁹ also at this

¹¹⁵⁵ Military Dicty., 1702.

¹¹⁵⁶ Letter, Secy. at War, 3 Sept., 1698; "*Colonel Shrimpton, Major of the said 'regiment' (First Foot-Guards); App. LVI.*"

¹¹⁵⁷ Chamberlayne.

Nathan Brooks.

¹¹⁵⁸ Brevet, 10 May, 1692, to F. Hawly as Col. of dragoons; Brevet, 1692, to Lt. Baron Spaar as Capt.; and others; W.O. records.

¹¹⁵⁹ Royal Warri., 23 Febry., 1672/3, to muster Cornet Kirk as Cornet in the Blues while serving on active service in the Duke of Monmouth's regiment; W.O. records.

Royal Warri., 21 Sept., 1680, ordering Lt.-Col. Piercy Kirke, with his servant,

period: thus the Captain-Lieutenant of the Colonel's troop of the Horse-Guards in 1680 held an additional commission as Lieutenant-Colonel of the Fourth Foot.

In the system of regimental promotion, as in so many matters where discretionary power is entrusted to poor human nature, theory and practice were widely at variance; and in this, as in so much else, the baleful effect of bureaucratic civilian influence made itself felt.

The theory was that promotion went by selection governed by merit. To begin with, a list of deserving candidates¹¹⁶⁰ was kept at Whitehall from which selections were to be made.

The practice was that when vacancies occurred the Colonel recommended¹¹⁶¹ certain officers to the Secretary at War, who submitted the recommendation to the King, or to the Commander in Chief on the spot for transmission to the King. William the Third, who displayed strong common sense, if little tact, in dealing with military questions, refused to recognise any recommendations or to grant any commissions in regiments (not serving under his own immediate command) except through the General under whom the regiment might be serving.¹¹⁶² All promotion in any case emanated from the Sovereign in person.¹¹⁶³ Sometimes promotions were recommended direct by the

to be passed on the muster-roll of the Horse-Guards during his absence in Tangier as Lt.-Col. of the Fourth Foot; quoted by Packe.

See also under the head of Colonel how Colonels had double Commissions.

¹¹⁶⁰ Letter, Whitehall, 19 May, 1691, Mr. Warre to Clarke; Clarke MSS.

¹¹⁶¹ Letter, Loughbrickland, 21 June, 1690, Drogheda to Clarke.

Letter, Mullingar, 28 Sept., 1690, Bellasyse to Ginckell.

Letter, 30 Sept., 1690, Coningsby to Clarke.

Letter, Sept., 1690, Lt.-Col. Coote to Clarke.

Letter, Dublin, 14 Oct., 1690, Meath to Clarke.

Letter, 4 Novr., 1690, Col. Erle to Clarke; This letter implies that the course in James's reign had been similar to that of William's reign.

Letter, Cork, 11 May, 1691, Col. Hastings to Clarke: "I desire you to speak to the General for a Commission for J. Scott to be Ensign to my company."

Letter, Dublin, 16 July, 1691, Col. (Brigr.) Stewart to Clarke.

Letter, Galway, 4 Aug., 1691, Col. Purcell to Clarke; after recommending certain officers, "I know His Excellency (General Ginckell) will put no more into "this regiment," &c.

Letter, Dublin, 8 Sept., 1691, Stewart to Clarke.

Letter, Kilkenny, 24 Sept., 1691, Col. Coote to Clarke, &c.

All Clarke MSS.

¹¹⁶² Letter, 6 Aug., 1691, Capt. Pulteney to Clarke; Clarke MSS.

¹¹⁶³ Letter, Loughbrickland, 21 June, 1690, Drogheda to Clarke.

Letter, Dublin, 20 Decr., 1690, Paymr.-Genl. Robinson to Clarke.

Letter, Whitehall, 19 May, 1691, Mr. Warre to Clarke.

Letter, 6 Aug., 1691, Capt. Pulteney to Clarke. All Clarke MSS.

Clarendon Correspondence, 1685/89, contains very unmistakable and plenteous evidence on this head.

General¹¹⁶⁴ without reference to the Officer commanding the regiment, but this was regarded as an unusual step, and as a breach of the Colonel's privileges.

Of course such a system could not but lead to unfairness and abuses, especially at an epoch when favouritism and jobbery flourished supreme in every branch of the public service. The frailty of human nature was aided by the laxity of public morals, and before this temptation, as before others, the Colonels of regiments proved weak, and sinned with little compunction because they sinned in a body. Nepotism¹¹⁶⁵ or avarice secured his promotion to many a man out of his turn and without any reference to his comparative merits. When an officer sought for promotion he whipped up all his influential friends,¹¹⁶⁶ and it was generally thought that the mention of a few big names carried greater weight than any record of the officer's services. This making of interest was exercised even in such appointments as that of Colonel,¹¹⁶⁷ and perhaps there was no promotion which went so much out of the line of seniority as this; and it is certain from multitudinous extant correspondence, more from favouritism and jobbery than from any desire to secure the most competent officers for so responsible a position.

Promotions of officers¹¹⁶⁸ were sometimes made from one Corps into another, though such measures were naturally

¹¹⁶⁴ Letter, Loughbrickland, 21 June, 1690, Drogheda to Clarke.

Letter, 4 Novr., 1690, Col. Erle to Clarke.

Clarendon Correspondence.

¹¹⁶⁵ Letter, Mullingar, 30 Septr., 1690, Bellasyse to Ginckell.

Letter, 30, Septr., Coningsby to Clarke.

And several other letters in the Clarke MSS. prove equally that promotion did not go by seniority but by selection on the Colonel's recommendation.

Letter, Dublin, 16 July, 1691, Col. Stewart to Clarke; Recommends "Capt.-Lieut. Cornwall for Captain, and my nephew, who is my own Ensign, to be "Captain-Lieutenant";—*i.e.*, senior Lieutenant over the heads of all the others.

Mackay's Memoirs, &c., &c.

¹¹⁶⁶ Various letters, 1690/91, Clarke MSS.

¹¹⁶⁷ Letter, Whitehall, 10 June, 1690, Blaythwayt to Clarke, recommending the bearer to the first colonelcy that happened to fall vacant.

Letter, Septr., 1690, Lt.-Col. Coote to Clarke; asking for the vacant colonelcy of an Inniskilling regt., because he was the eldest Lieut.-Col. in the army and because "the lieut.-colonel, one Creighton, is an old Blockhead," unfit to command; and because he has written to many people to recommend him.

Letter, Dublin, 8 Septr., 1691, Col. William Stewart to Clarke.

Letter, Kilkenny, 24 Septr., 1691, Lt.-Col. Coote to Clarke; that it is purposed to promote La Motte to the colonelcy of the regt. over his head.

¹¹⁶⁸ Letter, Cashel, 6 Septr., 1690, Col. Stewart to Clarke.

Letter, Galway, 4 Aug., 1691, Col. Purcell to Clarke; "I know His Excellency "will put no more into this Regiment, having lately put in two Captains, by which "means six officers were put back," &c. Clarke MSS.

regarded with distaste by the Colonel of the receiving regiment. Such was the race for vacancies,¹¹⁶⁹ that it appears to have been requisite to send in applications before the body of the Officer creating a vacancy by death was cold, lest the post should be already promised to an outsider. These applications were sometimes accompanied by a bribe.

The avarice of Colonels, already alluded to, was only part and parcel of the gigantic system of regimental purchase to which the Government has professed to put an effectual stop in this year of 1871.

The origin of THE PURCHASE SYSTEM must be looked for before the days of the Restoration. Even in the reign of Edward the Sixth it had been found necessary to pass an Act¹¹⁷⁰ prohibiting the sale of offices and places, military as well as civil. In 1641 the House of Commons passed a resolution¹¹⁷¹ condemnatory of the practice of buying and selling military appointments. Even during the vaunted purity of the Commonwealth¹¹⁷² such sales went on, and apparently the bargain was

¹¹⁶⁹ Letter, Galway, 4. Aug., 1691, Col. Purcell to Clarke; recommending promotions *vice* a Captain, "*who died this morning.*"

Letter, Lieut. Edw. Picks, 20 Oct., 1672, to Sir Joseph Williamson (Secretary of State); Dom. correspondence, State Paper Office; "Sir Joseph, Though I was so "unfortunate to miss the last Company, notwithstanding your kindness and my "brother Frayser's interest he made for me, yet now there is another opportunity "preferred, for Captain Tonge, who has a Company in our Regiment, is now "dangerously sick of a cancer in the mouth, and a consumption, accompanied with a "black jaundice and other diseases, so that he is given over by the physicians: "therefore if you will oblige me with your kindness to get me the Company after his "death, I will present you with four hundred guineas when I receive my Commission. "Sir, I am confident it may be done by my Lord Arlington, for the King will not "deny him anything. Tonge's Lieutenant, one Ennis, is come to town in hopes to "obtain it, he has been an Officer but a year and a half in the Regiment, and I have "been near twelve, and in this last summer's engagement, and he never in any. I hope "His Majesty will prefer the Lieutenant to his own Company, as well as the Captain "and the Ensign, for Sir Thos. Daniell is made our Major, and Mr. Churchill, who "was my Ensign in the engagement, is made a Captain, and I, without my Lord "Arlington's kindness and yours, I fear may still continue a Lieutenant, though I am "confident my greatest enemies cannot say that I have misbehaved myself in the "engagement, therefore I have the more confidence to press upon your goodness in "this business, hoping that you will favour me with the best of your endeavours, and "that you will ever oblige him that is, Sir, your most faithful humble servant, "Edward Picks."

N.B.—In 1678 this Picks appears to have been Lieut.-Colonel (in that case a judicious investment of his four hundred guineas).

¹¹⁷⁰ Act 5 & 6 Edw. VI, C. 16.

¹¹⁷¹ Commons Journals, II.

¹¹⁷² Petition, 1660, of Elias Palmer Surveyor of Ordnance to be continued in that office, because he had purchased it in 1656 for £730 more than he had yet received, his pay being a year in arrear; Dom. State Papers.

between the State and the nominee direct, whereas the recipient of the proceeds was in later days the out-going Officer.

After the Restoration the scandal grew instead of decaying. Not only Officers' commissions were procured for money, but even the very places of privates¹¹⁷³ and of gunners and matrosses were sold by the enlisting Officers: this lower scale of barter was forbidden in 1663, and again in 1697.

Throughout the reign of Charles the Second the sales¹¹⁷⁴ of all kinds of military employment were ordinary transactions, although illegal, and there is proof extant that the King himself was cognisant of the practice. In March, 1684,¹¹⁷⁵ there was a semi-official recognition of army purchase. Hitherto, the profits of sales had accrued to private individuals only,¹¹⁷⁶ but now for

¹¹⁷³ Regulations for the Musters, 5 May, 1663, Cl. 5, App. XXIV.

Ditto, 29 July, 1697, Cl. 11, App. XLVII.

In 1664 an accusation was brought against the Lieutenant of the Tower, that he sold the Warders' places; Hutchinison's Memoirs.

Royal Warrt., Whitehall, 12 Apr., 1682; Recites that "the places of gunners and matrosses were commonly bought and sold to such as would give most money": Add. MSS. 27,277, Brit. Mus.

¹¹⁷⁴ Autobiog. James II, 1674; "The King bought the Earl of Macclesfield's "first troop of Guards for him" (the Duke of Monmouth). 1679, "Sir Thomas Armstrong was turned out of the Guards and his commission given to Mr. Griffin. "The £1,000 that he had paid were however refunded." Sheffield, Duke of Buckingham's Works, London 1723; "The King therefore at last bought that command (of First Foot Guards) of Col. Russell for his other son the Duke of Grafton." This was in December, 1681, the price paid being £5,100.

Proceedings in House of Commons against the Duke of Buckingham, 14 Janry., 1673/4. The Duke in his defence stated, "I had a regiment given me which was "Sir Edward Scott's; and not knowing the law of England, I gave him £1,500 for "it." Ho. of Comm. Journ.—Cobbett's State Trials.

Ordinance Regulations, Whitehall, 25 July, 1683; Harl. MS. 6,334; The principal officers forbidden to sell the Clerks' places, adding that the practice "*hath been* a "cause of many great mischiefs to Our Service."

State of the Protestants in Ireland, 1692: The author, after telling us that at King James's accession the army in Ireland numbered 7,000 men, continues; "Most of "the officers of this army had been so zealous to serve the King that they had, *by* "his permission and encouragement, bought their employments; many of them had "laid out their whole fortunes and contracted debts to purchase a command."

Letter, Dublin Castle, 20 Febr., 1685/6, Clarendon to Rochester.

Letter, Dublin Castle, 22 May, 1686, Clarendon to Rochester.

Letter, Dublin Castle, 1 June, 1686, Clarendon to Sunderland; this refers to 1680.

Letter, Dublin Castle, 8 June, 1686, Clarendon to Rochester.

Letter (2nd), Dublin Castle, 8 June, 1686, Clarendon to Rochester.

Letter (3rd), Dublin Castle, 8 June, 1686, Clarendon to Rochester.

All the above letters of Clarendon's have reference to regimental commissions only.

¹¹⁷⁵ Royal Warrt., 7 March, 1683/4, App. XLVIII.

¹¹⁷⁶ See some items in Note ¹¹⁷⁴.

Royal Warrt., 7 March, 1683/4; App. XLVIII.

the first time since the Restoration the Crown, or rather the Government, claimed a share of all purchase-money. The sale of commissions was to take place only after sanction obtained,¹¹⁷⁵ and a fine of five per cent. of the proceeds was to go to the Government, ostensibly for the support of Chelsea Hospital.

One very strange form in which the purchase system displayed itself was the granting of reversionary interests¹¹⁷⁷ in places not yet vacant. Another abuse would seem to have been the signature of commissions in blank, if we judge from the fact of blank commissions, duly signed, and awaiting only the name of the nominee, being still preserved.¹¹⁷⁸

The close of Charles the Second's reign was marked by an edict¹¹⁷⁹ denunciatory of the sales of military appointments, and proclaiming the King's determination to discountenance them.

Nevertheless, if any attention whatever was paid to this edict, it was not so for long;¹¹⁸⁰ for in James's reign purchase

¹¹⁷⁷ Royal Warrant, March, 1677/8: Signet Books, State Paper Office; A grant in reversion after Sir Bernard de Gomme ("who now enjoys the same") of the office of "Chief Engineer of all H.M.'s castles, forts, blockhouses and other fortifications" in England and Wales to Major Martin Beckman, his pay to commence "at the usual feast that shall happen after the death of the said Sir Bernard de Gomme."

Royal Warrant, December Qr., 1679; Signet Books, State Paper Office; Grant of the office of Clerk of the Deliveries in the Ordnance to a father and son, "and the survivor of them," during H.M.'s pleasure.

Royal Warrant, December, 1679; Signet Books, State Paper Office; Johnson and Wm. Fox to be Paymasters-General of the Forces, or the survivor of them.

¹¹⁷⁸ Harl. MS. 7,018, contains three several commissions by the Duke of Richmond, Octber., 1668, all duly signed; they are for a Captain, a Lieutenant, and an Ensign; but the Ensign's is the only one having the name of the nominee filled in.

¹¹⁷⁹ Whitehall, December, 1684, "His Majesty was this day pleased to declare that he will not for the future consent to the selling any Military employment"; W.O. records.

¹¹⁸⁰ Letter, Dublin Castle, 19 Jany., 1686, requesting Royal permission for Captain Forbes to sell his company in the Guards and purchase the Lieut.-Colonelcy in his father's (Lord Granard) regt.: Clarendon Correspondence.

Letter, Dublin Castle, 22 June, 1686, Clarendon to Sunderland; "My Lord Tyrconnel told me, tho' I had nothing of it from your Lordship (which I should have been very glad to have known the King's mind in), that the King gave Col. Salkeld the command of the Horse-Granadiers as a recompense of his former services, in lieu of his employment of Lieutenant-Colonel, and in order to his disposing of it to his advantage. Though I know it is against his Majesty's resolution of not suffering commands in the army to be sold, yet, considering what has been told me, and that there can be no harm in making the proposition, I am desired by my Lord Ikerine, that the King may be acquainted, that his Lordship and Col. Salkeld are agreed for that command of the Granadiers; but then my Lord Ikerine hopes the King will give him leave to surrender the company, which he now has, to a friend of his; and he desires it may be to one Lieutenant John Roth. If his Majesty approve hereof, your Lordship will be pleased to let me know it, and to send over the commissions."

was still practised, and again with the King's own permission and sanction. We even have one instance of an Officer being appointed to a troop specially that he might sell it,¹¹⁸⁰ as a recompense of his "former services." In this reign also the places of Quarter-Master,¹¹⁸¹ Adjutant, and Agent, all of which were in the gift of the Colonels, were sold wholesale.

Among other phases of this sale of appointments¹¹⁸² was the collusion of Officers with their Colonel to secure to the latter the fresh sale or gift of their places; or, worse still, to enable them to keep their places vacant and draw the pay, after the holders had practically resigned. In 1690 matters were as bad as ever, and they culminated in 1695.

The form now taken by this terrible military canker was that of bribery of Commanding Officers¹¹⁸³ in consideration of their favourable reports or recommendations to appointments or promotions, although sales by one Officer to another¹¹⁸⁴ (the Colonel doubtless coming in for a fee as well) were still not

Letter, Dublin Castle, 22 July, 1686, Clarendon to Sunderland; "And now I must put your Lordship in mind of Captain Toby Caulfield, who was to have had Ridley's command; the company which he formerly had, having been given to my Lord Ikerine, which he *has sold by the King's permission* lately to one Rooth."

Letter, Dublin Castle, 29 July, 1686, Clarendon to Blathwait.

Letter, Dublin Castle, 4 August, 1686, Clarendon to Rochester.

Letter, Dublin Castle, 18 December, 1686, Clarendon to Rochester, "I sell no offices, I wish the officers of the Army did not; then there would not be so much sharking from the poor soldier, as there is."

All the above authorities refer to regimental commissions, as Company or Troop Officers.

¹¹⁸¹ Letter, Dublin Castle, 29 July, 1686, Clarendon to Blathwait. "Many of them (the officers) are very griping, and sell their quarter-master's, adjutant's, and clerk's places for whatever they can get, which, with some other things, must in time undo an army."

See also in this Chapter under the head of "Quarter-Master," and in Chap. XXIX under the head of "Agents."

¹¹⁸² Instrument, Strafford MSS. 22,231, as quoted in Chapter XXXI Note ²²⁶¹.

¹¹⁸³ Letter, Dublin, 31 July, 1691, Col. Stewart (9th Ft.) to Clarke; Clarke MSS.

Letter, Dublin, 1 Aug., 1691, Col. Ffoulk to Clarke; "I have never yet taken a bribe from any one I recommended for a commission"; and he adds the names of his nominees for vacant Colours.

Otway; The Soldier's fortune, 1681, shews that such practices were not new.

Loq. Courtine (a soldier), "That rascal was but a retailer of ale yesterday, and now he is an Officer, and be hanged; . . . some honest gentleman now stays withal, because that dog had money to bribe some corrupt colonel withal."

Letter, Dublin, 2 Novr., 1690, Coningsby to Clarke; Clarke MSS.—in which he says that the *patronage* of the post of Governor of Inniskilling (£250 a year) is worth £150.

¹¹⁸⁴ Letter, 21 June, 1691, Colonel Brewer (12th Ft.) to Clarke; Clarke MSS.; "Captain K. is putting in for poor Butler's vacancy; it is not six months since he sold his commission in my regiment."

unknown. One form of knavery practised very generally by Colonels was to conceal the fact of a vacancy¹¹⁸⁵ as long as they dared in order that they might pocket the pay of the Officer still borne upon the muster-rolls. This fact alone suffices to shew the height to which corruption had attained.

In 1693 King William attempted to break the neck of the practice of purchase of commissions by the institution of an oath. Directions were issued¹¹⁸⁶ to the Earl of Suffolk, then Commissary-General of the Musters, forbidding him to muster any person as an Officer until he had taken an oath that he had not made, nor would make, "any present or gratuity" for the obtaining of his employment. Nevertheless in the beginning of 1695 a very flagrant case came to light, although probably no worse than occurred in most other regiments. Colonel Hastings of the Thirteenth Foot sinned so egregiously that even a House of Commons full of officials as corrupt as himself could not avoid censuring his actions; and one of the accusations against him was that¹¹⁸⁷ he "had taken money for "the recommending to commands in his regiment, to the great "discouragement of the Officers who were to serve in His "Majesty's armies, who ought to be such as deserved their "commands, and not such as paid for them."

Colonel Hastings was casheered, and in the Mutiny Act¹¹⁸⁸ of the same year a clause was inserted compelling Officers to take the following oath before their commissions could be registered in the Commissary-General's Office;

"I, A. B. do hereby declare that I have neither directly nor "indirectly, by myself or any one for me with my knowledge, "given or promised hereafter to give any sum of money, present, "gift, or reward, to any person whatsoever for obtaining my "Commission to be (Ensign) in the Regiment of (Foot) commanded by (so-and-so), other than the usual fee to the "Secretary of State or the Secretary of the Commander-in-Chief of the Army countersigning such Commission."

¹¹⁸⁵ Letter, Galway, 4 Octr., 1691, Col. Purcell (23rd Ft.) to Clarke; Clarke MSS.; "You see I am not covetous as others who never give notice nor never take out "Commissions till they have a month's pay good for themselves."

Schonberg's Dispatches, 1689, exhibit the Colonels as caring only to make money by their regiments.

¹¹⁸⁶ Royal Warrt., Camp at Parck, 1 July, 1693, App. CX.

Royal Warrt., Whitehall, 1693/4, Brit. Mus. MS. 21,494, to the same effect as above.

¹¹⁸⁷ Address of the House of Commons, 26 Febr., 1694/5.

¹¹⁸⁸ Act 7 & 8 Wm. III, Cap. 93, Cl. v.

It has, however, never been found in the Army more than in any other profession, that compulsory oaths will restrain the careless or the profligate from ill-doing, when other and more positive stimulus to well-doing is wanting. The sale of Commissions, and the taking of monies for recommendations, which amounts to the same thing, did not cease after the enactment above quoted; ¹¹⁸⁹ it was carried on to the close of the century, and if we may judge by the transactions of the first few years of the next century, became a more glaring scandal than ever; while the channel of selection for promotion remained unchanged.

The following are some examples of the prices paid for Commissions during this period; but of course they vary greatly, as they were regulated solely by the market :—

¹¹⁸⁹ Letter, Giblou (Gemblours), 29 June, 1691, R. Waring (Life Guards) to John Ellis; specifies a bribe of one hundred guineas to a Colonel to recommend the donor to a vacant commission as Sub-Brigadeer in the Life-Guards.

Trial of Edw. Earl of Warwick for the murder of Richard Coote, 30 Oct., 1698; Earl of Warwick's defence; Col. Blisset's evidence; Mr. Disney's evidence.

Letter, Edinboro', 3 Aug., 1697, Earl of Argyle to Mr. Carstairs. "The Lord Carmichael's Major is dead: I have employed Secretary Ogilvie to speak to him for my brother James who is the oldest captain amongst all our dragoons. He bought his Commission, which deserves consideration."

Report, 21 Febr., 1698/9, by Lord Walden, Commry. General of the Musters, that Geo. Herlackenden, Esq., had bought his place of Depy. Commry. or Muster-Master of the Forces for £700, and that it was a hardship that he had now been removed for another: Try. State Papers.

Letter, 15 Apr., 1699, Lord Jedburgh (Col. 7th Dragoons) to Mr. Carstairs, also shews that regimental appointments still remained virtually in the hands of the Colonels; Macpherson.

Letter, Hanworth, 25 (?) 1699, Strafford MSS. 22,231, Col. Robt. Killigrew to Lord Raby (Col. 1st Drs.) "Mr. Green for his £250 bought Mr. Cooply's half-pay, that makes it not so hard a bargain."

Letter, 11 Janry., 1702, Capt.-Lt. Sheldon (1st Drs.) to Col. Lord Raby "I would rather sell my Commission than buy if your Lordship knew one you liked that would give me anything considerable for it, but since your Lordship has been so kind to order me the refusal of Capt. La Roque's troop I will give him 250 Guineas: I think he might let it go in the regiment for £600 as he paid for it."

Letter, 21 Janry., 1702. Same to same; to the same effect, "and that if Captain la Roque refuses the £250 making £600 to him, would prefer to dispose of my Commission; if the Lieutenant and Cornet that is to rise and the Cornet that comes in will give me £400 they may rise in the same manner as if I had bought." This is the modern purchase-system pure and simple.

Agreement of purchase, Cockpit, 25 Mar., 1703, Capts. La Roque and Peke, 1st Royal Dragoons; App. XCIV.

						£
Commission in the Guards, 1679 ¹¹⁹⁰ (Captaincy?) ...	=	1,000				
Coloneley in First Foot-Guards, 1681 ¹¹⁹¹ ...	=	5,100				
Captaincy of a troop of Horse, 1684 ¹¹⁹² ...	=	1,600				
Lieutenancy in the Irish Foot-Gds., prior to 1685 ¹¹⁹³ ...	=	1,100				
Lieutenancy of a troop of Horse, prior to 1686 ¹¹⁹³ ...	=	800				
Brigadeer's Commission, 1680/85 ...	=	1,400				
Lieut.-Colonels do. do. 1194 ...	=	3,440				
Captain's do. do. ..	=	1,720				
	=	2,600				
	=	3,000				
	=	6,000				
Lieutenant's do. do. ..	=	600				
	=	800				
	=	1,075				
Cornet's do. do. ...	=	2,100				
Ensign's do. do. ..	=	400				
	=	610				
Quarter-Master's do. do. ...	=	1,000				
Ensigny in First Foot-Guards, 1698 ¹¹⁹⁵ ...	=	400				
Captaincy in First Royal Dragoons, 1703 ¹¹⁹⁶ ...	=	750				

There remains to be noticed one form of purchase which has had its analogy in our Indian Army, and which will probably crop up again in our own regiments on the final abolition of the authorised purchase system. This was the purchasing-out or compensating of an Officer. And strange to say, this sort of arrangement was supported by the Authorities.

Thus in 1698 we find the case of a Lieutenant Cuffe who had (prior to this year) been nominated to a Captaincy in Lord Charlemont's regiment.¹¹⁹⁷ Upon condition of his foregoing

¹¹⁹⁰ Autobiog. James II.

¹¹⁹¹ Sheffield, Duke of Buckingham.

¹¹⁹² Letter, Dublin Castle, 8 June, 1686, Clarendon to Rochester.

¹¹⁹³ Do., 20 Febr., 1685/6, ditto.

¹¹⁹⁴ Declared Accounts, Chelsea Hospital, 1680/85.

¹¹⁹⁵ Trial of Edwd. Earl of Warwick by the House of Lords, 30th Oct., 1698.

¹¹⁹⁶ Agreement of purchase, Strafford MSS. 22,231; App. XCIV.

¹¹⁹⁷ Representation, 11 July, 1698, to the Lords Justices of Ireland (*i.e.*, to the King) by the General Court, on petition of Lieut. Cuffe, late of Donegal's regiment; "wherein he sets forth that being disappointed (!) of the Company His Majesty "designed for him in the Lord Charlemont's regiment, he became entitled (!) to a "salary of sixpence per diem from each Captain in the said regiment by virtue of an "instrument signed and agreed on by them: and that the said Lieutenant Cuffe "being possessed of a Lieutenancy in the Earl of Donegal's regiment received no "more but threepence per diem from some of the officers in the said Lord "Charlemont's regiment, though the petitioner was to have the salary of sixpence "per diem continued unto him until he should be made Captain or otherwise as well "provided for, and that he has not received the threepence per diem." Then follows the representation in favour of Cuffe and the Order for payment; Dublin State Papers.

I have thus quoted this *in extenso*, because it is very possible that some future light may be thrown upon it, qualifying or altering the view taken of the transaction in the text above.

his appointment the other Captains of the regiment (to whom he must have been senior) had agreed, in a properly drawn legal instrument, to pay him sixpence a-day apiece until he should obtain some other post of equal value to that resigned by him. Upon Mr. Cuffe's subsequently obtaining a Lieutenancy in Lord Donegal's regiment, some of the Captains of Charlemont's regiment dropped their subsidy to only three-pence a-day ; whereupon Lieutenant Cuffe submitted the matter to the Standing Court of General Officers (which then sat continually at Head-quarters for the purpose of deciding upon all questions and complaints). The case was decided in his favour, and an Order was issued for payment to be made accordingly.

The sale of Commissions was a practice not confined to our own country ; it flourished in France also.¹¹⁹⁸

Thus then arose another of those institutions which gradually became an integral part of our military system, and which at length attained such a growth as to become almost past management, engendering discontent and injustice in the Service and trouble to the Government. And it is worthy of observation that this malpractice (for as such it used to be regarded) owes its origin, not to reasons of policy, but to the individual avarice of officials and officers.

The promotion of Officers alone has been treated of above ; that of Non-Commissioned Officers and soldiers may be very briefly dealt with ; for their promotion rested entirely with their immediate Commanding Officers.¹¹⁹⁹ That this summary power was found to demand some salutary check upon its arbitrary exercise may be presumed from the fact of the repetition of a modifying clause in the Articles of War of 1692, requiring Captains to obtain "the approbation of their Colonels " or of the Governors of the Garrison where they are " to the making or filling up of vacancies.

EXCHANGES of Officers¹²⁰⁰ from one corps to another were permitted in the seventeenth century, but even an exchange

¹¹⁹⁸ De la Colonie, 1695 ; " Notre Colonel fut fait Maréchal de Camp, et vendit son Régiment au Marquis Descorailles, Capitaine au même Régiment."

¹¹⁹⁹ Articles of War, 1673 ; Art. 49. App. LIII.

Articles of War, 1686 ; Art. 38. App. LIII.

Articles of War, 1692 ; Art. 42. App. LIII.

¹²⁰⁰ Letter, Galway, 31 July, 1691, Bellasyse (22nd Ft.) to Clarke ; Clarke MSS. ; " I desire you will send me Lee's Commission who is exchanged out of my regiment " into Herbert's " (23rd Ft.).

from one Company or Troop¹²⁰¹ to another of the same regiment required the Royal sanction. Transferred Officers were ordered,^{1201a} in 1694, to take rank as juniors of their grade.

In King William's reign the ceremony of taking over a Regiment by a new Colonel was conducted in the following manner :¹²⁰²

The Regiment being drawn up under arms, the King, or in his stead some Officer of rank, presented the new Colonel in a short complimentary speech : at the conclusion of the speech he placed in the right hand of the Colonel a half-pike as the emblem of his authority, while the regiment presented arms and the drums beat a march. The Colonel then took post at the head of his new regiment, and, giving the word to march past, headed it himself on foot. The marching-past completed, he was considered duly inducted.

The COLOURS or STANDARDS of a regiment are its emblem and its rallying point. The word Colours is used for the insignia of Infantry, and the word Standard for those of cavalry :¹²⁰³ this distinction dates from at least prior to the Restoration.

While there used to be but one sort of Colours there were two sorts of Standards, the Standard and the Guidon Markham,¹²⁰⁴ a writer of the seventeenth century, tells us that " the difference betwixt the Cornet and the Guidon is much ; " for the Guidon is the first colours that any commander of " Horse can let fly in the field ; this guidon is of damask fringed, " and may be charged either with the crest of him that is the " owner thereof, or with other device at his pleasure ; it is in " proportion three foot at the least deep in the top next the " staff and upon the staff, and so extendeth down narrower " and narrower to the bottom, where the end is sharp, but with

¹²⁰¹ Orders, Dublin, 24 & 26 June, 1697, Exchange of Companies between two Ensigns in Caulfield's regt.

Order, Dublin, 26 July, 1697, Ditto two Lieuts. : Charlemont's regt.

Orders, Dublin, Aug., 1697, Sundry exchanges of Troops within the same regts., &c., &c., Dub. State Papers.

^{1201a} R. Warrt., Roosbeck, 10 June, 1694, Captains or Lieutenants transferred to rank as juniors of their grade, " the Officers of the Guards only excepted " ; W.O. records.

¹²⁰² D'Auvergne, 1693.

¹²⁰³ Ward, 1639, &c.

The word " Colours " used in a *general* sense, that is to say not with reference to infantry alone, occurs frequently in Shakspeare ; see King John, Act II, Scenes 1 and 2 ; Act V, Scene 5, &c.

¹²⁰⁴ Markham, 1645.

"a slit divided into two peaks a foot deep; the whole guidon is six foot long, and should be carried upon a lance staff. If the Captain shall do a good day's service, or produce from his virtue something worthy advancement, so that he is called to a better command, as to lead hargobussiers or cuirassiers, then the general or officer in chief shall with a knife cut away the two peaks, and then it is made a cornet, which is longer one way than another; if, after that, he do anything worthily whereby he is made by the King or supreme either bannaret or baron, then shall his cornet be made just square in form of a banner (Ill. CLXXV), which none may carry in the field on horseback under those degrees."

According to Markham, then, the Standard was three feet square in his time; but it grew shorter afterwards probably because three feet of length was found to inconvenience the bearer's head, an inconvenience that would not have been so much felt so long as the head was customarily completely cased in armour. The size of some original specimens¹²⁰⁵ of the seventeenth century is thirty-two inches on the staff by two feet long.

In 1685 the Standards of the Life Guards measured twenty-seven inches on the staff and thirty inches flying: the guidon^{1205a} "differed from it only in form, having a forked tail to the points whereof from the staff it was a yard and three inches flying."

When dragoons were first introduced into this country (long prior to the establishment of a Standing Army), the Captains of dragoons¹²⁰⁶ were considered as of inferior status to the Captains of Horse or Harquebussiers, and accordingly they were accompanied by a Guidon instead of a Cornet. This continued to be the case at the time that Markham wrote; but also at that time a slight change had come to be made in the form of the guidon, which he fails to notice.¹²⁰⁷ The guidon

¹²⁰⁵ Originals in the Porte d'Hal Armoury, Brussels; the style of the staves fixes their date.

Brit. Mus., Add. MSS. 26,683; "Work done for Major Sir T. Bridges, Knt.," accompanied by a sketch of "a Cornet of Horse"; temp. Charles II.

Bill for Standard, Harl. MSS. 6,815; 13 yards of fringe for six Standards gives 6 feet 6 inches of fringe per standard; and 32 inches + 2 feet + 2 feet exceeds this by 2 inches only. Sandford states the measurement to be 2 ft. 3 in. on the staff by 2 ft. 6 in. flying.

See Note ¹²¹⁰.

^{1205a} Sandford.

¹²⁰⁶ Markham.

¹²⁰⁷ The Ensigns of the regiments in the rebellious city of London, both of Trained

borne by the dragoon regiment of the London Trained Bands in 1643 was only half as long again as its breadth at the Staff, and the two peaks, instead of having the ends pointed or "sharp" as Markham says, were rounded off.

In Charles the Second's reign there was no difference between the Standard and the Guidon,¹²⁰⁸ except that the latter was "rounded and slit at the end." In the Standing Army no regiment bore a Guidon in addition to the Standard¹²⁰⁹ excepting only the Troops of Life-Guards (Ill. CLXXVI) which had both: also, in the Standing Army the standards of dragoons were apparently no longer termed guidons (Ill. CLXXVII).

The shape of Infantry Colours was almost square: they were usually six feet on the staff and some ten or twelve inches more in length.¹²¹⁰ Those of the Foot-Guards in 1685 were

Bands and Auxiliaries, &c., Tuesday, 26 Sept., 1643. An illustration of this Guidon and of the Colours of the Bands may interest Londoners, and will serve also as an authority in treating of this point; *see* Chap. XXIV.

¹²⁰⁸ Venn.

Nathan Brooks.

¹²⁰⁹ Nathan Brooks, 1684.

Bill for Standards, &c., 1685, given in Note ¹²¹³.

Mily. Dicty., 1702.

Sandford, 1685.

¹²¹⁰ The Ensigns of the Trained Bands in London, 1643.

Sandford, 1685.

Harl. MSS. 6,815, contains a scale-drawn plan of a Colour, the date of which is established by the design upon it being the Crown and Cypher of Charles II; its exact length is six feet ten inches and it is as nearly as possible square; in the same manuscript is another plan in which the length is one-sixth more than the breadth on the staff. On the back of the sheet on which this latter flag is drawn, is noted the following Bill:

	£	s.	d.
Silk of all sorts	50	0	0
Making 10 Colours at 10s.	5	0	0
Painting ditto at £3 12s.	36	0	0
10 pr. of tassels for the Foot Colours at 10s.	5	0	0
10 staves at 10s.	5	0	0
10 cases for 10 Foot Colours at 8s.	4	0	0
6 pr. of Horse tassels at 20s.	6	0	0
Gold fringe for ditto, 13 yards at 10s. per yard	6	10	0
Embroidering both sides at £2 per side	24	0	0
Horse staves, with belts and swivles at 30s. each, for 6 ..	9	0	0
	<u>150</u>	<u>10</u>	<u>0</u>

$$16 \times 12 = \underline{\underline{£192.}}$$

Dineley, 1679, gives a very careful drawing of the Colours of the First Foot, and makes the length about one-sixth as much again as the breadth.

Contemporary paintings, Rugendas, &c.

A print in Fortification, &c., by Capt. J. S., 1689.

The frontispiece of St. Remy, 1697, exhibits the comparative size of Standards and Colours.

we are told by Sandford, "of a large size, namely, two yards "and three quarters flying, and two yards and a half on the "Ensign staff." Colours had tassels but no fringe,¹²¹¹ while both Standards and Guidons had fringe as well as a richer kind of tassels. The staves for Colours differed from those for Standards,¹²¹² the latter resembling the ancient tilting-lance, while the former were like an ordinary pike-staff (Ill. CLXXVIII).

Regiments used to carry a Standard or Colour¹²¹³ to each troop or company, all of them being alike in colour but each company having its own device, originally the arms or private crest of its captain, but later only so many balls or else figures to express the number of the company (Ill. CLXXIX). At what period precisely company Colours were abandoned I have not yet been able to determine to my own satisfaction: it was certainly not earlier than 1689,¹²¹³ and the change appears to have been effected in 1690, the Guards remaining an exception to the rule.

The number of Colours in other regiments was reduced to

¹²¹¹ Dineley.

Harl. MS. 6,815, already quoted.

Brit. Mus., Add. MSS. 26,683; "Work done for the funeral of Sir T. Bridges," with a sketch of a "Cornet of Horse"; temp. Charles II, fringe at 4s. 6d. per lb., and "Silver cornet-strings."

Royal Warrt., 13 Apr., 1672, ordering new Colours for the Coldstream, same as the last, and with staves and tassels; "Provisions furnished out H.M.'s Great Ward-robe for a War against France," and Warrt., 28 July, 1678, for the payment for same; includes "Colours for the King's Royal Regiment of Dragoons and for the "Queen's regiment of Horse, all richly embroidered with H.M.'s distinctions, and "trimmed with gold and silver fringes, and strings and tassels suitable." (These regts. were not the present 1st Drs. and 1st Dr. Gds., but two regiments afterwards disbanded.)

St. Remy, frontispiece, 1697.

¹²¹² Mercurius, 5/12 Sept., 1661, Advertisement by Wm. Edwards to furnish among other things "Ensign-staves, Cornet-staves for Horse," &c.

Original specimens Porte d'Hal.

Dineley.

Notice the difference in price in the Bill quoted above, Harl. MS. 6,815.

Brit. Mus., Add. MS. 26,683 (*see* previous note). "Cornet staff with belt and "swivels gilt"; the drawing of the staff is like those in the illustrations (*see* Note on p. xiii).

¹²¹³ For Company distinctions, *see* Ills. CLXXIX, CLXXX, and CLXXXI, Authorities and Notes.

Venn, 1672, as quoted in text, *infra*.

Nathan Brooks, 1684, every compy. a colour.

Bill quoted above, Harl. MS. 6,815, ditto,
Abridgment of Milly. Discipline, 1686, ditto.

Sandford, 1685, every company a colour.

Bill dated 1685; W.O. State Papers; "Standards, Colours, &c., made and provided against H.M.'s Royal Coronation by Thos. Holford, Portcullis Pursuivant "of Arms.

three, one being supposed to be for the Granadeers, one for the Musqueteers, and one for the Pikemen.

The heraldic rules respecting Colours and Standards are best exemplified by extracts from two authors.

Venn,¹²¹⁴ whose work was published in 1672 says; "As for the dignity of the ensign in England (not meddling with the Standard Royal), to a regimental dignity: the Colonel's Colours, in the first place, is of a pure and clean colour without any mixture; the Lieutenant-Colonel's only with Saint George's arms in the upper corner next the staff; the Major's the same, but in the lower and outmost corner with a little stream blazont; and every Captain with Saint George's arms alone but with so many spots or several devices as pertain to the dignity of their respective places." And Sandford, writing in 1685,¹²¹⁵ thus describes the Colours of the Coldstream Guards

	£	s.	d.
" For a Standard and Guidon for the First Troop of " Horse-Guards, by agreement with Chas. Fox, Esq., " Paymaster-General, at £24 each	48	0	0
" For a Standard for H.M.'s Troop in the Royal Regt. of " Horse, commanded by the Earl of Oxford, Sir John " Parsons, Captain, by agreement, as above	24	0	0
" For the other 8 troops of the Royal Regt. of Horse, a " Standard for each, at £20, by agreement as above ...	160	0	0
" For 8 Colours for the Royal Regt. of Dragoons, formerly " commanded by the Ld. Churchill, now by the Lord " Cornbury at £7 5s. each	58	0	0
" For 36 Colours for the two regts. of Foot-Guards at £8 " each	288	0	0
	<u>578</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>0</u>

Hamilton; Actions of the Inniskilling men, Lond. 1690:—1689, Battle of Newtown-Butler, "we took what colours they (the Irish) had they having but about three colours to every regiment": thus it appears that it was customary to have more.

Exercise of the Foot, 1690: "The Ensign shall lead the divisions of the Pikes, but those Ensigns that carry the Colours shall march together before the middle division of the Pikes."

In an English edition of Vauban's Fortification, London 1693, is a frontispiece in which are shewn three regiments in square with only three Colours apiece.

Cannon; states that the 3rd Buffs had only three Colours in 1692; Hist. Record of the Buffs. It is much to be regretted that historical works should be permitted to be published "by Authority" in which statements are not substantiated by quotations of original authorities.

The Foot-Guards had Company Colours up to a comparatively recent period, and indeed have them still, only that they are not used altogether, but in roster.

The Second Foot had a third Colour up to 1750; Donkin.

¹²¹⁴ Venn.

¹²¹⁵ Sandford, 1685.

Markham also says, "If the Cornet belong to a great Officer, it shall then be of one entire colour, of less quantity, and still square: and in this cornet the captain may carry device and word (*i.e.*, motto) at his pleasure."

at the Coronation of James the Second in that year: "The Colours or Ensigns of this Regiment (III. CLXXX). had been "of blue taffata, the Colonel's without distinction, the Lieutenant-Colonel's with a plain white cross throughout surmounted by "a cross of crimson taffata or cross of Saint George, as were "the ten other ensigns. Only the Major's ensign was distinguished by a pile white wavy issuing out of the canton of "the first quarter, and the several Captains' by numeral letters, "namely I, II, &c., painted in white on the dexter cantons of "the first quarters."¹²¹⁶

The preservation from capture of regimental insignia has been ever deemed a prominent point of martial honour. It was so considered among the Romans, and it is so still by even the most advanced of modern nations (III. CLXXXI). Our old writers (some of whom are quoted in the notes to this Chapter) are especially explicit and insistent on this head.

In the absence of the Ensign¹²¹⁷ the Colours had to be carried by a Pikeman and at no time by a Non-Commissioned Officer.

The use of MUSICAL INSTRUMENTS as a martial accessory, whether to promulgate orders or to inspirit troops, is of very ancient date. The Jews¹²¹⁸ used trumpets of silver (as well as rams' horns) fifteen hundred years before the Christian era; and in the camps of Moses the assembly and the march were ordered by sound of trumpet.

At the period of which this volume treats the musicians in our army were limited to trumpeters, drummers, hautbois, fifers, and pipers. Trumpets were peculiar to Horse-regiments, hautbois to dragoons and infantry, and fifes to Foot-regiments, while drums were common to all.

The Ensigns of the Trained-Bands, 1643, and those drawn in Elton's Art Military of 1659 answer exactly to Venn's description: But it will be observed that in Charles the Second's reign (Sandford's account referring back, for he says "had been," &c.) the St. George's Cross ran "throughout" the Colour, instead of being confined to a small square in the upper angle next the Staff: *see* also Nathan Brooks.

Dineley, in 1679, says: "The Colours of the Lieut.-Colonel are those I have "touched off below, with a flame in the canton, which in England shews it to be the "Ensign of a Major."

Nathan Brooks, 1684, also states that the cross ran throughout, and that the emblems of rank were, with one or two trivial differences in some regts., the same as described by Sandford.

¹²¹⁶ He then proceeds to say that the Colours of this regt. had now been changed, the Colonel's now being of pure white, and so on.

¹²¹⁷ Eng. Milry. Discipline, 1686.

¹²¹⁸ Moses; Book of Numbers, X ch.

Book of Joshua, VI ch.

The idea of the trumpet (*see* Ill. CLXV) seems to have been derived from the proboscis of the elephant, and the name comes from the same source. Trompa, in Spanish, means an elephant's trunk, anything in the shape of a wide-mouthed horn such as a top, and finally trumpet (Ill. CLXXXII). In ancient English writers the trumpet is called a "trompe"¹²¹⁹ and the same word differently spelt (trump) is still used poetically.

The hoboy, or more properly, the hautbois (*see* Ill. LXII), appears to derive its name from the fact of its being a wooden instrument with comparatively strong sound, although it is observable that both in Spanish and in German the phonetic spelling has been adopted and not the meaning of the word (oboe, and hoboe).

Fife¹²²⁰ is a German word "Pfeife" from "Pfeifen" to whistle; and a fife is simply a long whistle with holes bored in the tube so as to admit of regulating the exit of the air and thus causing a tune.

The derivation of the word drum is involved in obscurity. The instrument itself is very ancient; drums were used by the natives of India before England was known to the civilised world, and the timbrel of Scripture is with good reason believed to have been a sort of drum as the tabor certainly was. The Hindoos and the Moors still use a drum corresponding to the descriptions given by ancient Roman writers of the Indian "tympanum" (Ill. CLXXXIII). Of drums there were, and still are, two sorts in use; the one the ordinary drum, made of a hollow cylinder of wood covered with parchment skins at the ends (*see* Ills. CLVIII, CLXXXIII), and with cords and snares attached for the purpose of tightening or slackening the parchments: the other the kettle-drum (Ill. CLXXXIV), a hollow bowl of metal covered at the top with parchment in the same way as the ordinary drum.

It was customary to paint on the side of the drums the regimental crest¹²²¹ or that of the Colonel, or else the Royal arms.

¹²¹⁹ Manuscript Account of the battle of Halidon Hill (1333), Harl. MS. 4,690, "Then the Englesche mynstrelles beaten their tabers and blewen their trompes."

¹²²⁰ Sir J. Turner calls the fife the "Allemaine whistle."

¹²²¹ Order, 1 Feby., 1670, W.O. Records; to issues to troops at York "three drums with badges."

Brit. Mus., Add. MSS. 26,683, being a herald-painter's notes of work done by him; temp. Charles II. For painting crests on three drums for Lord Maidstone, son to the Earl of Winchelsea; "the Earl of Winchelsea's regt. was raised in Kent "in 1668" (Harl. MSS. 7,018).

All Horse-regiments had one kettle-drummer,¹²²² besides the trumpeters. The Ordnance or Artillery train had a pair of kettle-drums,¹²²³ handsomely mounted on a travelling carriage, with a seat for the drummer. Dragoons and Infantry used the common side-drum.¹²²² The regiment of Dragoons raised in 1672 had no hobboys,¹²²⁴ but only drummers ; but from the time of the reform of the First Royal Dragoons in 1684, all dragoon regiments had hobboys,¹²²⁵ as had also the mounted troops of Granadeers attached to the Life-Guards.

Fifes¹²²⁵ were in use in the British infantry at a period long anterior to the Restoration. That there were fifers in the Service after the Restoration is certain, but whether they were to be found in all regiments or in the First Foot-Guards only is uncertain. The King's Company of the First Foot-Guards had a fifer¹²²⁶ prior to 1674, and he was paid out of the establishment funds, in 1680 ; and the probability is that all infantry regiments had fifers also, but that they do not appear in the Establishment Lists because they were paid by the Captains of Companies and not out of the establishment funds ; and this is rendered tolerably certain by what Sir James Turner says ;¹²²⁷ " With us " any Captain may keep a piper in his company, and maintain " him too, for no pay is allowed him, perhaps just as much as he " deserveth." Here we have indicated the origin of the support of regimental bands by the officers of regiments instead of by the Government. It is, however, equally possible that fifes were not used in Line regiments ; for in any case they had been dropped before the middle of the eighteenth century, and they

"Two drums of His Grace the Duke of Norfolk," accompanied by a sketch of the crest, being a lion passant, with the garter and motto, surmounted by a ducal crown.

¹²²² Est. Lists, 1680 ; 1687/9, &c., &c.

Nathan Brooks.

Letter, 6 Feby., 1695/6, Blathwayt to Lowndes relative to a claim for liveries to trumpeters and kettle-drummers and for colours (*i.e.*, for trumpets), and kettle-drum banners to Brigr. Lumley's regt. (1st Dr. Gds.) ; Try. State Papers.

Particulars of Clothing for a regt. of Horse ; of Dragoons ; and of Foot (1695/6) ; Apps. LI, LII.

¹²²³ States of Ordnance Stores, 1687/91 ; Harl. MS. 7,458/63.

¹²²⁴ Royal Warrt., 2 Apr., 1672 ; App. III.

¹²²⁵ Ralph Smith ; Harl. MS. 4,685.

Shakspeare ; Othello, Act III, Scene 3.

¹²²⁶ Est. List, 1679/80 ; Harl. MSS. 6,425.

See also Note ^{1227a}.

¹²²⁷ Sir J. Turner, 1671.

Ralph Smith also implies that fifers were supported by their captains.

See also Chapter XXII on Clothing under the head of " Mode of Supply."

appear to have been exceptionally instituted throughout the First Foot-Guards only in 1674.^{1227a}

There was only one regiment that boasted a piper;¹²²⁸ the First Royals had a piper borne on the paid establishment of the Colonel's Company; the Regiment was originally a Scottish one, but the piper seems to have been first added to the establishment, together with the Drum-Major, in 1662¹²²⁹ when the Royals were in this country and were first brought on to the English establishment.

Up to the year 1690 the only regiments upon the establishment of which a Drum-Major¹²³⁰ was borne, were the Foot-Guards and the First Foot;¹²³¹ but ten years later every infantry regiment had its Drum-Major. There has been some doubt respecting the date of the introduction of this appointment into our army. Grose observes that although Ward and Venn each mention this official, Sir James Turner on the other hand distinctly denies the existence of drum-majors in the English army. Ward wrote in 1639, Venn in 1672, and Turner in 1671. The question is easily set at rest. Not only, as has been already shewn, was an "additional" Drum-Major appointed in 1662, and Drum-Majors borne upon the Establishment lists from 1679 upwards (Ill. CLXXXV), but there is extant an English contemporary print of the military funeral of the Duke of Albemarle¹²³² in 1670, in which appears conspicuously a "Drum-Major." Elton in 1659 mentions the Drum-Major as a proper if not necessary adjunct of every regiment,¹²³³ his duties being to superintend the drummers, and to know sufficient of languages to be able to summon hostile garrisons. In James the Second's reign there was also a "Drum-Major-General,"¹²³⁴ but what his peculiar duties might have been it is difficult to say.

In addition to his musical duties, the Drum-Major at a later

^{1227a} R. Order for the fifiers of the King's Compy. First Foot-Guards to teach one man per Company of the Regt., 14 Sept., 1674; W.O. records.

¹²²⁸ Establishment Lists.

Nathan Brooks.

¹²²⁹ Warrt., 1662, for raising a drum-major, serjeant, and piper additional.

¹²³⁰ R. Warrt., 17 Nov., 1671, for issue of 12 Drums to "Richd. Mugeridge, "Drum-Major to Our Own Regt. of Foot-Guards"; W.O. records.

Nathan Brooks.

Establishment Lists: In the Est. List, 5 Novr., 1688, this official is styled a "Major Drummer."

¹²³¹ Military Dictry., 1702.

¹²³² The titles of the principal figures are printed underneath them

¹²³³ Elton.

¹²³⁴ Guy, Schedule of Secret Service Money, 1687.

period acted the part of head-executioner at all corporal punishments; a senseless degradation of his office. It is difficult to perceive any connection between harmony and the "cat"; but the manner in which this confusion of duties originated will be found elsewhere.¹²³⁵ At the time of which I am writing there were regimental provosts or martials upon whom such unpleasant work more fitly devolved.¹²³⁶

As there are now used in the Service certain tunes of a special significance, so in the seventeenth century there were national marches. I have not read of an Irish march, but there were both Scotch and English marches.¹²³⁷ "The Scotch march" was still the regimental air of the First Royals in 1679. The English march, like the step of English troops, was so dignified and comparatively slow that Marshal Biron,¹²³⁸ a French General, once observed to Sir Roger Williams, an English Officer, that it was quite too slow and sluggish. "That's as it may be," replied the Englishman, "but, slow as it is, it has traversed your master's country from end to end." This anecdote is narrated of Queen Elizabeth's time. However, in the beginning of the seventeenth century the famous old march was in danger of being lost, so corrupted was it by musicians; and in 1610 measures were taken to reduce it to its original purity.¹²³⁹ In 1632 a Royal Warrant was issued enjoining future accuracy in the use of the tune, and publishing the tune "as a pattern and precedent to all posterity." In 1714¹²⁴⁰ the "English march and Scots Reveillez" were the national airs ordered to be beaten by the Foot-Guards.

There was also a funeral march known as the "Dead March."¹²⁴¹

The ordinary sounds of drum and trumpet¹²⁴² (with which soldiers were required to make themselves acquainted) were;

¹²³⁵ See Chap. XXVI on Martial Law, "The Gatloup."

¹²³⁶ See Grose for much interesting research on the subject of military music, which would, however, be out of place here.

¹²³⁷ Dineley.

¹²³⁸ Hawkins, Sir John, History of Music.

Burton (Crouch) Admirable Curiosities, &c., in England, Scotland and Ireland.

¹²³⁹ Royal Warrt., 7 Feby., 1632, Appendix L.

¹²⁴⁰ Letter, Secretary at War, 16 Sept., 1714; "The granadeers of the three regts. of Guards, during their stay at Greenwich, pursuant to an order from His Majesty, are to beat the English march and Scots Reveillez."

¹²⁴¹ Elton terms it "the funeral march"; but Story (1691) terms it "the dead march."

¹²⁴² Bariffe.

Elton, &c., &c.

the "Gathering," or "Assembly," or "General," (*i.e.*, the fall-in); the "Troop" (*i.e.*, from the battalion); the "March"; the "Preparative" (*i.e.*, prepare to engage); the "Battle" or "Charge"; the "Retreat"; the "Tap-to" or Tattoo (*i.e.*, evening watch-setting); and the "Revally" or Reveille (*i.e.*, the morning relief of the watch). All these were beats of the drum, and the sounds of the trumpet were; the "Auguet" (corresponding to the Tap-to), the "Boutez-selle" (*i.e.*, put on your saddles) whence our corruption of "Boot-and-saddle"; the "Mont-a-caballo" (*i.e.*, bridle and Mount); the "A-la-stendardo" (corresponding to the Troop); the "Tucquet" or March; and the "Carga" or Charge.¹²⁴³

¹²⁴³ In the Diary of the Hon. Laurence Hyde, 12/22 Octr., 1676 (during his embassy to Poland), occurs the following passage; "I had a mind not to continue longer in that figure, having seen all that was to be and heard the several musics of the camp, amongst the rest that of the Janizaries, which is very odd and pleasant." Our ideas of military bands were therefore possibly borrowed from the East originally.

CHAPTER XXIV.

RECRUITING ; RESERVE FORCES ; AND STRENGTH ; DURING
THE PERIOD FROM 1660 TO 1700.

1660-1700.

Etymology of the term soldier.—Brief summary of the ancient modes of recruiting.—The Militia.—Volunteer Corps.—Origin of the Honourable Artillery Company.—Methods of recruiting the Standing Army.—Recruiting by beat of drum.—Recruiting by pressing and conscription.—Declarations by recruits.—Limited service.—Substitutes.—Recruiting by prisoners.—Quality of recruits.—Levy-money and bounties.—Soldiers' marriages.—Free discharge.—Measures on reductions.—Enlistment for general service.—Administrative supervision of the Establishment.—Strength of the Army 1660 to 1700.—Marines.

[*For Illustrations, see Note on p. xiii.*]

THE word Soldier, with its kindred terms in French, Spanish, and German, signifies one who receives pay ; in all these languages the term for "soldier" has come to mean one who is retained permanently for military service alone ; and each language possesses another word to convey the idea of a soldier who fights merely for hire without any admixture of political or patriotic interest, and who is employed only during an emergency or on some special duty. Thus, we have in English Soldier and Mercenary or Stipendiary, in French Soldat and Stipendié, in Spanish Soldado and Soldadero, in German Soldat and Söldner : the French *solde*¹²⁴⁴ which signifies certain sorts of pay, appearing to be the common modern root (from the Latin) of all words for soldier.

In the barbarous infancy of nations every man was of necessity a fighting man : the very instinct of self-preservation demanded that this should be so ; also every man looked to gain a livelihood rather by preying upon his neighbour than by improving what property he already possessed. But as, in the natural course of political growth, serfdom and vassalage disappeared and trade became a power, there were no longer found men to undertake military service for nothing, and it became necessary either to pay a number of individuals to devote their

¹²⁴⁴ From the ancient Latin, *solidus*, a piece of money.

time and talents to the protection of the Commonwealth, or else to impose some system of enforced State service which should press equally upon all who held a stake in the country. Moreover, the invention of artillery so revolutionised warfare in all its branches, that a special training for the military art and an undivided devotion to it became essential to efficiency. Thus standing armies arose in all civilised countries; and thus a Militia (as a substitute for them) arose in England.

There were many gradations¹²⁴⁵ between the old purely feudal system and the establishment of one united Royal Standing Army.

Under the feudal arrangement each warrior chief led to the general gathering his fixed quota of retainers, his contingent to a common alliance under the one head. The first change from this, as a trading class began to take root, was to "Indentures"¹²⁴⁶ or the supply of troops to the Crown by contract: these contracts were often made by civilians, and even by women and ecclesiastics, with a view to pecuniary profit: in short the pay of the troops was sub-let by the Crown. Enlistment by beat of drum was also practised: and pressing a set number of men¹²⁴⁷ from each county or borough was another, though illegal, mode of obtaining soldiers: sometimes this and the beat of drum¹²⁴⁸ were exercised conjointly; but both together were naturally productive of many a Falstaff; and many a Bull-calf

¹²⁴⁵ In the Cotton MSS., No. 27,987, Brit. Mus., is a paper containing many most valuable notes (with quotations of authorities) as to the ancient English military system, evidently from the style of writing, compiled in the seventeenth century. The manuscript may be of service to students of a period prior to the existence of our Standing Army.

¹²⁴⁶ Instances and copies of such indentures are given by Grose in his *Military Antiquities*.

¹²⁴⁷ Harl. MS. 6,844.

Stow; *Summary of Chronicles*, 1604; "The 9 of April (1596), being Good Friday, in the afternoon the Lord Mayor and Aldermen were set from the sermon in Paul's Church yard, and forthwith upon precept from the Council pressed 1,000 men, which was done by eight of the clock the same night, and before the next morning they were purveyed of all manner of furniture for the wars, ready to have gone towards Dover, and so to the aid of Calais against the Spaniards, but in the afternoon of the same day they were all discharged.

"And on the 11 of April, being Easter day, about 10 of the clock, come a new charge, so that all men being in the parish churches ready to have received the Communion, the Aldermen, their Deputies, and Constables were fain to close up the church doors till they had pressed so many to be soldiers that by 12 of the clock they had in the whole City 1,000 men, and they were forthwith furnished of armour, weapons, &c. And they were for the most part that night, and the rest the next morning, sent away to Dover, as the like out of other parts of the Realm, but returned again about a week after, for the French had lost Calais."

¹²⁴⁸ Shakspeare; *Henry IV.*

and Mouldy¹²⁴⁹ must have escaped unduly by tipping some recruiting serjeant or magistrate's clerk of Bardolphian tendencies.

We have been obliged thus cursorily to glance at the means of obtaining soldiers prior to the existence of our Standing Army; but it must not be forgotten that until the year 1689, except for external wars or for resisting invasion, there was but one constitutional force, namely the MILITIA; and in the regulations for the raising and ordering of this national force on the Restoration of the monarchy is to be traced very distinctly the connecting link between the old feudal contingents and our modern Militia.

Shortly after the Restoration an Act¹²⁵⁰ was passed "for Ordering the Forces in the several Counties of this Kingdom." By this and succeeding Acts the power was entrusted to Lords-Lieutenant of Counties to raise and arm militia by the King's Commission, and to lead them to battle in case of internal war.

It must not, however, be imagined that this was by any means the earliest Act of the kind. The feudal system was dying out even in the times of the Tudors, and at least as early as 1512 it had been found requisite to pass an Act^{1250a} ordering every male over seven and under sixty to be practised in the bow at the Public butts continually: and in the Instructions for Musters and Arms issued by order of the Privy Council in 1623,^{1250b} that the Non-Commissioned Officers of the Trained Bands (or Militia) were to exercise their several files with the musquet "upon Sundays after evening prayer, and upon "holidays (as it hath been formerly used for the Bow)," and that the Officers were to exercise the whole parade "once in a "month or six weeks." It is to be regretted that the Act of Henry the Eighth has not been revived so that every youth in the country may still be prepared to take part, if called upon to do so, in his country's defence.

The rules for levying the force were as follows:—Each person in the County whose estate was equivalent to £500 a-year (or a personal estate in money and goods of the value of £6,000, exclusive of house-furniture) was liable to furnish "a horse,

¹²⁴⁹ See Shakspeare; Henry IV, Part II, Act III, Scene 2.

¹²⁵⁰ 13 Charles II, Cap. 6; 1661.

14 Charles II, Cap. 3.

15 Chas. II, Cap. 4.

Chamberlayne.

^{1250a} Act III of Henry VIII, c. 3.

^{1250b} Instructions for Musters, &c., 1623.

"horseman, and arms."¹²⁵¹ Each person having an estate of the value of £50 a-year (or personal estate of £600 value, exclusive of stock upon the soil) was bound to find a foot soldier and arms.¹²⁵² Persons holding estates of intermediate value were to pay a proportionate quota towards finding one horse soldier for every aggregate of such estates amounting to the fixed standard: and in like manner the lesser holders were conjointly to maintain foot-soldiers, the liability of some being limited to as little as one-tenth of a soldier.¹²⁵³

Those who found the men were to furnish them with a specified quantity of ammunition,¹²⁵⁴ and were also to find pay for them at the daily rates of two shillings for a Horse-soldier and one shilling for an infantry soldier; but there was no prohibition against serving in person.

The muster-days were not to exceed fourteen in the year; and no man could be compelled to serve out of the kingdom in any case, and not even out of his own County¹²⁵⁵ except in case of invasion or civil war.

The disciplinary provisions empowered Lords-Lieutenant to punish¹²⁵⁶ ordinary delinquencies by fines not exceeding five shillings, or by imprisonment not exceeding twenty days; but for desertion the penalty was a fine of twenty pounds or three months' imprisonment, and for failing to appear at the appointed time of muster one pound or five days' imprisonment. Lords-

¹²⁵¹ The Arms of the Horse-soldier were to include a sword; a case of pistols (whereof the barrels were to be at least fourteen inches long); a back, breast, and pott, all pistol-proof; besides horse-furniture.

¹²⁵² The Arms to be found for Foot-soldiers were; for a Pikeman, a pike of ash-wood sixteen feet long including head and foot; a sword; and a back, breast, and head-piece: and for a musqueteer a musquet with the barrel three feet long and with a bore for twelve bullets to the pound; a collar of bandaleers; and a sword.

Acts above quoted. Also Journal Book of Lieutenancy of Norfolk, 1661/74; Brit. Mus., Add. MSS. 11,601.

¹²⁵³ Journal Book Lieutcy. of Norfolk, 1661/74; Brit. Mus. MS. 11,601.

¹²⁵⁴ Musqueteers were to bring to the muster-training half a pound of powder; half a pound of bullets, *i.e.* six; and three yards of match.

Acts above quoted. Also Journal Book Lieutcy. of Norfolk, 1661/74.

¹²⁵⁵ Chamberlayne, 1669.

Acts before quoted.

Blackstone.

¹²⁵⁶ Many instances of penal fines occur in the Journal Book of the Lieutenancy of Norfolk, 1661/74, not only upon militiamen for absence from musters, but also upon rated inhabitants for neglecting to furnish due men or arms: *e.g.*

17 Febry., 1665. For sending to the muster "defective horses," "defective "swords," or an "insufficient rider" fines from £3 to £4.

7 March, 1665. For failing to find two tenths of Foot-arms, fines from 10s. up to £2.

15 Janry., 1666/7. For not appearing at the Muster many fines up to £6.

Lieutenant also had the power of conferring Commissions, a power which at one time extended to the signature of Commissions¹²⁵⁷ in regiments of regulars raised in their Counties. In case of the Militia being called out for active service, the payment of the men fell upon the Crown after the first month; and the Crown paid the Officers at all times.

The oaths of allegiance and supremacy were to be administered to all who presented themselves to serve.

By an old statute of the reign of Henry the Fourth the Clergy¹²⁵⁸ were exempt from the action of these Militia Acts, and could not be called upon either to serve in person or to find men for the musters. But I find that the Clergy of the County of Norfolk¹²⁵⁹ were assessed in Charles the Second's reign for the finding of militia-men and arms in the same way as laymen, and this although Chamberlayne states that they still enjoyed their immunity at that very time.

The County and City forces used to be divided into "Trained Bands"¹²⁶⁰ and "Auxiliaries"; but in 1663 all the former¹²⁶¹ were treated under the common head of Militia.

The London regiments of Trained Bands were of very ancient standing, and had been remodelled by Queen Elizabeth in 1588;¹²⁶² they had fought on the side of the Parliament during the Civil War with more than ordinary courage and conduct,¹²⁶³ and to their excellent behaviour had been ascribed

¹²⁵⁷ Three such Commissions (1668) by the Duke of Richmond Lord-Lieutenant of Kent are preserved in Harl. MS. 7,018.

¹²⁵⁸ 8 Henry IV, Cap. 12.

Chamberlayne, 1669.

Grose has some curious information about the ancient liabilities of the clergy to military service.

¹²⁵⁹ Journal Book of the Lieutenancy of Norfolk, 1660/75.

¹²⁶⁰ Instructions for Musters and Arms, 1623.

Clarendon.

The Ensigns, &c., of the Trained Bands and Auxiliaries of London, 1643; *see* III. CLXXXVI.

Mercurius Publicus, 2/9 May, 1661.

Kingdom's Intelligencer, 6/13 May, 1661.

Lond. Gaz., 12/15 Febr'y., 1665/6, terms the County Forces "Trained Bands," and "Militia" in speaking of the same troops.

Lond. Gaz., 1/4 July, 1667.

Monck's Commission (*see* App. I) also shews conclusively that the Trained Bands were the only County Forces and that they therefore were identical with the Militia. Military Dict., 1702, "Bands."

¹²⁶¹ Act 15 Chas. II, Cap. 4.

¹²⁶² Order to be observed for the marshalling of the City of London, 1588; Antiquarian Repertory.

¹²⁶³ The following numbers shew the strength of the London forces in 1643;

the comparative success of the Parliamentary Army at the battle of Newbury.¹²⁶⁴ On the 7th of May, 1661, there was a review in Hyde Park¹²⁶⁵ of all the London forces, consisting of two regiments of Horse, six of Trained Bands (III. CLXXXVI), and six of Auxiliaries.

First came the Lord Mayor's regiment of Horse with red standards: next marched the black regiment of Foot (*i.e.*, with black colours) headed by the Lord Mayor himself, and the yellow and white regiments, being the First Brigade of Trained Bands. The Second Brigade followed, composed of the Red, the Blue, and the Green Regiments, the last being under the command of the Lieutenant of the Tower.

Next after these came a Brigade of Auxiliaries of the White, the Black, and the Red Regiments, and another Brigade of the Yellow, the Blue, and the Green.

The Blue Regiment of Horse brought up the rear.

The Militia in other parts of the country were similarly organised into regiments,¹²⁶⁶ having their Colours and other appointments in the same way as the regiments of regulars. But the duties of the Militia were not confined to mere parade and shew. In 1666 on the declaration of war with France, the Militia of the Eastern coasts were summoned to guard the sea-board.¹²⁶⁷ The East Riding of Yorkshire furnished six regiments,

the Ensigns of the Regiments in the rebellious City of London, &c., 26 Sept., 1643:—

Trained Bands	...	...	...	...	...	10,894
Auxiliaries	...	...	...	...	...	7,200
						<hr/>
Total	...	...	...	...	...	<u>18,094</u>

¹²⁶⁴ Clarendon; "The London Trained-Bands and Auxiliary Regiments (of whose "inexperience of danger, or any kind of Service beyond the easy practice of their postures in the Artillery Garden, men had till then too cheap an estimation) behaved themselves to wonder; and were the preservation of the Army that day. For they stood as a bulwark and rampire to defend the rest; and when their wings of Horse were scattered and dispersed, kept their ground so steadily, that, though Prince Rupert himself led up the choice Horse to charge them, and endured their storm of small shot, he could make no impression upon their stand of pikes, but was forced to wheel about: of so sovereign benefit and use is that readiness, order, and dexterity in the use of their arms, which hath been so much neglected."

¹²⁶⁵ Mercurius Publicus, 2/9 May, 1661.

Kingdom's Intelligencer, 6/13 May, 1661.

¹²⁶⁶ See also Abstract of Militia Officers of London, 1679; Brit. Mus., Add. MSS. 28,082.

¹²⁶⁷ Warrt., Whitehall, Aug., 1660, respecting an assessment in the East Riding of Yorkshire for Colours, Drums, &c., for the Militia; Dom. state papers.

Journal Book of the Lieutenancy of Norfolk, 1661/74.

¹²⁶⁸ Lond. Gaz., 12/15 Feby., 1665/6.

and the North Riding three regiments, each with their quota of cavalry ; and it was computed that in the maritime counties alone above sixty thousand well-equipped soldiers turned out on this occasion, and with little more than a day's warning.

In the same year the Militia was again called out all over the kingdom¹²⁶⁸ as well as in Ireland ; and in July of the next year (1667) the Suffolk Militia, under the Earl of Suffolk, were under fire at an attack upon Aldborough and Landguard Fort by the Dutch.¹²⁶⁹ The enemy was in force, being about three thousand strong ; nevertheless the men of Suffolk beat him off, with a loss to him of about 150 men and to themselves of only some ten or twelve.

On the 13th and 14th of July grand reviews took place on the Curragh of Kildare¹²⁷⁰ of all the Irish regiments of Militia (with the exception of the Dublin City) belonging to the Province of Leinster, prior to their dismissal to their homes on the declaration of peace.

However, before the accession of James the Second the Militia had fallen into an unsatisfactory state ; and even the House of Commons, while inveighing against a standing army,¹²⁷¹ admitted that the Militia could not be considered a reliable national force until some reformatory measures had been adopted respecting it.

From this time up to the end of the century the English Militia does not appear to have been utilised at all, although Acts¹²⁷² were passed throughout William's reign to facilitate the calling it out for service if the King should deem it necessary. This was most likely due to a lack of political confidence in the County gentlemen under whose influence the Militia would naturally act. In Ireland, where the popular feeling among the Protestants was known to be strongly anti-Jacobite, the Militia was largely made use of,¹²⁷³ and was embodied for a long time

¹²⁶⁸ Lond. Gazettes, 19 and 26 July, 1666 ; and 5 and 29 July, 1667.

¹²⁶⁹ Lond. Gaz., 1/4 July, 1667.

¹²⁷⁰ Lond. Gaz., 25/29 July, 1667.

¹²⁷¹ Reresby (1685).

¹²⁷² Acts Wm. and Mary, Sess. 2, Cap. 12 ; 3, Cap. 7 ; 4, Cap. 6 ; 5 and 6, Cap. 19 ; 6 and 7, Cap. 13 ; 7 and 8, Cap. 16 ; all of William and Mary. Acts 8 and 9, Cap. 35 ; 9, Cap. 31 ; 10, Cap. 18 ; 11, Cap. 14 ; 12 and 13, Cap. 8 ; all of William III.

From the Official Returns of the Militia in 1697 it is, however, evident that estates and boroughs were still assessed in the same manner as in Charles II's reign : it appears also that no fresh assessment or survey had been made for "these 30 years past" : Brit. Mus., Egerton MSS. 1,626.

¹²⁷³ Various Letters, Apr. to Sept., 1691 ; Clarke MSS.

"Account of how the Militia are posted in the County of Cork," 1691 ; Clarke MSS. The Cork Militia "out" numbered 1,160 men.

while the country remained unsettled. The Dublin County Militia seems to have been preparing for embodied service in the year 1697;¹²⁷⁴ but as peace was proclaimed at the end of this year, this is naturally the last we hear of the Militia for some time.

In Charles the Second's reign the Militia were under the Commander-in-Chief,¹²⁷⁵ who was authorised by his Commission to call out and to order from place to place such numbers as he should judge necessary for His Majesty's service. But in 1691 considerable doubt existed, among both the Officers of the Army and the Militia officers themselves,¹²⁷⁶ whether the Militia were to be subject to the ordinary rules of martial law and subordination, or whether they were to be regarded as a body quite separate from the Regular troops, and therefore incapable of taking orders from any but their own officers or such civil functionaries as Lords-Lieutenant. No decision of the question, pressingly important though it was, can be traced. In Scotland it was distinctly laid down by the Judges¹²⁷⁷ in 1680 that the Militia were not under the orders of officers of the Regulars; but it must be borne in mind that the Regular troops were themselves not legally recognised at the period of this decision.

By the Mutiny Acts such Acts were not to extend to the Militia; but at the same time this force had always by the "customs of war" been under martial law when on active service, although exempt from its action at other times.

In the seventeenth century the purposes of the modern Yeomanry were answered by the Mounted Militia.

As we have already seen, some holdings were assessed for

¹²⁷⁴ Order, Dublin, 9 July, 1697; Dub. state papers.

¹²⁷⁵ Albemarle's Commission, 3 Aug., 1660; App. I.

¹²⁷⁶ Letter, Athlone, 16 Aug., 1691, Col. Purcell (23rd Foot) to Clarke, Secy. at War; He says that it is doubtful whether the Militia were to look to the Lords Justices only or to Military Officers for their orders:—that they even "pretend to "subsistence equal with the army if they are to do duty"—and that it is absolutely necessary to settle the question about their obedience to orders.

Letter, 1 Aug., 1691, Lords Justices of Ireland to Ginckell: proposes to call out Militia and give them bread and eighteen shillings a week "their pay will bring "them under martial law."

Letter, Grenan, Ireland, 8 Aug., 1691, Lt. Col. Wyndham (6th Dr. Gds.) to Ginckell; that the Militia are very unruly;—that he wants a "larger Commission," and an example made.—Clarke MSS.

¹²⁷⁷ Proceedings against the Heritors of the Shire of Fife (for absence when called out as Militia), 23 Febr., 1680: One Hay of Balkousie founded his defence on a Pass to return home given by the Marquis of Montrose his superior officer; the defence was disallowed, because he not being in the King's Guards (a generic term for the Regulars), Montrose was not his superior officer; Cobbett's State trials.

Horse-soldiers while others were assessed only for Foot-soldiers; and accordingly every County had its proportion of cavalry.¹²⁷⁸ The uniform of the Gloucestershire Militia Horse in 1666 was a buff coat.¹²⁷⁹

While upon the subject of uniform it may be mentioned that (at least as early as 1697) Militia officers wore crimson silk sashes¹²⁸⁰ of the same description as those of officers of the Regulars. The men of Chester may like to hear that the uniform of the Chester-Town Militia¹²⁸¹ in 1685 was red coats with black facings: while the Lancashire people may take equal interest in learning that in 1665 the Preston "Town Companies"¹²⁸² were distinguished by "white doublets and blue colours." In 1697 the Essex Militia were a "Blue regiment"¹²⁸³ and a "Green regiment"; the Gloucester were white, green, blue, and red regiments; the Middlesex were red and blue; the Norfolk were blue, yellow, purple, and white; the Suffolk red, white, blue, and yellow; the Wiltshire red, blue, green, and yellow; and the City of London regiments were still the same as they had been in Charles the First's time, orange, white, green, yellow, red, and blue.

In Scotland, by an Act of James I,¹²⁸⁴ *all* men under sixty years of age were obliged to "reinforce the King against "notorious rebels"; and by a later Act¹²⁸⁵ all men were bound

¹²⁷⁸ Instructions for the Musters 1623.

Militia Acts, 1660/63, already quoted.

Lond. Gaz., 12/15 Febr., 1665/6, and 23/26 July, 1666.

Muster-roll of officers of Norfolk Militia; 1 June, 1676; Brit. Mus., Add. MSS. 28,082.

Order, Dublin, 16 Febr., 1690/91, "Troop of Dragoons of the Militia" (Westmeath); Clarke MSS.

Letter, 20 Apr., 1691, Capt. Godfrey to Clarke; "My Militia troop."

Letter, Streamstown, 7 July, 1691, Geo. Poyton to Ginckell; "Captain Smith and 80 Dragoons of the Militia of this County marched this morning."

Account of the Cork Militia, 1691.

Letter, Athlone, 16 Aug., 1691, Col. Purcell to Clarke; that the Militia Horse, Dragoons, and Foot have joined from the North:—Clarke MSS.

Cosmo's Travels, 1669; "Convoyed from Dorchester by a great many Horse soldiers belonging to the Militia of the County."

¹²⁷⁹ Lond. Gaz., 23/26 July, 1666; "The Militia Horse of Gloucestershire," having come to a general rendezvous at the Seven Downs, "the whole regiment appeared in their buff coats, carabines and pistols, and well horsed."

¹²⁸⁰ Order, Dublin, 9 July, 1697, to pass free of duty thirteen scarves of crimson dyed silk for Officers of the Dublin County Militia; Dub. State papers.

¹²⁸¹ Letter, Clarendon to Rochester, Chester Castle, 26 Decr., 1685.

¹²⁸² The Newes, 8 June, 1665.

¹²⁸³ Returns of Militia, 1697; Brit. Mus., Egerton MSS. 1,626.

¹²⁸⁴ Act 4; Parlt. 1; Jas. I.

¹²⁸⁵ Act 57; Parlt. 13; Jas. I.

to be ready horsed and geared proportionally to their lands and goods. Both these Acts were in force at the end of Charles the Second's reign; and both legalised pecuniary penalties for default,¹²⁸⁶ and in 1680 the penalties were enforced in many instances.

It may be interesting to the youth of our modern Athens to know that the Edinburgh Volunteers of 1677 wore richly-laced scarlet coats,¹²⁸⁷ and were altogether as magnificent as rich plumage, sashes, and embroidered belts could make them, quite outshining in gorgeousness of apparel the modest earthworm appearance of the modern Volunteer.

For VOLUNTEERS there were, in the seventeenth century, quite distinct from the Militia proper: indeed the Edinburgh Volunteers took steps to prevent themselves being mistaken for Militia.

The Auxiliaries¹²⁸⁸ already spoken of differed from the Trained-Bands in that they were simply Volunteers. They corresponded altogether with the Volunteers of to-day; they were raised by the gentry among themselves,¹²⁸⁹ receiving Commissions and Arms from the Government. One of Charles the Second's first movements, after his restoration to the throne, was to appeal to the country to raise Volunteer corps; and in response to his appeal, regiments sprang up at once all over the country; for instance in 1661 at Newark there were eight

¹²⁸⁶ Proceedings against the Heritors of Fife, 23rd Febr., 1680; Cobbett's State Trials.

¹²⁸⁷ Lond. Gaz., 7/11 June, 1677; At the celebration of the anniversary of the Restoration in Edinborc', two Companies of the Merchant's Youths and Trades' Youths (2,000 in number), assembled under their two Captains and two Colours, being resolved that they would for this year make a distinct appearance from the Cities Trained Bands:—"Each Captain having his complete armour carried before him, "most of all the Officers, and many in each Company, having scarlet and other fine "coats, all richly laced, and bearing very rich plumages, scarfs, and embroidered belts."

¹²⁸⁸ Lond. Gaz., 16/19 July, 1666; A Company of "Auxiliaries" formed and granted "a Commission and Arms," upon *application of the inhabitants*, and "according to the examples given in some other parts." Some such examples are to be found in the formation of "Volunteer" troops and Companies by the Gentry in Gloucestershire and elsewhere. Lond. Gaz., 23/26 July, 1666, and other entries in the same year.

¹²⁸⁹ Letter, 26 Aug., 1660, Earl of Exeter to Secy. Nicolas; Dom. State Papers; Has (in Northamptonshire) attended to the *King's instructions* about Volunteers, has raised 100 in the East division, and will try in the West:—hopes there will be three troops of Volunteer Horse.

In October, 1660, there was a muster of Volunteers as well as Militia at Warwick; Dom. State papers.

Mercurius Publicus and Kingdom's Intelligencer, Jany. and Febr., 1660/1; repeated mention of Volunteer Corps throughout the country.

The Newes, 1665.

troops of Volunteer horse¹²⁹⁰ mustering over eight hundred men, Lord Mansfield being their Colonel. Later also, in 1689, we hear of the "Royal Regt. of Horse Volunteers,"¹²⁹¹ consisting of 'the chief citizens of London, most sumptuously accoutred.'

There is one Corps of Volunteers which must by no means be forgotten in any history of our Standing Army, inasmuch as, although an irregular force, it not only existed in the seventeenth century and still flourishes, but it rightly claims the honour of being the most ancient of all our established regiments, regular or irregular.

The "HONOURABLE ARTILLERY COMPANY" of London was instituted in the year 1537^{1291a} by the King's patent issued to Sir Christopher Morris, Master of the Ordnance, and to Antony Knevet and Peter Mewtes, Gentlemen of the Privy Chamber; by which patent they were created overseers, masters, and rulers of the science of artillery, namely for long-bows, cross-bows, and hand-guns, for their lives. They were empowered to establish a perpetual fraternity or guild of artillery. Their successors were to be Englishmen or denizens, but foreigners might belong to the fraternity and were eligible as under-masters, four of whom were to be elected annually.

The object of the fraternity was to preserve from decay the art of shooting, for skill in which the English bowmen had hitherto been so highly famed. Members of the fraternity were therefore authorised to keep and carry arms anywhere within the English dominions, and even within certain specified limits to kill game without further license. Without the sanction of this Artillery Company no other fraternity of a like nature might be formed.

Probably owing to the sure but as yet imperfect substitution of fire-arms for the bow, the Artillery Company must have relaxed in its influence towards the year 1600; for in 1605 James the First found it expedient to give it fresh life by the grant of a new Charter. The Lord Mayor, the Lord Chancellor, the Earl of Dorset, High Treasurer (a military Officer corresponding with the modern Commissary-General-in-Chief); and the Duke of Devonshire, Master of the Ordnance; were

¹²⁹⁰ Mercurius Publicus, 28 Febr./7 Mar., 1660/1.
Kingdom's Intelligencer, 4/11 Mar., 1660/1.

¹²⁹¹ Kennet.

Maitland's, London.

^{1291a} Royal Charter, 25 Aug., 1537.

See also Grose: also Blackwell's Hist. record.

among the chiefs of the renewed corporation. It was in this Charter that the coat-of-arms still borne by the Company was granted. (III. CLXXXVII.)

Charles the First renewed the different provisions of the Charter in 1633; and in 1658 a set of Standing Rules were framed.

In the year 1689 King William undertook the office of Captain-General of the Company, and restored¹²⁹² to it the disused privilege of the annual election by the Company of its own Officers.

It was in 1638 that the City Corporation presented to the Company its present training-ground.

From time immemorial there had been a marked line of distinction between the County forces and the Royal or standing forces; and in the seventeenth century a proposal to make use of the militia in an external war, or to make it a channel of RECRUITING the Standing Army would have been stark madness on the part of a Minister, and might (not impossibly) have precipitated the country into a fresh civil war. For the Standing forces had been viewed with a keen jealousy by the people and by the House of Commons from the very date of the Restoration. Repeatedly debates took place in the Lower House¹²⁹³ on the subject, and scarce a Member dared to raise even the feeblest voice in favour of the obnoxious institution. It was the foremost of the articles of impeachment against Lord Clarendon in 1667¹²⁹⁴ "that he "designed a Standing Army to be raised, and to govern the "Kingdom thereby." Therefore when the Standing Army arose, it became imperative to adopt some mode of recruiting which should not give a handle to assertions that the national Militia was being put to an unconstitutional use, and which should not excite ill-feeling in Parliament by infringements of the liberty of the subject.

So that it is not surprising that the Militia was in no degree rendered subservient to the maintenance of the standing army: indeed, on the contrary, the Militia would seem to have been neglected altogether, or else to have been regarded as politically incorruptible, by both James the Second and William the Third.

¹²⁹² Royal Warrt., 22 May, 1689.

¹²⁹³ Proceedings of House of Commons, Aug. 1660; 11 June, 1678; 3 Novr., 1673; 7 Feby., 1674; 1 Apr., 1679, &c.

Declaration of Rights, 1689.

¹²⁹⁴ Proceedings of House of Commons, 6 Novr., 1667.

James diverted the monies voted for the Militia¹²⁹⁵ to the increase of his permanent troops; and when an invasion of this country was threatened in 1692, so little confidence had William in the national defensive forces that, ill as he could spare them, he sent home from Flanders several regiments of Regulars.

The only solution to the difficulty of recruiting the Standing Army was Voluntary enlistment, and hence it is (the popular and Parliamentary feeling in favour of the Militia and against the Army remaining long unmodified) that our Army has from its earliest infancy been almost entirely recruited by voluntary enlistment, and has been (until quite lately) so little *en rapport* with the Militia.

There can be few people who have not at some time or another encountered a recruiting party with its flutter of gay ribbons, and its invariable accompaniment of drummers and fifers: and this is the oldest method of recruiting practised in our Standing Army; it was termed recruiting by "Beat of drum," and the Warrant authorising anyone to recruit in this way was styled "Beating Orders." Thus the Earl of Peterborough¹²⁹⁶ in 1661 was empowered to raise the Second Foot and the First Dragoons by beat of drum.

While the Duke of Albemarle was Commander-in-Chief, it had been often customary for him to issue the "Beating Orders"¹²⁹⁶ upon receipt of the King's Warrant for any addition to the forces; but after his death the beating orders emanated from the King himself.

It seems to have been usual for those who received beating orders to make "proclamation" of the same,¹²⁹⁷ and to do this sometimes by advertisements in the public prints of the day.

¹²⁹⁵ Barillon Dispatches, June, July, and Aug., 1685; Dalrymple.

¹²⁹⁶ Lord Peterborough's Commission; Harl. MS. 1,595; also "full power and authority by beat of drum, proclamation, or otherwise, in our name to raise, list, arm, array, and put under command such or so many *Volunteers*, both of Horse and Foot within this kingdom of England or any other Our kingdoms or dominions, as shall make up and complete your number designed by Us in your establishment for that service" (of Tangier), &c., &c.

Heads of the late Lord-General's function, &c. (1678); State Paper Office; "Whensoever His Majesty gave order for the raising of any forces, and had given Commissions to the Officers, the General gave orders to them for the raising of their men by beat of drum," &c.; see App. XXI.

Royal Warrts., 23 Sept., 1670, and 19 April, 1671, for volunteers; and R. Warrt., 12 Jan., 1677/8, For raising recruits for the Coldstream Guards by beat of drum; the warrants to be shewn to the Lord Mayor before beating in the City; and many other instances in W.O. records, Misc. Order books.

Lond. Gaz., 21/24 July, 1679, quoted below in Note ¹²⁹⁷.

¹²⁹⁷ Heads of the late Lord General's function (1678).

The Intelligencer, 26 Octr., 1663.

Until some three or four years after the Revolution almost the only mode of recruiting practised (in the Standing Army) was by beat of drum ; for no great difficulty had as yet been experienced in finding willing recruits.

As early as 1666 and 1673, it is true, there had been exceptions to this rule, and men had been pressed in Yorkshire by the Duke of Buckingham¹²⁹⁸ during the war with Holland ; but this was made one of the grounds of accusation against him as a gross illegality.

Generally a soldier's position had been regarded as no mean one, and something of the odour of the old days of rollicking libertinism still clung to the military garb even after the Revolution. Of late, it is true, knocks had been growing more plentiful, and money more scarce ; discipline had begun to assume a new and harsher aspect under Mutiny Acts and Continental Generals ;¹²⁹⁹ men were compelled to be content with their pay, and were not even permitted to grumble aloud¹³⁰⁰ if that was in arrear ; the army had been hugely increased, and the fighting profession was no longer the comfortable close borough it had been under the second Charles. In his reign the place of a trooper in the Tangier Horse or of a private centinel in the Foot Guards, or in Dumbarton's regiment, or among Kirke's Lambs, was not scorned by the sons of substantial yeomen : the pay was in itself of higher value than it was later when it became subject to all sorts of vexatious deductions, while the cost of living became dearer with the

Lond. Gaz., 25/28 June, 1666 ; "Whitehall, 27 June, 1666. Notice is hereby "given that if any persons shall design to list themselves in any of H.M.'s regiments "of Foot, they may upon offering themselves be received into the Service."

Lond. Gaz., 21/24 July, 1679 ; Whitehall, 23 July ; "Whereas H.M. hath "ordered recruits to be raised and sent to Tangier under the commands of Capt. "George Wingfield, &c. : these are to give notice that the said Captains have "authority from H.M. to beat their drums for volunteers," &c., &c.

¹²⁹⁸ Proceedings against the Duke of Buckingham, 13 Janry., 1673/4. House of Commons Journals.

The accounts of the Churchwardens, Windsor, contain an entry in 1666, "Paid "for making clean the church after the prest soldiers departed, six shillings." Divine service seems to have been regarded as a favourable snare for recruits. Compare Note 1247.

¹²⁹⁹ A further account of the Prince's (of Orange) army in a letter from Exeter, 24 Novr., 1688 ; Harl. Misc., mention is made of the astonishment of the inhabitants that the Continental soldiers (of whom many were English), were civil and paid for what they had, being so favourable a contrast as compared with the habits of English soldiers.

¹³⁰⁰ Art. War, 1673, Art. 14 ; App. LIII.

Art. War, 1686, Art. 13 ; App. LIII.

Ditto 1692, Art. 14 ; App. LIII.

progress of the times and the pressure of long wars. It was not, however, the actual pay, but the lax discipline and license of the age, that had rendered the military calling not only alluring but even tolerably remunerative. After the accession of William and the consequent introduction of Continental discipline, the soldier's career was no longer the free swaggering jolly life it once had been. Soldiers were no longer permitted, as of old, to live at free quarters¹³⁰¹ in private houses wherever they went; they could no longer with impunity make free with the wives¹³⁰¹ and the wines of their citizen hosts; and if an aggrieved householder ventured to remonstrate, they might no longer threaten to knock his teeth down his throat with a sword-hilt, or to thrash him with a pike-staff. Such halcyon days were gone, and gone for ever, and were replaced by days of drills and fatigues, of written codes and repressive Acts of Parliament. It is, nevertheless, likely that all this hindered the recruiting of the Army less than the gross abuses respecting the men's pay.

Voluntary enlistment, under these circumstances, failed at length; and when four years of war had drained Scotland of its surplus population, resort was had in that kingdom to a system compounded of Conscription and Pressing. In 1694¹³⁰² a levy of three thousand men was proportioned upon the different counties and boroughs of Scotland. And in 1696, an Act having been passed granting the King a levy of one thousand men annually in that country,¹³⁰³ the principles of selection were laid down as follows:—

The Sheriffs were empowered to seize first, all "idle, loose,

¹³⁰¹ Reresby.

Proceedings of House of Commons, 3 Novr., 1673.

Proceedings of the House of Commons, Novr., 1685.

See also under the head of Quarters, Chap. XXIX.

¹³⁰² Lond. Gaz., 28 Decr./1 Jany., 1693/4; "Edinboro', 23 Decr.; This day was published here Their Majesties' proclamation requiring a present levy to be made of 2,979 Foot-soldiers by the several shires and bourgs of this kingdom, in pursuance of an Act of the late Sessions of Parliament; for which purpose the Commissioners of supply of every shire and stewartry were to meet together with all the Heretors, to proportion the number of men to be levied out of every shire upon the said Heretors thereof; and the said Heretors are to be in readiness to design good and sufficient men according to the several proportions laid upon them, and to deliver them at four days' warning to such Officers as shall be commissioned by H.M. or the Privy Council, to be regimented as H.M. shall think fit."

Lond. Gaz., 19/22 Mar., 1693/4. Sir Thos. Livingstone, Commr.-in-Chief in Scotland, authorised to appoint officers to receive these levies.

¹³⁰³ Scotch Acts of Parliament "anent the levy of one thousand men," 1695 and 1696.

The London Gazette says these were for the army in Flanders.

"and vagabond persons," and "who have not wife or children"; and second, "all young fencible men of the bounds, not having wife and children, and who are not menial or domestic servants to any heretor, but earn their living by daily wages or by termly hire." These were all "to meet at certain days and places, and there by lot and throwing of the dice or otherwise as they shall think fit, determine which of them shall go forth to serve as soldiers." The Commissioners were to throw for absent men.

This is, I imagine, the earliest record of *legalised* pressing and CONSCRIPTION to be met with in our history, as it certainly is in the history of our Standing Army. At the same time as the Scotch Parliament authorised these proceedings it declared Pressing in any other way to be illegal.

PRESSING¹³⁰⁴ for the Army was not the less illegal in England (although it had been practised even so lately as by the Parliament in 1642);¹³⁰⁵ but for the navy it was permitted¹³⁰⁶ and indeed appears to have been authorised; and in 1693 several officers of the Army, who desired, whether from motives of duty or with mercenary views, to have their Companies complete, bribed the naval press-gangs to ship off pressed men to Holland to serve in the army. The proceedings in respect of this matter lay especial stress upon the entrapped men being pressed for "*land* soldiers" or "*land*-service." What was done, or whether anything at all was done, to the Officers concerned in this illegality, does not appear; but at all events the punishment inflicted by the Lord Chief Justice (before whom they were brought) cannot have been such as to deter a repetition of the crime, for a twelvemonth later a series of most atrocious practices by a press-gang was brought to light.

A man named Tooley¹³⁰⁷ was found to be keeping a house in Holborn, apparently legalised as a sort of house of detention for sailors suspected of intended desertion, but which was used far more for a regular trade in recruits for the Army.

It must be premised, for the due comprehension of the motives to practices so contrary to law and involving such risk in case of detection, that Captains of Troops or Companies

¹³⁰⁴ Chamberlayne, 1669.

Blackstone.

¹³⁰⁵ Clarendon.

¹³⁰⁶ Proceedings of the House of Commons, 27 and 28 Feby., 1692/3.

For legality of Pressing for the Navy, see Blackstone, Book I, Chap. 13.

¹³⁰⁷ Proceedings of Ho. of Commons, 12 and 24 Feby., and 5 Mar., 1693/4.

could draw no pay for men whose places in the ranks were vacant on the days of muster, and that while they had a great pecuniary interest in vacancies between the periods of muster, they had thus an even greater interest in completing their quota against those periods. Supposing a Captain to gain thus one month's subsistence for a vacancy in addition to the two pounds levy money allowed for filling it up, he could afford to pay from one to two pounds per head to a crimp for recruits, whenever he urgently required them. Thus this crimp Tooley drove a thriving trade in "food for powder"; and in his proceedings we have a forecast of those iniquitous and too notorious modes of entrapping recruits that have lasted until quite our own times.

Every reader has doubtless heard of the "King's shilling." This shilling was one day's pay, the acceptance of which by a soldier was necessary to substantiate in the eye of the law any charge of desertion; for the best proof of a man's enlistment was to be found in the fact of his having drawn pay. The great object then of either recruiting-Serjeant¹³⁰⁸ or crimp was to get a man to accept a shilling, when they clapped him on the shoulder, uttered the magical words "In the King's name," and in a moment the free citizen had rendered himself amenable to that necessarily harshest of all penal codes, martial law. Mr. Tooley and his servants were adepts at this game of passing the Shilling. Sometimes the shilling was slipped into a man's pocket without his knowledge: Mr. Tooley's agent then got into conversation with him at an alehouse or other place of public resort, and bye and bye declared him to have enlisted: the victim might assert that he could easily prove that the story of his taking the shilling was false, for that he had only a few pence in his pocket: a constable was called and his pockets were searched, and of course the shilling produced therefrom to his unutterable confusion and discredit; and off he went to Mr. Tooley's in Holborn. Giving a man the shilling while drunk, and suffering him to get sober at Mr. Tooley's was a common thing.

Occasionally when Mr. Tooley's agents were quite sure of the lookers-on, if the victim made too much fuss over taking his shilling, he was simply held down, gagged, and tied, and then the money being forced into his pocket he was carried off to Holborn. It is difficult in these cases to know why

¹³⁰⁸ See also Farquhar; The Recruiting Officer.

the farce of forcing the money on the man was gone through at all, as the whole procedure was after all kidnapping pure and simple.

One man indeed managed to throw the shilling away when thus forced upon him, whereupon he was told that "the having "handled it was enough," "and so brought him to Tooley's, "but the man that forced the shilling upon him offered to let "him go for forty shillings."

When Tooley's residence was visited by order of the House of Commons, there were still a great many men in it, and the Commissioners took down the statement of each individual as to how he came there. Two of these statements deserve to be quoted.

"John Harrison; was first pressed by two seamen; but "for 2s. they let him go, then one Cockson a soldier met with "him and told him he would help him to be of the King's "Guards, where he should be well paid and appear only on "muster-days; but he brought him to Toolye's house, where "one Sutton, one of Toolye's servants, gave him 1s.; and one "Smart, another of his servants, took it away again. Toolye "has offered him to several Captains; particularly yesterday "he disposed of him to a Captain, who upon view of Harrison "did not like him; and thereupon Toolye returned the money."

"Samuel Evans, a Welchman; speaks very little English; "hath an estate of £30 per annum in Merionethshire and pays "£7 per annum King's taxes; was made drunk and threatened "by the constable of St. Ann's, that if he did not take 1s. "Impress money they would carry him to the Tower; and then "he was brought to Toolye's; he hath a wife big with child "and two children, and came to London upon a law-suit."

The whole of Toolye's captives were ordered to be discharged, but it does not appear that Toolye received any punishment.

Although pressing for the Army generally was not recognised, there were some peculiar exceptions. For instance a Royal Warrant addressed to Gervas Price Esqre. Our Serjeant Trumpeter,^{1308a} dated July, 1667, runs thus; "Whereas there "will be need of some Trumpeters and Drum-beaters for the "use of Our new raised Forces. . . . We do hereby "authorise and require you to press and take up from time to "time such and so many Trumpeters and Drum-beaters as shall "be necessary." In 1676 again a Warrant issued to the "Drum-

"Major-General" ^{1308b} to "impress fifteen able Drummers" for service with troops raising for Virginia: and there are other cases of the same kind with especial regard to drummers and trumpeters. Again in 1680 a Warrant was given to the "Serjeant Chirurgion" to "forthwith impress one able "chirurgion and a mate for him to serve in our intended "expedition to Tangier."

The servant of a Member of the House of Commons happening to be one of the men spirited away to Toolye's house, an inquiry was instituted, and in the next Mutiny Bill ¹³⁰⁹ a clause was inserted to the effect that no man should be held to be listed unless he had previously been taken before a Justice of the Peace to declare his free consent: this Clause of the Mutiny Act is repeated to the present day.

Recruits had also "to take the oaths of allegiance and "supremacy and to receive the Sacrament," ^{1309a} or they were liable to have their pay respited until they did so: of this there occurred several instances in 1676-8.

Up to the time of King William's death there was (with one or two very circumscribed exceptions) no LIMIT OF SERVICE in our army, although precedents were not wanting in other countries for the establishment of such a limit. ¹³¹⁰ In the Swedish army the periods of enlistment for the infantry were twenty years for a native recruit, and fifteen for a foreigner. The enlistment of the British soldier was in effect for life or during the King's pleasure; for, desertion being at all times a felony, ^{1310a} no man could quit the army until he had been regularly discharged, whether his period had expired or not.

The earliest instance of limited service in the English Army is to be found in the enlistment of recruits for Tangier in 1679, ¹³¹¹ upon the "assurance to all such as shall list themselves, that "they shall be relieved the third year, and come for England, "and be well paid in the meanwhile." This was probably in imitation of the East India Company, ¹³¹² which imposed upon its recruits a condition of a fixed period of service varying from five years upwards.

^{1308b} Royal Warrts., 7 Octr., 1676, and 2 June, 1680; W.O. records.

¹³⁰⁹ 5 and 6 Wm. and Mary, Cap. 15.

^{1309a} R. Order, 23 June, 1676, and several other instances; W.O. records.

¹³¹⁰ Sir J. Turner, 1671.

^{1310a} See Chap. XXVI, Note ¹⁴⁶⁰.

¹³¹¹ Lond. Gaz., 21/24 July, 1679.

¹³¹² St. Helena Official Records, 27 Aug., 1683, 8 Feby., 1685/6, and other entries.

A still more decided instance of an exception to the general rule occurs in the Scotch Act of Parliament of 1696,¹³¹³ already quoted, which enacted that the recruits levied under its provisions were not obliged to remain in the service longer than three years.

The idea of engaging for life must have greatly tended to deter recruits from entering a service which they could never abandon, however distasteful or disappointing they might find it.

Another excellent innovation occurs in the Scotch Acts of 1696: those who preferred to serve in purse rather than in person¹³¹⁴ were allowed to do so by a fine of twenty-four pounds Scots.

In 1696 an Act¹³¹⁵ was passed in England by which no imprisoned Debtor could obtain his release under a previous Act "for the relief of poor prisoners for debt or damages," except upon the condition of enlisting into the Army or Navy. Gaolers were to render returns of prisoners willing to accept this condition to the Commissary-General of the Musters, and a Royal Warrant was to be obtained before the enlistment could be carried into effect. The debtor was permitted to find a substitute if he preferred to do so to serving in person.

When Sir James Turner¹³¹⁶ wrote (1671) there was no rule of AGE FOR RECRUITS in this country; but in William's reign we gather from the Act just mentioned and from other official sources that the limit of age for military service¹³¹⁷ was from seventeen to forty. The Commissaries of Musters were at all times bound to see¹³¹⁸ that the soldiers were in every way fit for service. Men who were disabled "by loss of limb or otherwise"

¹³¹³ Scotch Act, "anent the levy of 1,000 men," 1696.

¹³¹⁴ Scotch Act of Parliament, 1696, "For recruiting the regiments either at home "or abroad."

By Articles of War, 1673, Cl. 50, soldiers were forbidden to find substitutes to do their duty; but an instance of authorised substitutes is given in the text under the head of "Recruiting by Prisoners."

¹³¹⁵ 7 & 8 William III, Cap. 12.

Proclamation, Kensington, 14 Mar., 1695/6; Lond. Gaz., 16 Mar., 1695/6.

Mis. Book 517 :—W.O. records; contains a Warrant of the Lords Justices (for the King), and counter-signed by the Judge-Advocate-General for the release of 29 Prisoners from York Castle to recruit Col. Farrington's regt.; 11 June, 1696. And several other similar Warrants in the same year.

¹³¹⁶ Sir J. Turner.

¹³¹⁷ 7 & 8 Wm. III, Cap. 12.

Orders and Instructions for the Musters, Dublin, 29 July, 1697, Cl. 10, App. XLVII.

¹³¹⁸ Regulations for the Musters, 5 May, 1663, Cl. 1, App. XXIV. Art. of War, 1673, Cl. 38; App. LIII.

were not eligible as recruits. Yet there must have prevailed exceedingly vague notions of what constituted "inability for "the Service," for we find rewards offered for deserters with deformities and peculiarities such as would effectually bar entrance to the Service in these days. Thus in 1686 a guinea reward was offered for the apprehension of a deserter from the Thirteenth Foot,¹³¹⁹ "a Welchman, having upon his left foot six "toes, and on his left hand two fingers growing together, and the "little toe on his left foot always sticking out of his shoe." In 1690 a deserter from the First Foot-Guards,¹³²⁰ "having one leg smaller "than the other" was deemed equally valuable: the same regiment offered three guineas in 1694 for a man¹³²¹ "blind of his "right eye"; and "squint-eyed men" were by no means rare.¹³²²

When the six English and Scotch regiments in the Dutch service came over from Holland in 1685, James the Second was so struck by the soldierly appearance imparted to them by uniformity of age and size of the men, that he set to work to purge the army¹³²³ of men past service, and of men of diminutive stature.

Nevertheless the style of recruits deteriorated in a corresponding ratio to the increase of the demand, and to the progressive effect of mal-administration and corrupt practices. When a soldier could obtain no pay (while the Secretary at War, the Commissary-General, the Paymaster-General, and the Colonels of Regiments were notoriously enriching themselves at his expense), it is not likely that a good class of men would be attracted.

In the beginning of King Charles's reign a recruit had to produce "good testimonies of courage and fidelity";¹³²⁴ towards the close of the same reign it became necessary to hang deserters¹³²⁵ by way of example.

¹³¹⁹ Lond. Gaz., 26/29 July, 1686.

¹³²⁰ Lond. Gaz., 15/18 Decr., 1690.

¹³²¹ Lond. Gaz., 5/8 March, 1693/4.

¹³²² Lond. Gaz., 25/28 May, 1691; 23/26 Apr., 1694; 25/28 Janry., 1696/7; &c., &c.

¹³²³ Letter, Dublin Castle, 8 June, 1686, Clarendon to Rochester, Clarendon correspce., "His Lordship (Tyrconnel) then told me that there was another reform "to be made in the army; for G—d d—n me," says he, "this Scotch battalion "which is newly come into England, has undone us; the King is so pleased with it "that he will have all his forces in the same posture. We have here a great many "old men, and of different statures; they must be all turned out, for the King would "have all his men young and of one size."

Lond. Gaz., 8 Octr., 1690, gives the height of two deserters from the 1st Ft. Gds.; one was 5 ft. 8 in., the other 5 ft. 7 in.

¹³²⁴ The Intelligencer, 26 Octr., 1663.

¹³²⁵ Lond. Gaz., 11/15 July, 1678.

Deserters there were in 1663,¹³²⁶ but they evidently deserted only to escape 'a particular foreign service'; but in James the Second's reign desertion had become a common occurrence,¹³²⁷ and several soldiers were executed¹³²⁸ upon being re-taken.¹³²⁹

The year 1678 was a year of war, and seems to have been the earliest year in which the demand for recruits exceeded the supply, for not only were there the unusual spectacles of executions for desertion in the camp at Hounslow, but also bounties¹³³⁰ were granted to recruits under the name of LEVY-MONEY: this levy-money was rather an advance of pay¹³³¹ than what is now termed bounty money. The levy-money in 1678 was fixed at twenty shillings per recruit, and at this figure it continued (having come to be regarded as a regular allowance) until 1690, when forty shillings was the rate allowed.¹³³² There was one intermediate exception to the rate of twenty shillings; and this was at the time when the landing of William of Orange from Holland was expected: the levy-money offered at this time¹³³³ to recruits for the 1st Dragoon-Guards and the 1st Dragoons was as high as £20 for the troopers (as well as for

¹³²⁶ The Intelligencer, 7 Decr., 1663.

¹³²⁷ Lond. Gaz., Janry., 1685/6 to 1688.

¹³²⁸ Lond. Gazettes, 10/23 Sept., 1686; 4/18 Apr.; & 19/23 May, 1687.

¹³²⁹ It would appear probable that negroes were already admitted to serve in the West Indies, for the man mentioned in the following extract could scarcely be anything but the bond-slave of the recipient of his pay; Guy, Schedule of Secret Service Money; 1681, "To Anne Milton for pay due to her servant Richard Stamp, "a soldier under the command of Captain Barrett at Barbadoes, £7 14s."

¹³³⁰ Royal Warrt., 4 Apr., 1678; and another of same date ordering the payment. App. XXXIV. See however Note ¹³³³ referring to 1664 (being also a year of war).

Letter, 17 Febry., 1678/9, Chas. Harrison to William Lounds enclosing certain orders for payments of upwards of Five Pounds towards enlisting men; Treasy. State Papers.

¹³³¹ Reresby, Mar., 1688: "Commissions were given out for the raising 10,000 "Foot, and twenty shillings advance allowed to every man."

E. of Ossory's Acct., 1678, Add. MSS. 28,943, Brit. Mus.: "Paid Col. Bellasis "for recruits £615." "Recruits £72 13s."

Report, 16 July, 1689; Try. State Papers; shews that Colonel Beveridge had some years previously received £100 "levy money" when raising a regiment of dragoons (disbanded before complete).

Acct. of men transferred from Monmouth's regt. to the Royal Regt. of Fusileers in 1689; Try. State Papers; Monmouth received, "£100 as levy money" that he might be enabled to complete his regiment again.

Report, 24 Decr., 1690, of Paymr. Genl. upon the petitions of several Colonels for "levy-money." Try. State papers.

Proc. Ho. of Commons, 1692 to 1698, Annual Estimates.

There are many instances of Levy money in W.O. records, 1660-1700.

¹³³² Letter, Whitehall, 14 Aug., 1690, Blathwayt to Clarke; That 40s. per man mustered at the sea-side (for embarkation for Ireland) had been promised to Brewer's regt. (12th Foot) for recruits; Clarke MSS.

³³³ Royal Warrt., Whitehall, 2 Oct., 1688; Brit. Mus., Add. MSS. 5,752.

Horse-Granadeers of the Guards), and £12 for Dragoons, the same to be paid (to the Officers, *bien entendu*) "without any deduction or defalcation whatever."

In 1691 an attempt at economy was made by a return to the twenty shillings,¹³³⁴ but this very inopportune measure failed and was cancelled within a month of its issue.

Because twenty or forty shillings levy-money was allowed, it by no means follows that the whole of it went to the soldier: indeed we have direct proof to the contrary. Captains were held responsible¹³³⁵ that their companies were kept duly complete; and if they were not complete on the day of muster the pay of so many men as were wanting fell in to Government for the whole period to which the muster related; so that (as already stated) while Captains found it to their own interest to keep their companies as low as possible between the musters, they were equally solicitous to fill their ranks by muster-day; in addition to this inducement they had the spur of the levy-money, they, or their Colonels, receiving the whole of it¹³³⁶ and then making such bargains with the recruits as they best might, sometimes as low as six shillings, sometimes as high as a guinea. As the levy-money could not be drawn until the recruits had been shewn, one very great evil naturally resulted; and this was, that it became to the interest of Colonels to connive at FRAUDULENT RE-ENLISTMENTS of men already in the Service; and these were resorted to by soldiers when they wished to obtain a change of masters, or when they were sufficiently devoid of principle to exchange for the money alone. Such were the profits to the Colonels¹³³⁷ that it was even worth

¹³³⁴ Letter, Whitehall, 22 Janry., 1690/1, Blathwayt to Clarke; "I fear those (recruits) of the Foot will be hardly made, the King allowing to the English but 20s. per man."

Letter, Whitehall, 10 Feby., 1690/1; Blathwayt to Clarke; that the King has allowed 40s. instead of 20s. "for making up the recruits of Foot for Ireland."

Letter, Whitehall, 14 Feby., 1690/1, Ditto to ditto; that all regts. of Foot recruiting in England were to receive 40s. per man.

Abstract of Recruits shipped for Ireland 19 May, 1691; Clarke MSS.

¹³³⁵ Art. of War, 1673, Cl. 49; App. LIII.

See Chap. XXIX on Pay.

¹³³⁶ Letter, Cork, 21 Feby., 1690/1, Col. Hastings (13th Foot) to Clarke; that other Colonels were tempting his own and Hales's men to desert and enter their regts. for Flanders, giving bounties from six shillings to a guinea.

Letter, Cork, 20 Feby., 1690/1, Col. Dutton (Hales's) to Ginckell; to same effect as above quotation: Clarke MSS.

¹³³⁷ Letter, Cork, 31 Janry., 1690/1, Col. Hastings (13th Foot) to Clarke, Secretary at War; that as Beaumont's regt. (8th Foot) is to be broke, hopes it may be broke into his own regt. "besides that number will near complete mine, I will make you a present of twenty guineas."

their while to bribe the Secretary at War. The Scotch Parliament enacted in 1696¹³³⁸ that the levy-money, twenty pounds Scots, was to be paid down to the recruits by the Officer who received them over. In the Spring of 1696¹³³⁹ a curious allowance was made on account of levy-money to replace men lost by the siege of Namur; for the rates were three pounds per man for killed and one pound per man for wounded—presumably upon the supposition that the wounded men might return to the ranks at some future time.

In 1688 it was declared penal by the Mutiny Act¹³⁴⁰ to enlist into a second regiment without previous discharge from the first. This did not, as we have seen, stop the practice; and in 1691 it had again attained to such a degree among the regiments in Ireland, that General Ginckell issued a Proclamation¹³⁴¹ against it, while in 1692 it was found necessary to further enforce the law by a Royal Warrant.

Desertion, in one form or another, continued rife throughout the Service up to the termination of the war in Flanders.¹³⁴²

With a view to securing recruits physically fit for the Service, an order was issued in 1697¹³⁴³ prohibiting the enlistment of men by Captains until they had first been inspected and passed by their Colonels.

MARRIED MEN were especially objected to as soldiers.

In 1671¹³⁴⁴ an order was given that no soldier in the First and Second Foot-Guards was to marry without the sanction of his Captain; and in 1685¹³⁴⁵ an order to the same effect, but of general application, was published. At the great reduction in 1697¹³⁴⁶ the married men were discharged whether they desired it or not, while the unmarried ones were compelled to remain.

Nevertheless it had begun to make itself apparent that dis-

¹³³⁸ Scotch Act "Anent the levy of 1,000 men"; 1696.

¹³³⁹ Royal Warrt., 6 Feby., 1695/6, App. LXXXVIII.

¹³⁴⁰ 1 Wm. & Mary, Sess. 2, Cap. 4.

¹³⁴¹ Proclamation, 12 June, 1691; Clarke MSS.

See also Note ¹³³⁶.

R. Warrt., Whitehall, 9 June, 1692; W.O. records.

¹³⁴² London Gazette; numerous advertisements for deserters.

D'Auvergne.

Proclamation, 10 June, 1697, enjoining more earnest endeavours to discover deserters. Lond. Gaz., 10/14 June, 1697.

¹³⁴³ Proclamation, Dublin, 26 July, 1697; App. XC.

¹³⁴⁴ Order, 3 Novr., 1671, App. LXXXI.

¹³⁴⁵ Regulation, 1 June, 1685, Mis. Orders, W.O. records.

¹³⁴⁶ Orders, Dublin, 28 Feby.; 1 Mar.; 5 Mar.; 9 Mar.; 18 Mar., 1697/8, for disbanding nine different regiments; Dub. State papers.

charge from the Army was no longer regarded as a grave punishment (as in the days of Charles the Second), but that on the contrary it was considered a boon; for in 1689 a FREE DISCHARGE¹³⁴⁷ was awarded as a recompense to soldiers giving information of false musters.

The mere fact of discharge being thus mentioned as a boon in 1689 goes far to prove that some discharge other than free must have been already recognised in our Standing Army, as was assuredly the case in the Colonial forces.¹³⁴⁸

When the first great reduction took place on the restoration of peace in 1679, it became desirable to promulgate some distinct regulations¹³⁴⁹ respecting the rights and privileges of discharged men. And the rules then promulgated would doubtless represent the customs of the Service up to that time.

Disbanded Foot-soldiers were allowed to carry away with them their clothes, swords and belts, and knapsacks; and Horse-soldiers their horses and saddlery in addition. Besides this every soldier received ten shillings as "a free gift" over and above his pay, to enable him to reach his home.

At the next grand reduction after the peace of Ryswick (1697), the rules observed were very similar to those of 1679.¹³⁵⁰ When a regiment was about to be disbanded, it was paraded by the Brigadier (accompanied sometimes by an officer of the Adjutant-General's department) in the presence of a Commissary of the Musters. This latter officer was charged to see that the regulations were duly enforced, and among other things that a settlement was effected between the Officers and their men. Soldiers were to carry away with them all clothes and accoutrements provided out of the off-reckonings; but instead of taking their swords with them they were to return them into store receiving three shillings apiece in lieu. Troopers and Dragoons

¹³⁴⁷ 1 Wm. & Mary, Sess. 2, Cap. 4.

¹³⁴⁸ St. Helena Official Records, 8 Feby., 1685/6; and 17 Mar., 1686/7; the sums paid being £8 and £5, and being evidently calculated on the length of "contracted time" still to run.

¹³⁴⁹ 31 Chas. II, Cap. 1.

Report, 30 Aug., 1660, from the Committee of the Army; Proceedings of House of Commons; Cobbett.

See also authorities in next Note.

¹³⁵⁰ Royal Warrant, 1 Decr., 1697; App. XXXII.

Order, Whitehall, 14 Feby., 1697-8; App. C.

Orders, Dublin, 18 Decr., 18 Decr. (again), 1697; 11 Janry., 28 Feby., 1697/8; 1, 5, 9, & 18 Mar., 1697/8; Dub. State papers.

Royal Warrt., 8 Novr., 1698, to Mr. D. Butts, Commissary of Musters, proceeding to the West Indies to disband Col. Holt's regiment: Brit. Mus., Add. MSS. 10,123, and W.O. records.

were also still allowed to take away their horses, under certain limitations.¹³⁵¹ But then came a very shabby amendment on the rules of 1679; instead of the soldier getting a bounty of ten shillings, or of ten days' *pay*, he was to receive ten days' *subsistence* only,¹³⁵⁰ or three shillings and fourpence for a private, five shillings for a drummer, and seven and sixpence for a serjeant, "to carry them home." A trooper received seven days' full pay if taking his horse with him. Even in those early times the War-Office was in the habit of creating discontent by such ill-judged and ill-timed parsimonies, which had to be rescinded after the mischief was done; and thus the reduction of the ten days' pay to ten days' subsistence had to be unmade almost as soon as made,¹³⁵² and a true bureaucratic compromise effected, by the grant of fourteen days' subsistence.

Unmarried soldiers of disbanded regiments were not to be discharged, but transferred to other corps¹³⁵³ in lieu of the married men of those corps, neither were they to derive any of the benefits accruing to the other disbanded soldiers and to the reduced Benedicks. So that at the end of the year 1698 the British Army was composed wholly of bachelors.

Disbanded soldiers were enjoined not to travel home in bands of more than three together,¹³⁵⁴ a very wise proviso in days when the machinery for maintaining the public peace was cumbrous and scanty.

When a regiment was only to be reduced and not disbanded, the "youngest companies"¹³⁵⁵ (exclusive of granadeers) were to be first selected for reduction.

¹³⁵¹ See Chap. XXIX under "Cavalry—Remounts."

¹³⁵² R. Warrt., Whitehall, 14 Feby., 1697-8; App. C.

Order, Dublin, 11 Janry., 1697/8. App. XXVI.

Royal Warrt., 1699, to Mr. Daniel Butts, Commissary, on proceeding to the West Indies to disband Col. Holt's regiment of Foot: To pay the disbanded soldiers the "same bounty as was allowed to those disbanded here," vizt. Serjeant, two weeks full subsistence 14s., Corporal 9s., Drummer 9s., Sentinel 7s.; Brit. Mus., Add. MSS. 10,123.

¹³⁵³ Orders as quoted in Note ¹³⁵⁰; "That all the unmarried private soldiers, "natives of England, shall be set apart in order to be incorporated into other regiments in the room of such there as have wives, and that an Officer be appointed "to receive and convey them to the regiment into which they are to be incorporated," "but they are not to receive the King's bounty money nor the 30s. for "their swords, but the same are to be given to those that shall be put out of other "regiments to make room for them." (The bounty money here means the ten days' subsistence on discharge.) Similar Warrts., 1 Mar., 5, 9, 18 Mar., 1697-8, for disbanding Charlemont's, Wolseley's, &c.

¹³⁵⁴ Order, Whitehall, 14 Feby., 1697/8; App. C.

¹³⁵⁵ Warrant ("by H.M.'s Command"), Dublin, 8 Apr., 1699. App. XXXIII.

Disbanded or reduced Officers were placed upon half-pay¹³⁵⁶ until they could be absorbed, so that half-pay was a mere retaining fee.

In 1698 the number of Officers thrown out of employ was so large that their services were utilised¹³⁵⁷ by forming any of them that volunteered into a Company that was to march at the head of the First Foot-Guards.

In the seventeenth century all soldiers were enlisted for general service, and transfers of men from one corps to another were frequent. In 1674¹³⁵⁸ we find one hundred and fifty soldiers taken out of three companies of the Foot-Guards towards making up a new regiment. In 1689 the Seventh Fusileers received a large accession from Monmouth's Regiment,¹³⁵⁹ the men having apparently been sent off to Ireland for general service and then afterwards attached to any regiment in want of men. In 1690 the Artillery train was recruited¹³⁶⁰ by drafting one man per company from several Infantry regiments. In 1697 two men per troop were drafted¹³⁶¹ out of Echlin's Dragoons to recruit Lord Romney's regiment. When reductions took place, men were also transferred¹³⁶² not only from one troop or company to another, but from the broken regiments into other regiments that happened to be incomplete.¹³⁶³

It is very sure that in some of these instances, if not in all, the men's wishes were not consulted; but there were occasions when soldiers were allowed to volunteer for transfer from their regiments: thus in 1687¹³⁶⁴ one hundred men were permitted to

¹³⁵⁶ Royal Warrt., 26 Novr., 1678. App. LIV.

Royal Warrt., 26 Apr., 1695. App. LV.

See also Chaps. XXVII and XXIX on Rewards and Finance.

¹³⁵⁷ Circular Letter, Secy. at War, 3 Septr., 1698; App. LVI.

¹³⁵⁸ Royal Warrt., 29 Apr., 1674, App. XXXVIII.

¹³⁵⁹ List of Respites Monmouth's Regt., 1689; Try. State Papers.

¹³⁶⁰ Memorial by certain Compies. of Foot to Ginkell, 12 June, 1691; Clarke MSS.

¹³⁶¹ Orders, Dublin, 19 Aug. and 4 Septr., 1697; Dub. state papers.

¹³⁶² Order, Dublin, Mar., 1690/1, to Abraham Yarnar, Esqr., Commy.-Genl. of the Musters, "And you are to dispose such numbers of the said disbanded troops (of "Wolseley's Inniskilling Horse) into the remaining ones as may make the numbers "of such remaining troops complete," &c.; Clarke MSS. It must be recollected that at this time a recruit belonged to a company or troop and not to a regiment at large.

¹³⁶³ Authorities quoted in Note.¹³⁴⁶

¹³⁶⁴ Lond. Gaz., 13/16 June, 1687. Sailed the East India Company's ship "Caesar," having on board a Company of 100 soldiers of Lord Viscount Montgomery's regt. (which His Majesty was pleased to give leave to go in the said Company's service)."

volunteer from the Eleventh Foot for the East India Company's service.

During the Irish war of 1690¹³⁶⁵ some few regiments secured their own recruits; but generally the men were enlisted for general service, and on their arrival in Ireland were told off to the several corps. But at the end of the same year, the usual system having worked badly either from mismanagement of the levy money or from mutual jealousies of the style of the different drafts, or because general recruiting parties did not interest themselves sufficiently in their task, the King ordered¹³⁶⁶ every regiment to send some of its own officers to England to recruit for their particular corps, and the levy money to be paid direct to them.

It used apparently to be considered desirable to recruit regiments from the Counties¹³⁶⁷ in which they were originally raised, or to which their Colonels belonged.

No change in the Establishment was made without the opinion of the Commander-in-Chief: ¹³⁶⁸ the change being decided upon, the proper warrants were drawn up in his office in quintuplicate, and when signed by the King, one copy went to the General concerned, one to the principal Secretary of State, one to the Paymaster-General, one to the Commissary-General, and one to the Commissioners of the Treasury.

The following list shews as nearly as can be ascertained the total strength of the Forces up to the year 1700: but it has not been thought worth while to make such further research as would render the list more perfect:—

¹³⁶⁵ List and Distribution of the Recruits raised in England for the Forces in Ireland, June, 1690; Clarke MSS. The recruits raised for special regiments numbered only 400 among three regts.; those for general service 5,000 distributed among ten regiments.

¹³⁶⁶ Letter, Whitehall, 18 Novr., 1690. Blathwayt to Ginnell; desiring that lists of vacancies in each regiment might be furnished, "Sa Majesté étant d'intention de faire faire les recrues d'infanterie par les officiers même de chaque régiment, en leur donnant de l'argent."

Letter, Whitehall, 20 Novr., 1690, Blathwayt to Clarke; that officers for recruiting had been ordered over from each regiment.—Clarke MSS.

¹³⁶⁷ Letter, Cork, 31 Janry., 1690/1, Hastings (13th Foot) to Clarke; hopes that Beaumont's (8th Foot) may be broke into his (13th Foot) "they being most of them my country, Leicestershire": both regts. were raised in the Midland Counties; Clarke MSS.

¹³⁶⁸ Heads of the late Lord General's function (1678), App. XXI.

*List of the Establishments of the Standing Forces
from 1660 to 1700.*

1663	¹³⁶⁹	{	3,574	Standing regts. only.	
			4,878	Garrisons and independent Companies, England only.	
1668	¹³⁷⁰		6,578	"Guards and Garrisons," England.	
1669			7,816	do. do.	
				(includes 4 "Barbadoes" companies).	
				besides Offrs. and N.C.O.	
1680	¹³⁷¹	{	8,700	England, 5,690	} 8,700
				Tangier, 3,010	
				Life Gds.	887
				Horse Gds.	438
				1st Drs.	381
				1st Ft. Gds.	1,758
1684	¹³⁷²	{	9,215	2nd do.	916
				1st Ft.	1,497
				2nd Ft.	871
				3rd Ft.	844
				4th Ft.	774
				Maritime regt.	849
				} 9,215, England.	
1684	¹³⁷³		9,703	Ireland	
1687	¹³⁷⁴	{	34,592	besides Offrs., whole army.	
1688	¹³⁷⁵				
(1 Novr.)				Horse	6,002
				Dragoons	1,994
				Foot	26,596
				} 34,592.	
1688	¹³⁷⁶		16,482	Horse	3,522
(5 Novr.)				Dragoons	1,000
				Foot	11,960
				} 16,482.	
1689	¹³⁷⁷		11,748	England	} 44,308.
do.			22,790	Ireland	
do.			9,770	Flanders	
1689	¹³⁷⁸		42,432	Ireland, King James's Army.	
(8th May)					
1690			23,390	Ireland.	
1691	¹³⁷⁹		11,110	Ireland.	
do.	¹³⁸⁰		11,287	do.	

¹³⁶⁹ Abstract of H.M.'s Guards, &c., 1660/1663; Brit. Mus., Add. MSS. 28,082.

¹³⁷⁰ Abstract of Est. 1668/9; Brit. Mus., Add. MSS. 28,082.

¹³⁷¹ Abstract of Forces 1680; Brit. Mus., Add. MSS. 10,123.

Est. list, 1680; Harl. MSS. 6,425.

¹³⁷² Nathan Brooks, 1684.

¹³⁷³ Est. of Army in Ireland, 1685; Brit. Mus., Add. MSS. 15,897.

¹³⁷⁴ Harl. MSS. 4,847 and 7,018.

¹³⁷⁵ Est. list, 1687/9; Harl. MSS. 7,018. (Increases by James II.)

¹³⁷⁶ Est. list, 5 Novr., 1688; Harl. MSS. 7,436.

¹³⁷⁷ Est. lists, 1 May, 1689; Harl. MSS. 7,437; and Harl. MSS. 7,438 and 7,439.

Journal of the Proceedings of the Parliament in Ireland with the Est. of the forces there, Lond. 1689.

¹³⁷⁸ Est. list, 1 June, 1690, Harl. MSS. 7,441.

¹³⁷⁹ Est. list, 1691/2, Harl. MSS. 7,442.

¹³⁸⁰ Abstract of Ests.; Brit. Mus., Add. MSS. 10,123.

1691	¹³⁸¹	12,960	Ireland.
do.		65,000	Whole army.
do.		69,636	do.
1692	¹³⁸⁰	10,769	Ireland.
do.	¹³⁸¹	64,924	Whole army.
do.	¹³⁹²	66,472	do. England, Ireland, Scotland, and Flanders.
1693	¹³⁸²	54,562	Whole army.
do.	¹³⁸¹	83,000	do.
1694	¹³⁸³	6,300	Scotland.
do.	¹³⁸⁴	93,635	Whole army.
1695	¹³⁸⁵	87,702	do. (included, 32 foreign regts.).
1696	¹³⁸⁶	87,440	Whole army—Horse 11,853
			Dragoons 6,245
			Foot 69,342
			} 87,440.
			Of which servts. = 5,749.
1697	¹³⁸⁷	86,998	Whole army.
do.		87,440	do.
1698	¹³⁸⁸	14,834	England.
do.		1,258	W. Indies.
1698/9	¹³⁸⁹	14,834	England.
		15,488	Ireland.
		1,258	Colonies.
1699	¹³⁹⁰	7,000	England.
do.	¹³⁸¹	12,000	Ireland.

The strength of the Militia ¹³⁹¹ in England and Wales alone in 1697 was 6,000 Horse, and 74,000 Foot.

The following lists will prove of especial interest to Scotchmen and deserve record: ^{1391a}

“Note of the Muster in August, 1684; H.M.’s troop of ‘Guaire,’ ^{1391b} whereof the Lord Livingstone is Captain, consists “of nyntie nyne horsemen, but is not mustered.

¹³⁸¹ Commons Journals.

Proc. of Ho. of Commons, 9 Octr., 1690, and 9 Novr., 1691.

¹³⁸² Proc. House of Commons, 25 Novr., 1692.

¹³⁸³ Scotch Parlt. Proceedings, Apr., 1694.

¹³⁸⁴ List of Land Forces which H.M. thinks necessary to be maintained in England, Scotland and beyond seas for 1694; Brit. Mus., Add. MSS. 10,123.

Proc. House of Commons, 5 Decr., 1693.

¹³⁸⁵ Proc. Ho. of Commons, 26 Novr., 1694.

¹³⁸⁶ List of the Land Forces, 1696; Try. State papers.

Proc. Ho. of Commons, 3 Decr., 1695.

¹³⁸⁷ Memorandum; Brit. Mus., Add. MSS. 10,123.

Proceedings Ho. of Commons, 28 Octr., 1696.

¹³⁸⁸ List of the Land Forces now in England, 1 Aug., 1698; Brit. Mus., Add. MSS. 10,123.

¹³⁸⁹ Proc. Ho. of Commons, 16 Decr., 1698; List of the Forces now in pay.

¹³⁹⁰ Est. for England from 26 Mar., 1699; Brit. Mus., Add. MSS. 10,123.

Commons Journals.

¹³⁹¹ Militia Returns, 1697; Brit. Mus., Egerton MSS. 1,626.

^{1391a} Drummond MSS.

See also Chap. XVII, Note ⁵⁷⁵.

^{1391b} The Scots Life-Guards, which was raised in 1661 as a “Guard of Horse,”

"The regiment of Horse commanded by Colonell Grahame consists of two hundreth and fiftie horsemen.

"The regiment of Foot Guaird^{1391c} commanded by Colonell Dowglass consists of seven hundreth and sixtie centinells.

"The regiment of Foot^{1391d} commanded by the Earle of Marr, consisting of sevin hundreth and sixtie centinells.

"The regiment of Dragoones,^{1391e} whair of his Excellence General Dalyell is Colonell, consists of three hundreth and "thirtie Dragoones.

"This is the exact and true account of the Armie mustered "in August 1684" &c.

"A list of all H.M.'s Forces in Scotland in 1685";^{1391a} is to much the same effect, giving Livingstone's troop of Guards; Graham's Horse^{1391f} 300; Murray's (2nd) Dragoons 300; H.M.'s Regt. of Foot-Guards (Scots Guards) 1,120; Marr's (21st) Foot, 1,040; Independent Companies at Edinburgh, Stirling, Dumbarton, Blackness, and the Bass, and "Cap. Gram. 120," making a total of 3,268.

The following purports to be a complete list¹³⁹² of "Their "Majesties' Forces in Flanders, England, Scotland and Ireland "for the year 1692" and will be found very convenient by the student for reference. It would be too voluminous to give all the lists that have been quoted, and this one will suffice for general purposes:—

120 strong, to attend the Parliament on the orders of H.M.'s Commissioner (Scotch Parlt. Pro., 18 Janry., 1661), and is mentioned in the Privy Council Register, July, 1673 (Edin. records office), as the "King's troop of Guards," and was later brought on to the English Establishment as the Fourth Troop of Life-Guards.

^{1391c} The Scots Guards or Third Foot-Guards.

^{1391d} The Scots Fusileers or Twenty-first Foot.

^{1391e} The Second Dragoons, Scots Greys.

^{1391f} Graham's came to England shortly and is styled in Warrt., 1 Novr., 1688 (W.O. records), "The Royal Regt. of Scots Horse."

¹³⁹² An Exact list of all Their Majesties' Forces in Flanders, England, Scotland, and Ireland, for the year 1692, and the charges of each regiment; Lond. 1692.

For the Regts. *see* table of Colonels among Illustrations.

An Exact List of all Their Majesties' Forces in Flanders, England, Ireland, and Scotland, for the year 1692, and the charges of each regiment.

IN FLANDERS.

					Troops.	Number.	Payment per annum.		
<i>Horse—</i>							£	s.	d.
	1st Troop Life-Gds.	...	...	...	1	260	21,921	5	10
	2nd "	"	...	...	1	260	21,985	3	4
	3rd "	"	...	...	1	260	21,921	5	10
	1 Dutch Troop Life-Gds.	...	...	...	1	197	16,126	4	0
	Lord Berkeley's (3 D.G.)	...	...	...	6	300	20,634	13	4
	Col. Godfrey's (4 D.G.)	...	...	...	6	300	20,634	13	4
	" Wyndham's (6 D.G.)	...	...	...	6	300	20,634	13	4
	Duke of Leinster's (7 D.G.)	...	...	...	6	300	20,634	13	4
	Marquis de Ruvigny's (French Protestants)	...	...	...	9	450	30,398	8	4
Danes.	Col. Sebstadt's...	...	...	...	6	276	22,076	8	4
	Pr. Chas. R. of Wirtemberg (late Donep's)	...	...	...	6	276	22,076	8	4
	Marquis de la Forest's...	...	...	...	6	276	22,076	8	4
	Marquis de Montpoullan's	...	...	...	3	213	13,078	18	0
	Lt.-Genl. Scrammore's	...	...	...	3	213	13,078	18	0
	Zuilestein's	...	...	...	3	213	13,078	18	0
	Boncour's	...	...	...	3	213	13,078	18	0
	Nieubruise's	...	...	...	3	213	13,078	18	0
Total of Horse, Flanders					70	4,520	326,514	15	8
<i>Dragoons—</i>							£	s.	d.
	Lord Fitzharding's (4 Drs.)	...	...	...	6	360	15,999	3	4
	Brigr. Eppinger's	...	...	...	10	920	32,469	8	0
Total of Dragoons, Flanders					16	1,280	48,468	11	4
<i>Foot—</i>					Compnies.		£	s.	d.
	2 Battns. 1st Regt. Guards	...	...	...	18	1,486	18,002	6	0
	1 Battn. 2nd "	"	"	...	7	560	13,714	8	3
	Regt. of Scotch Guards	...	...	...	14	1,120	20,966	4	2
	2 Battns. Dutch	"	"	...	18	1,756	37,390	0	4
	Royal Regt. (1 Ft.)	...	...	...	26	1,560	31,712	8	4
	Churchill's (3 Ft.)	...	...	...	13	780	16,145	3	4
	Trelawney's (4 Ft.)	...	...	...	13	780	16,145	3	4
	Royal Regt. Fusileers (7 Ft.)	...	...	...	13	780	16,145	3	4
	Earl of Bath's (10 Ft.)	...	...	...	13	780	16,145	3	4
	Fitzpatrick's	...	...	...	13	780	16,145	3	4
	Hodge's (16 Ft.)	...	...	...	13	780	16,145	3	4
	Farrell's (21 Ft.)	...	...	...	13	780	16,145	3	4
	1 Battn. Col. Earle's (19 Ft.)	...	...	...	13	780	16,145	3	4
	Lord Castleton's	...	...	...	13	780	16,145	3	4
	Earl of Leven's (25 Ft.)	...	...	...	13	780	16,145	3	4
	" Angus's (26 Ft.)	...	...	...	13	780	16,145	3	4
	Lt.-Genl. Mackay's	...	...	...	13	780	16,145	3	4
	Sir Chas. Graham's	...	...	...	13	780	16,145	3	4
	Lauder's	...	...	...	13	780	16,145	3	4
	Prince of Hesse's (6 Ft.)	...	...	...	12	840	15,097	0	0
	Lord Cutts's	...	...	...	12	840	15,097	0	0
	Prince of Brandenburg's	...	...	...	12	840	15,171	8	0
	Count Nassau's	...	...	...	12	840	15,171	8	0
	Col. Greben's	...	...	...	12	840	15,171	8	0

—	Compies.	Number.	Payment per annum.		
<i>Foot (contd.)—</i>			£	s.	d.
Battn. Danish Guards	7	700	14,207	2	8
Queen's Battn.	7	700	14,771	6	8
Prince Frederick's	6	600	12,288	6	8
„ Christian's	6	600	12,142	1	8
„ George's (Marines)	6	600	11,978	1	6
The Zealand Regt.	6	600	12,142	1	8
„ Jutland „	6	600	11,978	1	6
„ Funish „	6	600	11,978	1	6
Total of Foot, Flanders	375	26,602	525,011	1	7

IN ENGLAND.

—	Troops.	Number.	Payment per annum.		
<i>Horse—</i>			£	s.	d.
Royal Regt. (H.G.)	9	450	30,133	15	10
Sir Jno. Lanier's (1 D.G.)	9	450	30,398	8	4
Villiers's (2 D.G.)	6	300	20,634	13	4
Coy's (5 D.G.)	6	300	20,634	13	4
Langston's	6	300	20,634	13	4
Regt. of Guards	6	480	30,051	8	0
Earl of Athlone's	3	213	13,078	18	0
Richterons	3	213	13,078	18	0
Col. Schack's	3	213	13,078	18	0
„ Reitesel's	3	213	13,078	18	0
Total of Horse, England	54	3,132	204,803	4	2
<i>Dragoons—</i>			£	s.	d.
Royal Regt. (1 Drs.)	8	480	20,926	13	4
Leveson's (3 Drs.)	6	360	15,999	3	4
Total of Dragoons, England	14	840	36,925	16	8
<i>Foot—</i>	Compies.		£	s.	d.
1 Battn. 1st Regt. Gds.	9	743	18,002	6	0
„ 2nd „	7	560	13,714	8	3
„ Dutch „	9	878	18,695	0	4
Selwyn's (2 Ft.)	13	780	16,145	3	4
Brewer's (12 Ft.)	13	780	16,145	3	4
Beveridge's (14 Ft.)	13	780	16,145	3	4
Hastings's (13 Ft.)	13	780	16,145	3	4
Sir Jas. Lesley's (15 Ft.)	13	780	16,145	3	4
Sir David Collier's	13	780	16,145	3	4
Earl of Monmouth's	13	780	16,145	3	4
1 Battn. Earle's (19 Ft.)	13	780	16,145	3	4
Sir Geo. St. George's (17 Ft.)	13	780	16,145	3	4
Duke of Bolton's	13	780	16,145	3	4
Purcell's (23 Ft.)	13	780	16,145	3	4
Venner's (24 Ft.)	13	780	16,145	3	4
Tiffin's (27 Ft.)	13	780	16,145	3	4
Lloyd's (5 Ft.)	12	840	15,097	3	4
Total of Foot, England	206	13,161	275,396	1	3

IN IRELAND.

—	Troops.	Number.	Payment per annum.
<i>Horse—</i>			£ s. d.
Col. Wolseley's	6	300	20,634 13 4
<i>Dragoons—</i>			£ s. d.
Col. Wynn's (5 Drs.)	8	480	20,707 17 4
„ Echlin's (6 Drs.)	8	480	20,707 13 4
Total of Dragoons, Ireland ...	16	960	41,415 10 8
<i>Foot—</i>	Compies.		£ s. d.
Brigr. Stewart's (9 Ft.)	13	780	16,145 3 4
Sir Jno. Hammer's (11 Ft.)	13	780	16,145 3 4
Sir Hy. Bellasis's (22 Ft.)	13	780	16,145 3 4
Earl of Meath's (18 Ft.)	13	780	16,145 3 4
Col. Coote's	13	780	16,145 3 4
Hamilton's (20 Ft.)	13	780	16,145 3 4
Roe's	13	780	16,145 3 4
Creighton's	13	780	16,145 3 4
St. John's	13	780	16,145 3 4
Foulks's	13	780	16,145 3 4
Earl of Drogheda's	13	780	16,145 3 4
Mitchelburne's	13	780	16,145 3 4
De la Melonière's	13	780	16,145 3 4
Camhon's	13	780	16,145 3 4
Belcastel's	13	780	16,145 3 4
Total of Foot, Ireland	195	11,700	242,177 10 0

IN SCOTLAND.

—	Troops.	Number.	Payment per annum.
<i>Horse—</i>			£ s. d.
Troop of Scotch Gds.	1	118	9,687 14 2
<i>Dragoons—</i>			£ s. d.
Sir Thos. Levingston's (2 Drs.)	6	360	15,999 3 4
Cunningham's (7 Drs.)			
Lord Newbottle			
<i>Foot—</i>	Compies.		£ s. d.
Hales's	13	780	16,145 3 4
Earl of Argyll's	13	780	16,145 3 4
Beaumont's (8 Ft.)	13	780	16,145 3 4
(Leslie's, Buchan's, Hill's, 6 independent Compies.—upon the Scotch Est.)			
Total of Foot, Scotland	39	2,340	48,435 10 0

Besides these there are:—

—	Compies.	Number.	Payment per annum.		
			£	s.	d.
Duke of Bolton's Regt., Hampshire, part in the W. Indies	13	780	16,145	3	4
Upnor Company	1	50	385	15	4
Compy. of Miners	1	50	1,733	13	0
„ Fusileers	1	100	1,727	5	6
New York Companies	2	120	2,354	2	6
Compy. in the Leeward Islands	1	60	1,177	12	6
Total of these	19	1,160	23,523	12	2

RECAPITULATION.

—	Horse.	Dragoons.	Foot.	Grand Totals.	
				Numbers.	Cost (pay).
					£ s. d.
Flanders	4,520	1,280	26,602	32,402	899,994 8 7
England	3,132	840	13,161	17,133	517,125 2 1
Ireland	300	960	11,700	12,960	304,227 14 0
Scotland	118	360	2,340	2,818	74,122 7 6
Colonial, &c., &c. ... ..	...	...	1,160	1,160	23,523 12 2
General Totals	8,070	3,440	54,963	66,473	1,818,993 4 4

There is a branch of the regular forces which is yet neither fish nor fowl, neither military nor naval, and yet both, and which has always been found a valuable and reliable reserve to the Army in any operations not remote from the sea-board. This amphibious force is known by the name of MARINES.

In October, 1664,¹³⁹³ the King gave orders for the raising of

¹³⁹³ Admiralty records; Order, 26 Oct., 1664; "Upon report from the Lords "Commissioners for the affairs of H.M.'s Navy Royal and Admiralty of this "Kingdom, this day read at the Board, H.M. was pleased to order and direct " (amongst other things) that 1,200 land soldiers be forthwith raised, to be in readi- "ness to be distributed into H.M.'s fleets, prepared for sea; which said 1,200 men "are to be put into one regiment, under one Colonel, one Lieutenant-Colonel, and "one Serjeant Major, and to be divided into six Companies;—each Company to "consist of two hundred soldiers, and to have one Captain, one Lieutenant, one "Ensign, one Drum, four Serjeants, and four Corporals, and all the soldiers afore- "said to be armed with good firelocks; all which arms, drums, and colours are "forthwith to be prepared and furnished out of H.M.'s stores: the care of all "which is recommended to the Duke of Albemarle His Grace, Lord General of "H.M.'s Forces."

Royal Warrt., 5 Novr., 1664, for £1,200 to Sir Wm. Killigrew for raising 1,200

a regiment of "*land* soldiers to be distributed into His Majesty's fleets," and it is observable that the raising, arming, and organising of the regiment was entrusted to the Commander-in-Chief of the Army, and not to the naval authorities.

A few months later five hundred men¹³⁹⁴ were "raised and added to the Coldstream Regiment for sea-service."

At the same time it was usual for the Admiralty to indent¹³⁹⁵ upon the Commander-in-Chief for any additional soldiers required to serve as Marines; thus in 1669 parties of both the Foot Guards and the Third Foot served as Marines.

The regiment raised in 1664 was much ashore, for we find it present in the camps of 1684 and 1686, and generally quartered ashore, although often in sea-port towns; but it was nevertheless intended for a distinct service, for it was designated "the Maritime Regiment"¹³⁹⁶ and "the Lord High Admiral's Regiment." This is the only regiment in the British Army ever clothed in yellow:¹³⁹⁶ yellow coats with red facings were worn by the Maritime regiment (Ill. CLXXXVIII) until 1686, when the colours were reversed. This regiment was still in existence in 1692,¹³⁹⁷ when it was on active service in Flanders. It appears to have been disbanded between that time and the peace of 1697.

In 1690 two new regiments of Marines were raised,¹³⁹⁸

men for the Admiral's Regt. for sea-service, in six companies of 200 men each; Dom. State papers.

Commission of Sir Chas. Littleton as Colonel, 5 Novr., 1664; W.O. Com. Bks.

¹³⁹⁴ Warrt., 24 Febr., 1664/5; App. XXXVI.

¹³⁹⁵ Royal Warrt., 21 Febr., 1669; App. XXXVII.

There are numerous similar cases, 1665 to 1675 in W.O. records.

Order in Council, Whitehall, 1 Apr., 1668 and 1672; Admiralty records; for drafts of the Foot-Guards and Third Foot to serve as Marines.

¹³⁹⁶ Commissions to Officers on raising, 1664; W.O. Comm. books; "The Admiral's regt."

Nathan Brooks, 1684; The "Lord High Admiral's regt."

Chamberlayne, 1679-84; "H.R.H. the Duke's regt."; the Duke of York was Lord High Admiral: 1687, "Prince George's."

See also Authorities and Notes to the Illustration.

¹³⁹⁷ Royal Warrt., 8 Mar., 1688/9; Mackinnon's App., stating that the regt. was about to embark for Flanders.

Also list of the Army, 1692, already given.

¹³⁹⁸ Home Office records; Earl of Torrington's "Our first Marine regt. of Foot," raised 16 Janry., 1689-90; and E. of Pembroke and Montgomery's, 21 Janry., 1689-90. The Warrt. for their Establishment takes effect from 31 Janry., 1690. Both had Granadeer Companies; and the strength was to be 15 Companies of 150 men.

Royal Warrt., 22 Apr., 1690 (Copy in MSS. of R.U. Service Inst.), for raising and arming two Marine regts., Pembroke's and Torrington's; to be armed with Snaphance musquets, cartridge-pouches with girdles, Bayonets: and to consist of

namely the Earl of Pembroke's and Torrington's, which latter seems to have become Lord Berkeley's. These regiments also seem to have been disbanded prior to 1696. The uniform of Pembroke's was red with pewter buttons and blue loops;^{1398a} that of Berkeley's red lined green and with green waistcoats.

On the peace of 1697, and the consequent reduction of several regiments of Foot,¹³⁹⁹ two, namely Mordaunt's and Seymour's, which had been raised in 1692, were converted into Marines instead of being disbanded.

When afloat the Marines were to be wholly subject to the Naval authorities;¹⁴⁰⁰ but at all other times they were considered an integral portion of the Army,¹⁴⁰¹ although paid out of Admiralty funds.¹⁴⁰²

For some reason involved in obscurity Marine regiments have obtained a right enjoyed by no other troops of marching with Colours flying and drums beating when passing through the City of London. Probably this is due to the first Maritime regiment having been that of the Duke of York, heir apparent to the throne. For many years this regiment was the third on the list, ranking next to the Queen's, the "Holland Regiment" standing next. When the Maritime Regiment was disbanded the Holland Regiment took its place, and apparently arrogated

12 Compies. each, and Granadeers; 1,896 battalion men, 96 Serjts., 48 drums; and 474 Granadeers (with small snaphances, cartridge-boxes, bayonets with belts and frogs, granado-pouches, and hammer-hatchets), 24 Serjts., 12 drums.

R. Warrts., 14 and 22 Apr., 1690, *see* Chap. VIII, Note ³⁸⁹.

Order in Council, 22 Feby., 1694; Admiralty records.

Letter, 7 Sept., 1696; Try. State papers: Commrs. of the Navy to Mr. Lowndes respecting the two Marine regts., namely, Lord Berkeley's and the Marquis of Caermarthen's.

In the same papers, and evidently about the same time, is a petition from the Officers of the two *late* Marine regts.

^{1398a} Lond. Gaz., 12 June, 1690, and 29 Octr. and 27 Decr., 1694, Advertisements for deserters from Earl of Pembroke and Montgomery's and Lord Berkeley's "Marine Regiments."

¹³⁹⁹ Abstract of arrears of pay to March, 1699; Add. MSS. 10,123.

¹⁴⁰⁰ Order in Council, 22 Feby., 1694; Admiralty records.

¹⁴⁰¹ Nathan Brooks.

Order in Council, 22 Feby., 1694.

8 & 9 Wm. III, C. 13, whereas it is doubted, &c., now renders the Marine regts. ("being in H.M.'s service in the Army") subject to the Mutiny Act.

¹⁴⁰² Letter, 10 Jany., 1690/1, Lords of the Admiralty to Lords of the Treasury respecting payment for quarters of the Marine regts.

Proposal, 10 Decr., 1692, by Lords of the Admiralty, respecting pay of the two Marine regts.: Try. State papers.

Order in Council, 22 Feby., 1694.

Warrt., 27 Novr., 1690, Home Office records; Admiralty paid the Levy-money for Marine regts.

to itself its privilege; for in that supposition alone can the explanation be found of the fact that the "Old Buffs,"^{1402a} or Third Foot (anciently the Holland Regiment), which never was a Marine corps, has from time immemorial exercised this right.

^{1402a} Major Donkin, in his recollections, published in 1777, mentions as ancient before his time this right of the "Old Buffs"; and he cites an instance (which occurred to a friend of his own, Captain in command of a party of Marines), shewing that the right of Marines, as such, to this privilege was acknowledged by the City authorities at least prior to 1746.

CHAPTER XXV.

DRILL AND EXERCISES, DURING THE PERIOD FROM
1660 TO 1700.

1660-1700.

Introductory.—Manual and Platoon Exercises.—The Pike-exercise.—The Musquet-exercise.—The Granade-exercise.—Infantry drill and evolutions.—Distances.—Individual drill.—Company-drill.—Files.—Doublings.—Counter-marches.—Closings.—Wheelings.—The Square.—Battalion drill.—Horse-exercises.—Dragoon-exercises.—Horse-Granadeers.—The post of honour.—Battle-order.—Brigade-exercises.—Camps of instruction.—Tents.

[*For Illustrations, see Note on p. xiii.*]

THE manufacture of the raw material into a soldier was by no means so protracted a process in the seventeenth century as it is in the nineteenth; recruits were regimented as soon as raised, and, once with their uniform upon them, were supposed to be fit for anything;¹⁴⁰³ they were even shipped off for active service and left to pick up their drill in front of the enemy. The drill, moreover, used to begin where it now ends¹⁴⁰⁴—with the “postures” or handling of arms. The MANUAL AND PLATOON EXERCISES were supposed to be at once the least difficult and the most essential of all the soldier’s acquirements, and were therefore treated as the rudiments of the art of war, while the figures of drill and field exercises were regarded as the higher branches of regimental military science. It will be proper therefore to treat of the subject in a similar order, and to commence with the “postures.” A posture is thus defined by a writer in 1672;¹⁴⁰⁵ “a posture is a mode or garb that we “are fixed into, in the well handling of our arms: in which “there are motions attendant unto the same for the better “grace.”

¹⁴⁰³ Story.

D’Auvergne.

Letter, Whitehall, 13 Janry., 1690/1, Blathwayt to Clarke; Clarke MSS.

¹⁴⁰⁴ Bariffe.

Elton.

Venn.

Boxel.

¹⁴⁰⁵ Venn.

The position of the soldier,¹⁴⁰⁶ whether musqueteer or pikeman, for the postures of arms, was to stand with his body erect, his head well up, and his feet a short pace distant from each other, the heels in a line, the toes pointing slightly outwards, the left hand resting on the thigh; the soldier was also to "look lively,"¹⁴⁰⁷ and to keep his eyes always upon the commanding officer: the left heel was to be kept fast, all movement for facing or turning being made with the right foot.

The attitude of the pikeman for the manual exercise was that of the Order: the butt-end of the pike close to the outside of the instep, the pike perpendicular, the right hand grasping the staff so that the thumb was over against the right eye, the arm from the wrist to the elbow touching the staff. From this posture all the others might be performed by the following words of command; and it will be less tedious, as well as equally instructive, to the reader to learn the mode of the exercise from the illustrations (Ills. CLXXXIX to CXCVIII) instead of from detailed descriptions of the motions.

Postures or Exercise for the Pike.

(From the Order.)

Pikemen take heed.

Advance your Pikes.

To the front, charge.

To the right, charge.

(Repeated four times so as to come to the front again.)

To the right-about, charge.

As you were.

To the left, charge.

(Repeated four times so as to come to the front again.)

¹⁴⁰⁶ The following are among the authorities consulted for the exercises ;

Barry, 1634.

Ward, 1639.

Bariffe, 1643.

Elton, 1659.

Venn, 1672.

Boxel, 1673.

Military Discipline, 1678.

English Military Discipline, By Command, 1686.

Exercise and Evolutions of Foot, By Command, 1690.

Fortification and Military Discipline, 1688.

Boddington, 1701.

¹⁴⁰⁷ First inserted in Exercises 1690.

To the left-about, charge.
As you were.
Shoulder your pikes.
To the front, charge.
As you were.
To the right, charge.
As you were.
To the right-about, charge.
As you were.
To the left, charge.
As you were.
To the left-about, charge.
As you were.
Port your pikes.
Comport your pikes (seldom used).
Cheek ¹⁴⁰⁸ your pikes.
Trail your pikes.
Present your spears.
Charge ; as you were.
Push your pikes.
Advance your pikes.
Order your pikes.
Pikes to your inside order.
Lay down your pikes.
Quit your pikes.
Handle (or take-up) your pikes.
Order your pikes.
From the Foot, charge.
Pikes to your outside order.

The attitude of the musqueteer for the commencement of the exercise was at the Shoulder, the musquet lying on the left shoulder, the left hand upon the butt of the stock so that the thumb was in the hollow of it, the guard pressed against the breast, the lock turned slightly outwards ; the match in the left hand, one end being between the first and second fingers and the other between the two last, both ends standing out about three inches from the back of the hand, the rest of the match hanging down by the inner side of the butt of the musquet ; the right arm hanging down close to the body with the palm of

¹⁴⁰⁸ The "Cheek" was dis-used about 1680, and "Present your spears" and later "To the front, Charge" substituted in the exercise.

the hand turned in to the thigh: the exercise then proceeded in the following order :—

Postures or Exercises for the Musquet.

(Ills. CXCIX to CCX and CCXI to CCXVIII.)

(From the Shoulder.)

THE FUSIL.

THE MATCHLOCK.

Join your right hand to your musquet.

Poise your musquet.

Rest your musquet.

Cock your musquet ...	... Handle your match.
	Blow your match.
	Cock and try your match.

Guard your musquet (pan).

Blow your match.

Present And open your pan.
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Fire.

Recover your arms.

Half-bend your musquet ...	Return your match.
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Clean your pan.

Handle your Primer.

Prime.

Shut your pan.

Blow off your loose corns.

Cast about to charge.

Handle your cartridge ...	Handle your charger.
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Open your cartridge ...	Open it with your teeth.
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Charge with your cartridge ...	Charge with powder.
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Charge with bullet.

Take the wad from your hats.

Draw forth your scourer, or rammer.

Shorten it to an inch.

Put it in the barrel.

Ram down your charge ...	Ram down powder and ball.
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Withdraw (or Recover) your scourer.

Shorten it to a handful.

Return your scourer.

Poise your musquet.

Shoulder your musquet.

Poise your musquet.

Order your musquet.

Lay down your musquet.
 Quit your musquet.
 Handle your musquet.
 Order your musquet.

When granadeers were acting in a body with musqueteers, their postures were the same as those of the musqueteers, their granades and bayonets being ignored: but there was also a special exercise for granadeers as follows, commencing from the Shoulder :—

Granadeers, take heed (Ills. CCXIX to CCXXIV).

Join your right hand to your
 firelock.

Poise your firelock.

Rest your firelock.

Cock your firelock.

Guard your firelock.

Present.

Fire

Recover your arms.

Handle your slings.

Sling your firelocks.

Handle your match.

Handle your granade.

Open your fuse.

Guard the fuse (with your
 thumb).

Blow your match.

Fire and throw your granade.

Return your match.

Handle your sling.

Poise your firelock.

Cast about to charge.

Draw your bayonet.

Screw your bayonet in the muzzle.

Prior to 1690, the exercise was
 different, thus :

Handle your pouch.

Open your pouch.

Take forth your granade.

Shut your pouch.

Uncase your fuse.

Handle your match.

Blow your match.

Fire your fuse.

Deliver your granade.

In 1690 the hatchet-exercise was here
 inserted thus :

Handle your hatchet.

Fall on.

Recover your hatchet.

Rest your bayonet.
Charge your bayonet (breast high).
Cast about your bayonet to the left side.
Recover your bayonet.
Put up } your bayonet.
Return }
Half-cock your firelock.
Blow your pan.
Handle your primer.
Prime.
Shut your pan.
Cast about to charge.
Handle your cartridge.
Open your cartridge (with your teeth).
Charge with cartridge.
Draw forth your rammer.
Hold it up.
Shorten it against your breast.
Put it in its place.
Your right hand under the lock.
Poise your firelock.
Shoulder your firelock.
Rest your firelock.
Order your firelock.
Lay down your firelock.
Take up your firelock.
Rest your firelock.
Club your firelock.
Rest your firelock.
Shoulder your firelock.

The three ranks of granadeers were exercised in such a way that when the first rank made ready their firelocks, the second made ready their granades and the third their hatchets, and so on. In the same way when the first rank delivered its granades the second moved up through the intervals six feet to the front of the first rank and with granades made ready ; and in like manner the third rank in turn came to the front to discharge its granades.

Before proceeding to the postures of mounted corps, it will be more convenient to treat of the foot-drill and evolutions, and thus finish with the infantry.

There were four several distances observed in the infantry, namely

The close order	=	1½ foot.
The order	=	3 feet.
The open order	=	6 feet.
The double distance	=	12 feet.

There were also ranks and files, a rank being a row or line of men along the same front, and a file a sequence of men in a line of depth one behind the other: or in other words men in rank are shoulder to shoulder, and men in file are back to breast. It is requisite to remember in studying this subject that distance of rank implies the distance between one rank and another (not the distance between the men in one rank), and distance of file the distance between file and file in the same rank.

In marching, the distances observed used at first (1660 to circum 1680) to be three feet (or order) in file, and six feet (or open order) in rank; but in 1686 it was ordered that the files might close to the close order of a foot and a half or even to as little as half a foot, while single companies might on occasion march shoulder to shoulder. For review order the distance of ranks was twelve feet (or double distance) and of files three feet (or order). For the avoidance of cannon-shot both ranks and files were at double distance and sometimes at the double of that. For certain evolutions, as countermarching, and doubling of ranks and files, the whole were at open order; and for certain others, as wheeling and entire doublings, both ranks and files were brought to close order.

Of INDIVIDUAL DRILL there used to be very little: a soldier's "setting-up" which occupies so much time now-a-days was limited to instructing him to hold his head up, to "look lively," and not to swing his arms. The directions for the facings were equally simple; the soldier was to turn upon the left foot¹⁴⁰⁹ and to move only his right foot from the ground. In marching the men were to step off with the left foot and to set their "feet down altogether, so that they may be heard,"¹⁴¹⁰ and were "to march very slowly."

The files of the six ranks were divided into front half-files being the files of the three foremost ranks, and rear half-files

¹⁴⁰⁹ Venn, however, says to turn upon "that foot to which hand the facing is "commanded": this appears to have been his own innovation, and not the standing rule.

¹⁴¹⁰ Miltry. Discipline, 1686.

being those of the three rear-most ranks (Ills. CCXXV to CCXXX). The proper front-rank man of the file was termed file-leader, the rear-most man was styled bringer-up: the fourth-rank men were half-file-leaders when the rear division or rear half-files acted by themselves, as also the third-rank men of the front half-files then became half-file bringers-up: the file-leaders were men selected as the best drills, the next best being placed in the rear-most ranks as bringers-up, and the next best as half-file leaders.

A company being drawn up, the musqueteers on either flank and the pikes in the centre, the front could be strengthened by "Doublings"; for instance at the word of command "Ranks to the right double," the files of the even ranks (Nos. 2, 4, 6) stepping off together moved up into the intervals to the right of their leaders: in like manner "To the right and left double" was done from the centre of the even ranks. There were three principal sorts of doublings; the doubling of ranks, when every even rank doubled into the odd: the doubling of half-files or bringers-up, when the rear or front half-files doubled into the three front or the three rear ranks; the doubling of files, and of half ranks; the doubling of ranks being for the purpose of strengthening the front or rear, and the doubling of files being for the strengthening the flanks or the centre. There were several modes and modifications of these principal doublings too tedious to recount. There were likewise Entire and Divisional doublings;¹⁴¹¹ the Entire doubling signified a doubling in which the ranks or files marched in a body to double, and Divisional doublings those in which the doublers became divided among the intervals of the doubled.

The same results could be obtained by Doubling or by Countermarching.

The centre or flanks could also be strengthened in power of resistance by Closing the files to the right, left, or centre. The front or rear could be similarly strengthened for a shock by closing the ranks to within a pace of each other.

Wheeling was not much used until the close of the century when it began to supersede the slower and more complicated movements by doublings: at the same time the French¹⁴¹² set the example of reducing the number of ranks from six to five and from that to four, an example not immediately followed by the English tacticians.

¹⁴¹¹ Bariffe.

¹⁴¹² De Puysegur says about 1679 to five, and between 1688 and 1697 to four.

Beyond the strengthening of front, flank, or rear, there used to be but few evolutions of much practical use, although there were many whimsical dispositions of men for firings and resistance of cavalry: these last were however rather experiments induced by the want of some such invention as the bayonet than actual field-movements.

But there was one figure—for the resistance of cavalry¹⁴¹³—which, known early in the century, has in these days become peculiarly English: the HOLLOW SQUARE, requiring as it does the calm resolute courage of expectance and endurance, is especially adapted to our national character.

Both the solid and the hollow square were practised by the London Trained Bands¹⁴¹⁴ and the Artillery Company in the time of Charles the First; and as the power of cavalry improved, and as the proportion of cavalry in European armies increased, just so the value of the infantry square became more and more appreciated. In the solid square the musqueteers were posted in the centre and at the angles, and the pikemen on the four sides. In the hollow square (Ill. CCXXXI) the musqueteers formed the outer sides of the square and were backed by the pikemen; the granadeers formed up in the angles; the Ensigns and drums, and usually the Field Officers, were in the hollow centre of the square; the Lieutenants and Serjeants took post at the angles, and the Captains on the several fronts. When cavalry was expected to charge, the words were given Face square (*i.e.*, outwards) and Make ready: upon this the front rank of musqueteers knelt, the second stooped, the pikemen ported very low and in readiness to charge pikes, and the two last ranks of granadeers made ready their grenades at the same time as the musqueteers their musquets: the second and third ranks fired together at the word of command, and then re-loaded while the first rank (both of granadeers and musqueteers) fired in turn. The Captains, when the firing commenced, retired into the front ranks, and, kneeling, used their pikes as pikemen.

The following evolutions constituted the BATTALION EXERCISE during this period and will be readily understood from what has been already said, with the aid of the illustrations:—

¹⁴¹³ The Hollow Square is said to have been the invention of the Prince of Nassau.

In the Military Discipline, 1678, forming square is termed the "Swedes way."

¹⁴¹⁴ Bariffe.

Take heed to exercise your Evolutions.
Carry well your arms.
Straighten (*i.e.*, Dress) the ranks and files.
Present your arms (*i.e.*, Musqueteers rest musquets and pikemen charge to the front).
To the right (four times), (*i.e.*, charge).
To the left as you were.
To the left (four times).
To the left-about.
To the right as you were.
Poise your musquets and advance your pikes.
Shoulder your musquets.
Ranks take heed to double your front.
Ranks to the right, double your front.
March.
To the left as you were.
March.
Halt (dressing included in this order).
Ranks to the left, double your front.
March.
To the right as you were.
March.
Halt.
Ranks to the right (or left), double your rear.
March.
Halt.
As you were.
March.
Halt.
Rear half-files to the right (left), double your front.
March.
To the left (right) as you were.
March.
Halt.
Front half-files to the right (left), double your rear.
March.
Halt.
Front half-files as you were.
March.
Halt.
Files take heed to double.
Files to the right (left) double.
March.
Halt.

To the left (right) as you were.

March.

Half-ranks take heed to double your files.

Half-ranks to the right (left), double your files.

March.

Halt.

To the left (right) as you were.

March.

Halt.

Files take heed to countermarch.

Files to the right (left, left-about) countermarch.

March.

Halt.

Ranks take heed to countermarch.

Ranks to the right-about (left, right) countermarch.

March.

Halt.

Take heed to close your files.

To the right and left close your files to the centre.

March (to half a pace distance).

Halt.

Take heed to close your ranks.

Ranks close to the front.

March (to within one pace of each other).

Halt.

Take heed to wheel.

To the right (left) wheel.

March.

Halt.

To the right-about (left-about) wheel.

March.

Halt.

Files take heed to open to your former distance.

Files to the right and left outwards to your former distance.

March.

Halt.

Ranks as you were (*i.e.*, to your former distance).

March.

Halt.

Ranks close forward to close order.

Ranks open backward to order.

Ranks open backward to open order.

Ranks open backward to double distance,

Musqueteers make ready, all.
Five first ranks, kneel.
Rear rank, present ; fire.
Fifth rank, stand up.
Present ; fire.
Fourth rank, stand up.
And so on to first rank, each re-loading after firing.
Battalion. March.
First rank of Musqueteers, make ready.
Halt (the whole).
First rank, Present ; fire.

As they fired they were to recover their arms without any word and to file off quickly to the rear by the right and left : the second rank making ready at the word Present : and so on. The pikes charged, without any word, as each rank presented. Firing to the front, retreating, and firing to the rear, were practised in a similar manner : firing to the flanks was also practised by files.

Battalion take heed to form the hollow square.
Colours, drums and hautbois to the centre of the pikes.
March.
Ranks close forward to order (3 large feet).
March.
The three outwardmost files of pikes on the right and left, double your files to the right and left inwards.
March.
Rear half-files of Musqueteers to the left double your front.
March.
Files close all to the right to your close order.
March.
To your leader (*i.e.*, that front on which the Commander then is).
Pikes face square (*i.e.*, Outwards).
Pikes close forward every way to close order.
March.
Pikes to your proper front.
Left wing of Musqueteers, to the right-about.
Both wings of Musqueteers, March, Halt.
Musqueteers face to the left.
March.
Halt.

Face to your proper front, all.

Officers and Serjeants, take your posts.

March.

Granadeers take your posts in the angles.

March.

Face square.

Musqueteers make ready.

(The pikes here port very low, but do not charge.)

First rank kneel.

Two last ranks, present ; fire.

Recover your arms.

(The first rank stands up with arms recovered, cocked and guarded, and the two ranks that have fired reload.)

First rank present ; fire.

Recover your arms.

(Here the Pikes recover from the port.)

To your leader.

March.

Halt.

Face square.

Face to your proper front, all.

Granadeers take your posts on the right of the battalion.

March.

The right and left of each wing of musqueteers face to right and left outwards.

March.

Halt.

The three files of pikes of the right and left that doubled, as you were.

March.

Musqueteers face to the right.

March.

Halt.

To your leader.

Rear half-files of Musqueteers that doubled, to the right-about as you were.

March.

Ranks open backward to twelve foot.

March.

Colours, drums and hautbois to your former posts.

March.

Files close to the right to close order.

March.

To your leader.
Rest your musquets.
Order your arms.
Lay down your arms.
Take heed to quit your arms.
For straw (*i.e.*, Disperse).
March (to any distance ordered).
To your arms (*i.e.*, assemble at a double, each man with his sword drawn standing by his arms).
Put up your swords.
Take up your arms.
Rest your musquets.
Poise your musquets and advance your pikes.
To your leader.

Beyond the exercises just given it is unnecessary to do more than give an account of the modes of drawing up and of marching a battalion.

In forming a battalion on parade (Ill. CCXXXII), the Colonel's company took the right, the Lieutenant-Colonel's the left, the Major's next to the Colonel's, the senior Captain's next to the Lieutenant-Colonel's, and so on till both wings were formed; the pikemen took the left of their companies until the warning-ruffle was beaten, when the pikemen faced and marched in a body into the centre of the battalion by the following words of command; Have a care to form the battalion. Musqueteers to the right and left outwards; Pikes to the right and left inwards.

March interchanging ground. To your leader.

The ranks were now at twelve feet distance and the files at three.

The Ensigns bearing their Colours then placed themselves at the head of the pikes, the Captains and Lieutenants at the head of the Musqueteers in front of their respective companies, the Captains being two paces to the front of the Lieutenants: the Colonel's post was in front of the centre of the battalion, and the Lieutenant-Colonel's at one time on his immediate left and later immediately in rear of him. The Serjeants and Corporals were placed two on the flanks of each rank, and the rest in rear at three paces distance from the rear-rank; the Major, who was always mounted, had his post to the right front a little in advance of the Captains and directly in front of the line of Serjeants on the right flank, and the corresponding spot on the left front was filled by the Adjutant also mounted.

The drummers were divided on the flanks of the two front ranks and the hautbois stood to the right of the drums. The Grana-deer company drew up separately, and in three ranks only, to the right of the whole.

To receive the Sovereign, the battalion advanced pikes and shouldered musquets ; but to any one else the pikes were ordered. As the Sovereign approached the drums beat "*the March*"¹⁴¹⁵ (probably the English march) ; and as he passed along the ranks the men saluted by resting musquets and charging pikes, and the Officers by performing the salute with their weapons and then pulling off their hats "without making a leg," while the Ensigns brought their Colours all together near the ground directly in front of them and then raising them again took off their hats also : the serjeants stood with ordered halberds and hats off.

In marching past, the battalion marched in three divisions (see Ill. CCXXXII), the first being the right division of musqueteers and the last the left division of musqueteers, while the pikes formed the second. The Granadeer company marched about twenty yards in front of the whole battalion. The Captains marched in front and rear of the battalion, the Lieutenants half in rear of the first division and half in front of the last division, the Colours at the head of the pikes, the Colonel in front of the Captains and the Lieutenant-Colonel in rear of the whole : the Major and Adjutant had no fixed place but were to be ready to move about in obedience to any orders they might receive.

The method of SALUTING when marching past is sufficiently exhibited in the illustrations (Ills. CCXXXIII to CCXXXVI) : the Serjeants marched past with their hats off and with their halberds shouldered butt-end upwards.

The practice of Officers bowing when un-capping in the salute when under arms was discontinued¹⁴¹⁶ in our Service in James's reign, although it was revived in the next reign¹⁴¹⁷ and did not become obsolete for many years later.

The custom of the reviewing Officer summoning the Commanding Officers of each Corps to his side¹⁴¹⁸ while their men marched past is as ancient as at least 1686.

¹⁴¹⁵ See Chap. XXIII on Regimental Economy.

Eng. Mil. Discipline, 1686.

In the Exercise of the Foot, 1690, it is "a march."

¹⁴¹⁶ Eng. Mil. Discipline, 1686.

¹⁴¹⁷ Exercise of the Foot, 1690.

Girard.

¹⁴¹⁸ Evelyn, 1686, description of a review in Hyde Park.

Touching reviews ^{1418a} there is one point in which a return to the earlier practice would be the means of removing much discomfort from the soldier: modern reviews commence generally about mid-day, whereas eight in the morning used to be considered a more proper hour.¹⁴¹⁹

The EXERCISE OF HORSE (Ill. CCXXXVII), differed so little from that of the Foot that it is not worth while to go much into the subject. Each squadron was drawn up in three ranks the Officers immediately in front of their men; and closings and doublings were practised with modifications suited to the differences between infantry and cavalry. The words of command for the postures or exercise of arms were so few that they may be given here:—

Silence, or Take heed.
Lay your right hands on your swords.
Draw your swords.
Put your swords into your bridle hands.
Lay your hands on your pistols.
Draw your pistol (already loaded).
Cock your pistol.
Hold up your hands.
Give fire.
Return your pistol.
(Then the same words for the second pistol).
Lay your hands on your carabines.
Advance your carabines.
Cock your carabines.
Present; fire.
Let fall your carabines.
Take your swords from your bridle-hands.
Return your swords.

The distances in the cavalry exercises were only three; the Open Order, which in both ranks and files was six feet; the Close Order, which was three feet whether in ranks or files; and the close order from close order (*i.e.*, doubly close), which was knee to knee and head to crupper: the distances were reckoned between each horse.

^{1418a} Regulations for outposts, &c., in the British Army on active service will be found in "Réglements pour les Gardes d'Infanterie," Royal Order, La Haye, 26 Octr., 1691; W.O. records.

¹⁴¹⁹ Capt. General's Letter, 19 May, 1676; App. LVII. Evelyn.

Facings, doublings, countermarches, and wheelings,^{1419a} were all practised in the cavalry exercise.

In the reign of Charles the Second an alteration was made in the manner of wheeling: in a right wheel for instance the custom had been for the right hand or pivot men to feel to their left, a practice manifestly calculated to create disorder; at this time this was rectified and the pivot men were ordered to stand fast, as they do now. It was also ordered at the same time that cavalry should charge opposing cavalry with sword, and not with fire-arms, in hand. One expression used in cavalry drill may be here explained, as it is likely to puzzle a reader; namely, to draw up "in Hay": this phrase was borrowed from the French *se ranger en haie*, and meant to double entire into one rank.

The EXERCISE OF DRAGOONS was peculiar, partaking as it did of both Foot and Horse drill, as well as because of their special armament.

When mounted, dragoons were drawn up in three ranks and were exercised as Horse; and when dismounted, they were formed and exercised as Foot, so far as the evolutions were concerned: for the rest the following were the words of command, the men being mounted:—

Dragoons have a care (take heed).

Sling your musquets.

Make ready your links.

Clear your right foot of your stirrup.

Dismount and stand at your horses' heads. (The six outside men remained mounted to take charge of the horses.)

Link your horses to the left.

March clear of your horses, and shoulder as you march.

Halt.

The battalion was then formed up in the same way as a foot regiment.

Have a care of the exercise.

Officers to the right-about.

Take your posts in rear of the battalion (*i.e.*, for exercise).

March.

^{1419a} Regulations for outposts, &c., will be found in the Orders and Regulations for the Horse, La Haye, 26 Oct., 1691; W.O. records.

Dragoons have a care (the men pull off their right hand gloves and stow them under their waist-belts).
Lay your right hand on your musquet.
Poise your musquet.
Rest your musquet.
Cock and guard.
Present ; fire.
Recover your arms with the cock half-bent (*i.e.*, half-cock).
Rest upon your musquet.
Handle your daggers (*i.e.*, bayonets).
Draw forth your bayonets (or daggers).
Fix them in the muzzle of your musquets.
Poise your musquets.
Charge to the front.
To the right (left, right-about, left-about) charge.
Recover your arms.
Rest upon your musquets.
Handle your bayonets.
Withdraw your bayonets.
Place (*i.e.*, return) your bayonets.
Poise your musquets.
Rest your musquets.
Clean the pan (with the ball of the thumb).
Open your cartridge-box.
Handle your primer.
Sink and prime.
Return your primer.
Shut your pan (with your forefingers).
Blow off your loose corns (recovering arms at the same time).
Cast about to charge.
Handle your cartridge.
Take out your cartridge (and shut the box).
Open it with your teeth.
Charge with powder and ball.
Draw forth your scourers (*i.e.*, ram-rods).
Shorten them to an inch (against your right breasts).
Put them into the muzzle of your musquets.
Ram down powder and ball.
Withdraw your scourers.
Shorten them to an inch (as before).
Place (*i.e.*, return) your scourers.
Poise your musquets.

Shoulder your musquets.
Poise your musquets.
Rest your musquets.
Lay down your arms.
Quit your arms.
To the right-about.
March clear of your arms and break.
The men being thus dispersed, the drum beat and the
men drawing swords ran to their arms "with a Huzza."
Return your swords.
Handle your arms.
Rest your arms.
Poise your musquets.
Sling your musquets.
To the right-about.
March to your horses.
Unlink your horses.
Shorten your bridles.
Put your left foot in the stirrup.
Mount.
Fasten your links.
Unsling and advance your musquets (on the right thigh).
Join your left hands to your musquets.
Cock and guard.
Rest your musquets on your bridle-hands.
Present ; fire.
Recover your arms with the cock half-bent.

The EXERCISES FOR HORSE-GRANADEERS were a compound of those for dragoons and for foot-granadeers. Like the dragoons they linked their horses and fought mostly on foot ; and as the exercise of the foot-granadeers has already been given, it is scarcely necessary to detail that of the horse-granadeers, which so closely resembled it. Granadeers seem to have been the only troops that stood under arms with their plug-bayonets fixed.¹⁴²⁰

We have already seen how the senior company took the right of the line in a battalion and the junior the centre ; but prior to 1686 there would appear to have existed some doubt as to whether the right or the centre was the post of greater

¹⁴²⁰ Lond. Gaz., 5/9 Janry., 1681/2, an account of the reception at Tangier of the Moorish ambassadors, the way "being lined with Granadeers (of the 2nd Queen's) "with their musquets rested and their bayonets in the muzzles of their musquets."

honour. In 1678 the Commander-in-Chief gave it as his opinion¹⁴²¹ that the centre was the POST OF HONOUR; but in 1684, when the King held a review on Putney-Heath,¹⁴²² the regiments of Guards both horse and foot were posted on the right of the line, and in 1686¹⁴²³ the regulations distinctly laid down that the juniors were always to take the centre: it should, however, be remarked that some private authorities¹⁴²⁴ had always held the right to be the place of precedence, and the centre to come next to it, while others held that the left came second and the centre last.

On going into action the order of march differed¹⁴²⁵ somewhat from that ordained for reviews and parades. The ranks were at six feet distance, but the files were closed so nearly that only sufficient room was allowed for the men to march at their ease and handle their pieces, half a foot being reckoned sufficient space. An interval of fifty or sixty paces was kept between each battalion in the line to allow for the passage of retreating troops. The Major attended upon the Colonel for his orders, and none but the Colonel or Major were to give any word of command. Of eight Captains (to a battalion of ten companies) one marched in front of the division of pikes, two in front of the right division of musqueteers, two in front of the left, and one in rear of each division. Of the nine Lieutenants two marched in front of the right division, and two in front of the left, one in rear of each of the three divisions and one on each flank.

During the advance the Officers in front were to march in one line six feet in advance of the men; but on arriving within musquet-shot the ranks were closed to swords' point, and on the word being given for the front rank to kneel and commence firing the Officers retired into the intervals of the files. The mounted Officers of a battalion were also to dismount and march in the ranks on coming under fire.

The ORDER OF BATTLE was usually in two lines, occasionally with a reserve in addition, the second line being held at a distance of three hundred yards from the first; but of course such details were ruled very materially by the nature of the ground and the strength of the two opposing forces.

¹⁴²¹ Letter, Sept., 1678, E. of Monmouth to E. of Feversham; App. XLV.

¹⁴²² Nathan Brooks.

¹⁴²³ Eng. Milry. Discipline, 1686; &c., &c.

¹⁴²⁴ Elton. Boxel. Venn, &c.

¹⁴²⁵ Milry. Discipline, 1686.

BRIGADE MOVEMENTS used to be, as they are now, a putting of battalion movements to practical use rather than a separate mode of drill ; and, as a consequence, little is to be found under this head in the old regulations and instructions. Some pains was taken, however, to afford the troops opportunities of exercising themselves in large bodies ; indeed, when we consider the numbers and cost of the armies of Charles and James as compared with that of Queen Victoria we may find reason to be ashamed that we have made so comparatively little progress in the art, not of war, but of economical and effective national defence. Most of us can recollect the fuss and excitement caused by the camp at Chobham : just such an excitement was caused two centuries ago by the CAMPS OF INSTRUCTION at Blackheath and at Hounslow.

So early as 1667 we hear of large militia camps being formed for instruction and practice. In July of that year all the militia of the Province of Leinster¹⁴²⁶ was assembled on the Curragh of Kildare ; and in August, 1670, the Lord Lieutenant reviewed the whole of the Irish forces¹⁴²⁷ prior to their dismissal to their respective quarters. In Charles the Second's reign Blackheath and Putney-Heath were the favourite spots in England for encampments ; and on the 1st of October, 1684, a review was held of all the troops then encamped on Putney-Heath.¹⁴²⁸ Although our Army was then in its infancy, the shew of men on that occasion would not be considered despicable in this country now ; there were present three mounted regiments, namely, the Life-Guards, the Horse-Guards, and the First Dragoons ; with five battalions of infantry, namely, two of the First Foot-Guards, one of the Coldstream, one of the First Foot, and one of the Lord High Admiral's Maritime regiment, making a total force of about 6,500 men.

In May, 1686, a camp of instruction was opened at Hounslow¹⁴²⁹ on an unprecedentedly grand scale ; and again we shall find that the energy of our ancestors puts ours to the blush (III. CCXXXVIII). In this camp there were nine regiments of Horse,¹⁴³⁰ three of Dragoons, and fifteen of Foot, or a force

¹⁴²⁶ Lond. Gaz., 25/29 July, 1667.

¹⁴²⁷ Lond. Gaz., 4/8 Aug., 1670.

¹⁴²⁸ Brooks.

¹⁴²⁹ Ellis to Ellis, London, 6 Apr., 1686, and 28 June, 1688 ; Ellis correspondence.

¹⁴³⁰ List of King James's Army on Hounslow-Heath, 30 June, 1686 ; the following were the regiments present ; Horse Gds. (Blues), 1st, 2nd, 3rd, 4th, 5th, and 6th Dragoon Guards, and Worthen's and Scarsdale's Horse ; the 1st and 3rd Dragoons,

of over four thousand cavalry, and nine thousand infantry, at one time the numbers reaching to as many as sixteen thousand.¹⁴²⁹ The King frequently went down to visit this camp, dining¹⁴³¹ sometimes with one Colonel sometimes with another; and to the Londoners the Camp was a source of much enjoyment. Not only were regiments reviewed and exercised singly and in bodies, but mock sieges and battles were rehearsed¹⁴³² by the whole force. One fault we are told of, in these Hounslow camps, which were formed every summer from 1686 to 1688, and that was an absence of soldier-like simplicity among the Officers: the regiments vied with each other in the magnificence of their tents¹⁴³³ and accommodation, and in the expense of the Officers' entertainments to their London friends.

The resolution to afford proper practical instruction to the troops did not collapse with the termination of war; for in 1698, after the peace of Ryswick, there were several eight-day camps¹⁴³⁴ formed at different places in Ireland. The mode of encampment is best explained by the illustration (Ill. CCXXXIX).

Those Officers who desired to gain more practical experience than could be obtained in a mere camp of instruction were readily granted leave to go abroad for the purpose of studying actual warfare as spectators, wherever it might happen to be conducted by generals of eminence: thus at the very time of the Hounslow camps¹⁴³⁵ no difficulties were thrown in the way of Officers desirous of witnessing the operations against the Turks in Hungary.

The subject of camps naturally leads to the subordinate one of TENTS. And this is not so unimportant a topic as might be thought by the superficial or the uninitiated. The question of tentage holds a mean betwixt the subject of the health of the troops and the subject of transport. Just as the race-horse and

and Princess of Denmark's; the three regiments of Foot-Guards, the 1st, 2nd, 3rd, 7th, 10th, 11th, 12th, and 13th Foot, and Littleton's Marines.

Computation of numbers encamped, &c., on Hounslow-Heath, July, 1686 (evidently contemporary); Brit. Mus., Hyde MSS. 15,897.

The Camp on Hounslow-Heath, 1686; Brit. Mus. Print-room.

¹⁴³¹ Ellis. Evelyn. On the 22nd June, 1686, the King dined with the Colonel of the First Foot, and on the 28th with the Colonel of the First Dragoons.

¹⁴³² Carleton.

¹⁴³³ Evelyn.

¹⁴³⁴ Orders, Dublin, 7 July, 1698, &c.; Dub. state papers.

¹⁴³⁵ Ellis, to Ellis, London, 6 Apr., 1686.

Various instances of leave with similar objects occur in W. O. records 1680 to 1700.

the pugilist are put into training in order to rid them of every atom of superfluous flesh and weight, so an army before taking the field must be pruned of the most trifling unnecessary transport; and this is more especially the case in modern warfare. Now, tents form a very large item in the baggage of an army, and any invention for protecting the troops from the weather while diminishing the bulk of the tentage is daily becoming more and more one of the necessities of the time. The history of past experience, even in such a detail as this, may therefore prove of greater value than might at first be thought.

This also is one of those matters in which illustration (Ill. CCXL) may be of greater advantage than verbal description. A plate is among the illustrations exhibiting the different sorts of tents in use during this period, and a list of the authorities whence they have been collected is also given.

CHAPTER XXVI.

MARTIAL LAW AND PUNISHMENTS DURING THE PERIOD
FROM 1660 TO 1700.

1660 to 1700.

Introductory account of Martial law prior to the first Mutiny Act.—Articles of War.—Courts-martial.—The Mutiny-Acts.—The Judge-Advocate.—The Provost-Martial.—Punishments.—Death by beheading.—Death by shooting.—Death by hanging.—Death by fire.—Decimation.—Dicing for life.—Leaving hanging.—Extraordinary treats.—Minor corporal punishments.—Whipping or Scourging.—Women subject to martial law.—The Gatloup.—Summary Manual correction.—The Strapado.—Tongue-boring.—Mutilation of the hand.—Mutilation of the ears and nose.—Branding.—Imprisonment, or Arrest.—Dieting.—Laying in irons.—The Stocks.—The Wooden Horse.—Riding the Gun.—The Picquet.—Tying neck and heels.—Punishment-drill.—The Whirligig.—Degradation to Pioneer.—Pecuniary and Moral punishments.—Casheering.—Reduction or Degradation.—Suspension.—Fines.—Reprimand or Admonishment.—Double punishments.—Crimes.—Duelling.—Certificates of behaviour.—Transfers as punishments.

[*For Illustrations, see Note on p. xiii.*]

THE British Standing Army may be said to have been an unconstitutional force, if not an absolutely illegal one, prior to the Revolution. It was not until the twelfth of April, 1689, that there was any constitutional recognition of the standing army by the three Estates of the realm. On that date was passed the first "Mutiny Act."

At the same time we are not to imagine that the armies raised from time to time were altogether devoid of discipline and control previous to the passing of this Act; for such was not the case.

Obedience is the main-spring of an Army, the essence of discipline: and in all ages and countries it has been found necessary to establish regulations of an arbitrary character in order to ensure unhesitating obedience among armed forces. The ordinary laws and punishments which serve to regulate civil life would be insufficient to restrain troops exposed to the harassing hardships and the temptations to license of active warfare. The frequent enforced privation, and the unavoidable reactionary gluts of plenty or pillage would speedily engender discontent, insubordination, and licentiousness beyond all

curbing, were it not for those special and abstractedly harsh enactments which form the code termed Martial Law. Where all the members of a community have constantly ready to their hands the means of riot and murder, and where the majority have to be governed by a very small minority, it is imperative that punishments should be deterrent in their severity, and that the faintest symptoms of insubordination should be visited with penalties apparently disproportionate to offences trivial in themselves but weighty in their possible sequel.

Moreover, it is essential to military punishments, at all events in the field, that they be both prompt of execution and of no inconvenient duration. If every delinquent were to be tried by a jury or by a Court-Martial and awarded the terms of imprisonment which form the main penalties of the Civil code, it would require a second army to try and to guard the defaulters. It is mainly on this account that corporal punishments of various kinds became more and more common as armies increased in numbers.

In the middle ages it appears to have been the practice to issue, as occasion arose, codes applicable only to the particular force about to take the field. Such a code was published by Richard Cœur-de-Lion¹⁴³⁶ when proceeding to the Holy Land in 1189. None of the modern punishments are mentioned in this code, which savours of the principle that *similia similibus curantur*. Other regulations were subsequently put forth from time to time, but all of them seem to have been only temporary measures framed for some special emergency.¹⁴³⁷

As the representative branch of the legislature acquired

¹⁴³⁶ Rymer.

“Richard, by the grace of God, King of England, Duke of Normandy, &c., &c.
 “To all his men, going by sea to Jerusalem, greeting. Know ye that by the common
 “council of all good men we have made the underwritten ordinances. He who kills
 “a man on ship-board shall be bound to the dead man and thrown into the sea: if
 “the man is killed on shore, the slayer shall be bound to the dead body and buried
 “with it. Anyone convicted by lawful witnesses of having drawn his knife to strike
 “another, or who shall have drawn blood of him, to lose his hand: if he shall have
 “only struck with the palm of the hand without drawing blood, he shall be thrice
 “ducked in the sea. Anyone who shall reproach, abuse, or curse his companion
 “shall, for every time he is convicted thereof, give him so many ounces of silver.
 “Anyone convicted of theft shall be shorn like a champion, boiling pitch shall be
 “poured on his head and down of feathers shaken over it, that he may be known,
 “and he shall be set on shore at the first land at which the ship touches.

“Witness myself at Chinon. Richard.”

¹⁴³⁷ As more than a passing mention of these different codes is not within the province of this history, I must refer the curious to Grose who enters fully into the interesting particulars of many of them.

influence and independence, it became prudent to obtain from it some recognition of MARTIAL LAW. It began to be perceived that such arbitrary codes emanating solely from the Sovereign, or from some officer wielding his authority, were of an illegal character; and that while on the one hand they might become instruments of the suppression of political or civil liberty, on the other hand danger might arise from their being at any time lawfully disputed by the officers or soldiers subjected to the penalties they imposed.

Consequently several Acts¹⁴³⁸ were passed during the sixteenth century for the better government of all troops raised for the service of the Crown. In these Acts penalties were set forth for different offences such as mutiny, desertion, making away with arms, and so forth. It was ostensibly under these Acts¹⁴³⁹ that the troops were governed prior to the Revolution: they are still in force, and if at any time the periodical Mutiny Bill should expire before its successor becomes law, the army would still be liable to these ancient statutes.¹⁴⁴⁰

The main distinction between the ante-Revolution period and the period subsequent to the Mutiny Acts, was, that prior to 1689 there was no legally established martial law as distinguished from civil law: that is to say, military adjudication was by law entrusted to civil magistrates.¹⁴⁴¹ If a soldier struck his serjeant he was to be taken before a justice of the peace: if a recruit deserted he was to be tried at the Sessions. The Sovereign, however, did nevertheless exercise an asserted prerogative¹⁴⁴² of framing arbitrary regulations for the maintenance of discipline: but the general feeling respecting this prerogative is indirectly indicated by a proviso in the articles of war¹⁴⁴³ of

¹⁴³⁸ 18 Henry VI, C. 19. 7 Henry VII, C. 1. 3 Henry VIII, C. 5. 2 & 3 Edw. VI, C. 2. 5 Eliz., C. 5.

¹⁴³⁹ See Regulations for Musters, 5 May, 1663. Cl. 8; App. XXIV.

¹⁴⁴⁰ Blackstone, Book IV, Chap. 7.

¹⁴⁴¹ 1 Wm. and Mary, C. 5, Preamble.

By 14 Car. II, Cap. 3, for ordering the Militia, the punishments permissible were fines up to five shillings or imprisonment up to twenty days, to be adjudged by the Lords-Lieutenant.

¹⁴⁴² Commission by Jas. I to the Mayor of Dover and others to execute Martial Law within the County of Kent, 30 Decr., 1624. Ditto by Charles I, 1626; Rymer. The Petition of Right; App. LVIII.

At Carrickfergus in May, 1666, ten men were sentenced to death and many to transportation for Mutiny concerning their pay; Lond. Gaz., 4/7 June, 1666.

Laws and Ordinances of War, 1639, 1640, and 1642.

Articles of War, 1662, 1666, 1673, 1686; App. LIII.

Royal Warrant, Windsor, 3 Aug., 1674; App. LIII.

¹⁴⁴³ Articles of War, 1686; App. LIII.

1686, where it was ordered that no punishment amounting to loss of life or limb be inflicted in time of peace, anything to the contrary in those articles notwithstanding. The sense of the country was remarkably strong on this head. Those in civil authority were not less averse to military law than the people themselves; ¹⁴⁴⁴ the very name of martial law was odious in the ears of Englishmen; and it was this feeling that gave birth to the famous "Petition of Right." Both Magna Carta and the Petition of Right ¹⁴⁴⁵ maintain a distinction between time of peace and time of war, and between an army abroad and troops at home. These distinctions had always been known to British law; in the reign of Edward the Second ¹⁴⁴⁶ the Earl of Lancaster having been condemned by martial law, his sentence was reversed because the proceedings had taken place in time of peace. At no period, however, had these distinctions been more insisted upon than during the reign of Charles the First; ¹⁴⁴⁷ and even at the close of Charles the Second's reign we find an influential author ¹⁴⁴⁸ laying down the same principles as of

¹⁴⁴⁴ Clarendon.

¹⁴⁴⁵ Petition of Right; App. LVIII.

¹⁴⁴⁶ 15 Edw. II and 1 Edw. III.
Blackstone, Book I, Chap. 13.

¹⁴⁴⁷ Clarendon; "This coming some months after to the Deputy's hearing, he caused a Council of War to be called; the Lord Mountnorris being an officer of the Army; where, upon the Article 'of moving Sedition,' and stirring up the soldiers against the General, he was charged with those words formerly spoken at the Lord Chancellor's Table. What defence he made, I know not; for he was so surprised, that he knew not what the matter was, when he was summoned to that Council: but the words being proved, he was deprived of his Office (being then Vice-Treasurer) and his Foot-Company; committed to Prison; and sentenced to lose his head. The Office and Company were immediately disposed of; and he imprisoned, till the King sent him over a Pardon, by which he was discharged with his Life; all the other parts of the sentence being fully executed. This seemed to all men a most prodigious course of proceeding; that in a time of full peace, a peer of the Kingdom and a Privy Counsellor, for an unadvised, passionate, mysterious word (for the expression was capable of many interpretations), should be called before a council of war, which could not reasonably be understood to have then a jurisdiction over such persons, and in such cases; and without any process, or formality of defence, in two hours should be deprived of his life and fortune."

¹⁴⁴⁸ Chamberlayne, *Anglice Notitia*, 1678; Chamberlayne defines Martial Law at this period as "that law which dependeth upon the King's will and pleasure or his lieutenant in time of actual war: for although in time of peace the King for the more equal temper of laws towards all his subjects, makes no laws but by the consent of the three estates in Parliament; yet in time of war, by reason of great danger arising suddenly and unexpectedly upon small occasions, he useth absolute power; insomuch as his word goes for a law. Martial law extends only to soldiers and marines and is not to be practised in times of peace, but only in times of war, and then and there only where the King's army is on foot."

Yet Sir James Turner in his *Pallas Armata* (written in 1670 though published in 1683) makes no mention of the distinction between peace and war. And the Articles

indubitable force: and they were candidly acknowledged by the Government in 1685.¹⁴⁴⁹ Of the original axioms that in the government of troops a marked line of distinction was to be drawn in these respects, we have many recorded exemplifications: first, of the distinction between peace and war; second, of that between troops at home and troops abroad; and third, between judgments affecting life or limb and judgments allotting only minor punishments.

Thus in 1678 we have Commissions given for the execution of martial law¹⁴⁵⁰ over troops on service abroad, and in the self-same year a soldier of the Coldstream Guards tried at the *civil sessions*¹⁴⁵¹ at the Old Bailey for felony by desertion, and convicted and hanged for it at the head of his regiment. In 1685 many persons were tried and executed under martial law during Monmouth's rebellion;¹⁴⁵² but so soon as peace was restored, recourse was had to the civil law, and in 1686 and 1687 several soldiers were hanged¹⁴⁵³ for *military* offences by sentence of the Judges in the civil criminal courts. But after the passing of the

of War of 1686 restrict the distinction not to the mode of trials but only as far as regards punishments affecting the loss of life or limb.

A French Edict of 25 July, 1665, orders civil law to be practised in garrison where civilians are concerned, but martial law in offences of soldier against soldier; Briquet.

¹⁴⁴⁹ Letter of Secretary at War, 21 July, 1685; App. LIX.

¹⁴⁵⁰ Royal Warrant, Mar., 1677/8; "To empower Thos. Lord Howard to "exercise the Marshall (*sic*) Law by a Court-Martiall (*sic*) within the Spanish "Netherlands and other parts beyond the seas upon and against all such officers "and soldiers (His Majesty's subjects) as are or shall be under his command there"; The Warrant is under H.M.'s sign manual, subscribed by the Attorney-General, and was procured by Mr. Secretary Williamson. Signet Books; State paper office.

Royal Warrant, Apr., 1678; To Sir Chas. Littleton in Flanders, of similar purport, with the addition for "offences usually punished at a Court-Martial"; ditto.

Royal Warrant, Novber., 1678; To Lt.-Col. Fairfax in Flanders, similar to the last. Subscribed by the Attorney-General; ditto.

Royal Warrant, Novber., 1678; To Sir Samuel Clarke, similar to the last; ditto.

Dartmouth MSS., 23 July, 1678; Soldiers, for speaking mutinous words, tried at Nieuport in Flanders, by Court-Martial, and sentenced to various punishments, two being shot.

¹⁴⁵¹ London Gaz., 11/15 July, 1678.

¹⁴⁵² Court-Martial Books; State Papers; *e.g.*, Court-Martial, 10 July, 1685; App. LX.

¹⁴⁵³ Lond. Gaz., 10/23 Sepber., 1686; a soldier of the 13th Foot, sentenced at the Old Bailey, for desertion, and hanged at Tyburn, 17 Sept.

Lond. Gaz., 14/18 Apr., 1687; a soldier of the 14th Foot, and one of the First Foot-Guards, sentenced at the Old Bailey for desertion, and executed, one at Covent Garden 13 April, and the other at Tower Hill 15 April.

Lond. Gaz., 19/23 May, 1687; a soldier of the 2nd Foot, tried at Reading for desertion, sentenced in the Court of King's Bench, and hanged at Plymouth, being the quarters of the regiment.

Mutiny Act in 1689 the punishment of death for desertion¹⁴⁵⁴ was on frequent occasions inflicted at home by Court-Martial, while the exercise of civil law in the Army ceased altogether, except in cases in which civilians were concerned. In such cases it was ordered in 1672 that upon complaint officers were, "wherein the case shall so require, to deliver up the offender to the civil Magistrate¹⁴⁵⁵ to be proceeded against according to law." Upon a complaint against a Lieut. Bennet of Mitchelburne's regiment in 1698, that he had pillaged civilians, his commanding officer was ordered to examine into the matter "with the assistance of such Justices of the Peace¹⁴⁵⁶ near the place as you may think fit."

However, the Continental usages of war had so far obtained that within the army itself the necessity for a summary jurisdiction was tacitly acknowledged long before the Revolution, and offences were dealt with by Courts-Martial according to a *lex traditionis* termed the "laws and customs of war."

But it should not be forgotten in tracing the history of martial law prior to the Revolution that it existed by sufferance only in this country, and that up to that period we shall have to speak of what was done rather than of what was lawful to be done. There was indeed a martial law,—a law regulating martial proceedings ;—but it was a law in itself unlawful.

The foundation of modern military law in this country is to be found in the Articles of War issued by the Earl of Northumberland on behalf of the King in 1640.¹⁴⁵⁷ The Articles published in 1673, 1677, and 1686, closely follow those of 1640, although they are naturally more ample.

From 1660 to 1689 Military Law may be described as having been in a transition state, and consequently it was full of contradictions and inconsistencies.

In the Commission of the first Commander-in-Chief¹⁴⁵⁸ dated 1660, this officer was assigned power to make laws for the military discipline of the army, and to ordain pains and penalties

¹⁴⁵⁴ Courts-Martial, W.O. Misc. Bks. ; many cases, *e.g.*, Court-Martial, 26 May, 1693. Deserter to be shot ; confirmed.

Court-Martial, 30 May, 1693 ; Deserters, "that one of the three shall suffer death by being shot, and that all three shall lot whose chance it shall be to die." Confirmed by the Queen.

C.-M., 25 May, 1693 ; Portsmouth, Soldier shot for desertion.

C.-M., 8 June and 14 July, 1693 ; Hull, ditto.

¹⁴⁵⁵ Royal Proclamation, Whitehall, 4 Decr., 1672. Misc. Orders, W.O. records.

¹⁴⁵⁶ Order, Dublin, 25 Janry., 1697/8 ; Dublin State Papers.

¹⁴⁵⁷ Laws and Ordinances, &c., 1640. See also App. LIII.

¹⁴⁵⁸ Commission of George Monck, 1660 ; App. I.

even to "*loss of life or member*" or deprivation of liberty : whereas a note of his duties drawn up in 1678 expressly states that he was empowered to exercise martial law, "provided that "the same extended not to the taking away of life or limb."¹⁴⁵⁹

Again the Commission just mentioned is at variance with the Instructions for Musters issued in 1663,¹⁴⁶⁰ where desertion is forbidden, not as being contrary to the Articles of War or to *military law*, but as being felony by the *civil law* according to the "statute of the 18th of Henry the Sixth, Cap. 19."

The reader will be able to detect further similar inconsistencies if I proceed to narrate in order the principal occurrences and changes under the head of military law that took place up to the year 1689.

In the very year of the Restoration, regulations were promulgated¹⁴⁶¹ authorising the infliction by Courts-Martial of penalties, whether on officer or soldier, for drunkenness. In 1673 were published¹⁴⁶² the earliest extant ARTICLES OF WAR (not being of local application) for the Standing Army, and with an index. These Articles were, as has been already said, founded on those of 1640 ; and in 1686 an amplification of them was published under a similar title :—with this difference, that the Articles of 1673 were "for the better government of His "Majesty's Land forces by land *during this present war*"; whereas the Articles of 1686 bore no such limitation. A legalised edition of the Articles of war was published in 1692.

The lever of all military law is the Court-Martial ; but Courts-Martial were in vogue long anterior to the promulgation of the Articles of War for the Standing Army, and even under the same name. There was indeed such a Military Court under a different name and of a permanent nature actually *recognised by the law* as early as the year 1380.¹⁴⁶³ This tribunal termed

¹⁴⁵⁹ Heads of the late Lord-General's function, 1678 ; App. XXI.

¹⁴⁶⁰ Orders and Instructions for Musters, &c., 5 May, 1663, Cl. 8 ; App. XXIV.

¹⁴⁶¹ Royal Warrt., 10 May, 1676 ; Renewing "Our orders for regulating our "established forces in the year 1660." See App. LIII.

¹⁴⁶² There were, however, some such Articles published in 1666.

Articles of War, 1673.

Laws and Ordinances of War, established for the good conduct of H.M.'s Army in Ireland ; Dublin 1677.

Rules and Articles for the better government of H.M.'s land forces in pay ; London 1686.

Rules and Articles for the better government of H.M.'s forces in the Low Countries ; Lond. 1692.

All App. LIII.

¹⁴⁶³ 13 Rich. II, C. 2.

the "Court of Chivalry" is indeed the only permanent legal Military Court in this Kingdom.¹⁴⁶⁴ It "hath cognisance of "contracts touching deeds of arms and of war¹⁴⁶⁵ out of the "realm, and also of things which touch war within the realm, 'which cannot be determined or discussed by the common law ; "together with other usages and customs to the same matters "appertaining." There are two bars to the modern exercise of the jurisdiction of this court as a court of martial justice and punishment ; the one lying in the clause just quoted which limits its authority to matters which cannot be determined by the common law, and the other being that the Court of Chivalry had jurisdiction as a Court of honour when held before the Earl-Marshall-of-England alone, but that in criminal cases arising in matters of arms and deeds of war it had no jurisdiction unless the Earl Marshal and the Lord High Constable sat conjointly ;¹⁴⁶⁵ and there has been no High Constable of England since the reign of Henry the Eighth.¹⁴⁶⁶

There was also a "Martial Court" established in Ireland in 1597,¹⁴⁶⁷ the appointment to the Judgeship of it running thus : "Forasmuch as in Martial government, like as in civil, there "must be discipline, and that the same is to be accommodated "to times, occasions, and countries, and accordingly statutes "laws and ordinances to be made and published, and being so, "then to be executed ; for otherwise they become fruitless, dead, "and contemptible escripts ; we have therefore set down and "published divers ordinances and orders for the better govern- "ment of all martial men, and for the restraining of such "insolences and extortions as heretofore have been exercised by "some of them upon our good subjects, especially of the English "pale, which, as our garden in our account is to be preserved "and freed from all noisome weeds of spoils and disorders ; and "that those ordinances and laws are to be orderly and judiciously "examined and determined, and thereupon executed accordingly, "we do (in respect of the good sufficiency and dexterity of "Adam Loftus A.M. and J. C. B. and for his good knowledge "in the civil laws, and his other good parts and carriage of "himself, and for the better preventing and punishing of the

¹⁴⁶⁴ The Act quoted in the last note was still in force when Blackstone wrote (in 1765) and was so therefore during the period from 1660 to 1700, and I believe it has not since been annulled : whereas the Courts-Martial recognised by the Mutiny Acts are legal during the period of that Act only.

¹⁴⁶⁵ Blackstone, Book IV, Chap. 19.

¹⁴⁶⁶ Except "pro hac vice" at Coronations and similar ceremonies.

¹⁴⁶⁷ Patent, 17 Sept., 1597, Liber Munerum.

"said disorders and offences) give and grant to him the office of "our Marshall court throughout our realm of Ireland, to hear "and determine and judge all offences and offenders against the "said statutes, laws, and ordinances."

On active service, however, whatever may have been the practice at home in time of peace, it was usual during the first half of the seventeenth century to entrust the office of judge not to a Court but to individual commanding officers; and codes for the occasion were published by the General commanding the expedition. But in the code put forth by the Earl of Essex¹⁴⁶⁸ for the Parliamentary army in 1643 Courts-Martial are frequently mentioned as criminal courts under the name of Councils of War.¹⁴⁶⁹

At the first establishment of the Standing Army, it was simply optional with the General¹⁴⁷⁰ whether he would try "all "capital and criminal offences" by a military or martial or "marshall court" or summarily, or in whatever other way he pleased; the Court-Martial being, however, almost always resorted to by preference¹⁴⁷¹ as most consonant with the customs of war. In 1663 a Court-Martial¹⁴⁷² was authoritatively declared to be the proper medium for the casheering of any non-commissioned officer or soldier; and here also for the first time, we see the Court-Martial rendered the protector of the soldier against possible injustice or oppression on the part of his superior officers. Under the general denomination of Courts-Martial used to be included what are now distinguished as Courts of Inquiry;¹⁴⁷³ and it was not necessary for such Court of Inquiry

¹⁴⁶⁸ Laws and Ordinances of War established for the better conduct of the army, by His Excellency the Earl of Essex, &c., printed by his authority. London 1643.

¹⁴⁶⁹ The terms Court-Martial and Council-of-War used to be synonymous; Judge Advocate's Commission, 12 Octr., 1661, App. LXV.

Sir J. Turner.

Articles of War, 1686.

The two terms are distinct in Story, 1691.

¹⁴⁷⁰ Commission of Monck Duke of Albemarle, 1661; App. I.

¹⁴⁷¹ Heads of the late Lord General's function, 1678; App. XXI.

¹⁴⁷² Musters Regulations, 5 May, 1663; App. XXIV.

¹⁴⁷³ Royal Warrts., 26 Mar., 1670; 15 Novr., 1672; and 9 Apr., 12 July, 10 Sept., 1678; convening "Courts-Martial" as Courts of Inquiry into quarrels and misdemeanours between Officers, with power to award punishments: App. XLIX.

Similar Warrts., W.O. records: 22 Febry., 1683-4, C. M. of Field Offrs., 5 to be quorum. C. M., 20 Apr., 1684, 7 to be quorum. C. M., Queen's Regt., 30 June, 1684, 5 quorum, sentenced an Ensign, for striking his Captain, to lose his Commission. C. M., 25 Aug., 1685, 7 to be quorum, on Officer of 1st Foot, "to "give judgment, and to award execution therein, according to military discipline or "such rules and orders as we have established in that behalf"; sentence, for striking his Captain, to be suspended and confined in the Marshalsea during H.M.'s pleasure.

to have an indicted Prisoner before it, but it might proceed without further formality to sentence any who appeared to the Court to have been to blame in the matter under investigation. These Courts were styled Courts-Martial, and Regimental Courts-Martial, and they usually consisted of a smaller number than Garrison or District Courts, from five to seven being considered a quorum.

In 1686 were issued Regulations^{1473a} "For the more regular holding of Courts-Martial, and preventing the disputes that might therein happen." By these regulations Courts-Martial on Infantry Officers or soldiers were to be composed of Infantry Officers alone, and those on Cavalry delinquents of Officers of Horse only: where this was not possible, the Officers of the foreign element were to give their votes first.

There is one Constitutional maxim which may be traced throughout the history of our country, whether before or since the era of the first Mutiny Act; namely, that the Sovereign alone has the power of making and declaring peace or war,¹⁴⁷⁴ and that in the Sovereign alone is vested the executive power of martial law, or the power to depute his authority to another. But the proclamation of codes of arbitrary punishments to be adjudged by military tribunals was clearly illegal,¹⁴⁷⁵ and the object of the FIRST MUTINY ACT was, not to introduce a totally new system, but to legalise practices already in vogue, and the necessity for which had been long perceived by the thinking men of the nation. The state of public opinion rendered it desirable not only to constitutionalise the practice of martial law, but also to define more sharply the limit of the Sovereign's asserted prerogative of raising and maintaining a standing army, and to demonstrate conclusively that regular troops were as much under the practical control of Parliament as were the Militia.

Hitherto the only strictly constitutional force in the kingdom had been the Militia. Throughout the reign of Charles, the House of Commons had never ceased to enter protests against the King's army. Acts had been passed which were in fact Mutiny Bills¹⁴⁷⁶ for the Militia, but they applied to the Militia alone.

^{1473a} W.O. records; Royal Warrt., 21 June, 1686.

¹⁴⁷⁴ Blackstone, Book I, Ch. 7.

¹⁴⁷⁵ Magna Carta. The Petition of Right, App. LVIII. Blackstone, Book I, Ch. 13. Also Preamble to 1 Wm. and Mary, C. 5. See Note ¹⁴⁷⁷.

Letter, Whitehall, 21 July, 1685, Secy. at War to Col. Kirke; App. LIX.

¹⁴⁷⁶ 14 Car. II, C. 3. 15 Car. II, C. 4, &c.

The Mutiny Act of 1689 recognised for the first time the necessity for a "STANDING ARMY," established the principle that an army not voted by Parliament is illegal or unconstitutional, and founded a martial law distinct from civil law.

This Act, though in itself meagre and ill-digested, is worth quoting *in extenso* since it marks a most important era in our military history. It is as follows¹⁴⁷⁷: "An Act for punishing " officers or soldiers who shall mutiny or desert Their Majesties' " Service.

"Whereas the raising or keeping a standing army within " this kingdom in time of peace, unless it be with consent of " Parliament, is against law : and whereas it is judged necessary " by Their Majesties and this present Parliament that, during " this time of danger, several of the forces which are now on " foot should be continued, and others raised for the safety of " the kingdom, for the common defence of the protestant " religion, and for the reducing of Ireland :

" And whereas no man may be fore-judged of life or limb, or " subjected to any kind of punishment by martial law, or in any " other manner than by the judgment of his peers, and according " to the known and established laws of this realm ; yet, never- " theless, it being requisite for retaining such forces as are or " shall be raised during this exigence of affairs in their duty, " an exact discipline be observed ; and that soldiers who shall " mutiny or stir up sedition or shall desert Their Majesties' " service, be brought to a more exemplary punishment than the " usual forms of law will allow :

" Be it therefore enacted, &c. &c., that from and after the " twelfth day of April in the year of Our Lord one thousand " six hundred and eighty nine, every person being in Their " Majesties' service in the army, and being mustered and in pay " as an officer or soldier, who shall at any time before the tenth " day of November (1689) excite cause or join in any mutiny " or sedition in the army, or shall desert Their Majesties' service " in the army, shall suffer death or such other punishment as " by a Court-Martial shall be inflicted. And it is hereby further " enacted and declared that their Majesties, or the general of " their army for the time being, may by virtue of this Act, have " full power and authority to grant commissions to any lieu- " tenants-general or other officers, not under the degree of " colonels, from time to time to call and assemble courts- " martial for punishing such offences as aforesaid.

“ And it is hereby further enacted and declared, that no
“ court-martial which shall have power to inflict any punish-
“ ment by virtue of this Act for the offences aforesaid, shall
“ consist of fewer than thirteen, whereof none to be under the
“ degree of captains, provided always that no field-officer be
“ tried by other than field-officers : and that such courts-martial
“ shall have power and authority to administer an oath to any
“ witness, in order to the examination or trial of the offences
“ aforesaid.

“ Provided always that nothing in this Act contained shall
“ extend or be construed to exempt any officer or soldier what-
“ soever from the ordinary process of law.

“ Provided always that this Act, or anything therein con-
“ tained, shall not extend or be in any wise construed to extend
“ to, or concern any of the militia forces of this kingdom.

“ Provided also that this Act shall continue and be in force
“ until the said tenth day of November in the said year of Our
“ Lord one thousand six hundred and eighty-nine, and no longer.

“ Provided always and be it enacted, that in all trials of
“ offenders by courts-martial to be held by virtue of this Act,
“ where the offence may be punished by death ; every officer
“ present at such trial, before any proceeding to be had there-
“ upon, shall take an oath upon the Evangelists before the court
“ (and the judge-advocate or his deputy shall, and are hereby
“ respectively authorised to administer the same) in these words,
“ that is to say :

“ You shall well and truly try and determine according
“ to your evidence the matter now before you, between our
“ sovereign lord and lady the King and Queen's Majesties and
“ the prisoner to be tried—So help you God.

“ And no sentence of death shall be given against any
“ offender in such case by any court-martial, unless nine of
“ thirteen officers present shall concur therein : and if there be
“ a greater number of officers present, then the judgment shall
“ pass by the concurrence of the greater part of them so sworn,
“ and not otherwise : and no proceedings trial or sentence of
“ death shall be had or given against any offender but between
“ the hours of eight in the morning and one in the afternoon.”

One circumstance that must have materially contributed to the favourable reception by the nation of an Act thus legalising the Continental practice of martial law, was the remarkable contrast offered by the Dutch troops to our own in their behaviour towards civilians. The inhabitants of the cities through which

King William's forces passed on the road to London from Torbay were struck with wonder and admiration at the excellent discipline of the continental soldiers.¹⁴⁷⁸ "Such just payment for what the soldiers had, and such civil behaviour among them without swearing and damning and debauching of women." No wonder that people were willing to extend a system bearing such fruit to the roystering swaggering overbearing English soldier.

On the expiration of this first Mutiny Act ¹⁴⁷⁹ another was adopted having the same title with the significant addition "and for punishing false musters." This second Act was far more comprehensive than the first.

Soldiers enlisting from one regiment to another without previous discharge were rendered liable to death or such lesser punishment as a court-martial might award.

Officers commanding garrisons were empowered to convene courts-martial. A court-martial was to consist of thirteen commissioned officers (not necessarily captains as before) the President being a field-officer.

Officers abetting false musters became liable to be casheered with a fine of fifty pounds to go to the informer, who, if a soldier, might claim in addition a free discharge.

Commissaries of Musters when about to take a muster were to ensure the presence of the chief magistrate of the place.

Paymasters withholding pay were to be "discharged from their employment."

Officers' servants were not to be mustered. Billeted soldiers were to pay fair prices, but these were not to exceed their subsistence-money of two shillings a day for a trooper, one shilling and two pence for a dragoon, and sixpence for a foot-soldier.

Officers taking money to excuse billets were to be casheered.

No deductions were to be made from the soldier's pay beyond those specified in the Act.¹⁴⁸⁰

The Act was to be read at the head of regiments by the Commissary at each muster.

¹⁴⁷⁸ A further account of the Prince's Army in a letter from Exeter, 24 Novr., 1688; Harl. Misc.

¹⁴⁷⁹ 1 Wm. & Mary, Sess. 2, C. 4.

¹⁴⁸⁰ At a Court-Martial, Tangier, 8 Sept., 1663, two of the prisoners were held to be not guilty on the plea that the Articles of War relating to their offence had not been read to their Company since they joined: this is therefore a regulation of a date long anterior to the Mutiny Acts. See also Articles of War, 1677; App. LIII.

This Act continued in force to the twentieth of December, 1690, when it was renewed,¹⁴⁸¹ with scarcely any alteration, for another year.

From December, 1691, to March, 1692, there was no Mutiny Bill in force.

A fresh Act¹⁴⁸² was then passed for one year, in which were added provisions respecting the pressing of transport on the march.

The next Act,¹⁴⁸³ which took effect on the first of March, 1693, contained a very important clause, to the effect that no man should be held to be listed and liable to the Act unless he had been taken before a Justice of the peace to declare his free consent to list.

On the tenth of April, 1695, a new Act¹⁴⁸⁴ was passed, which contained the following additional enactments:

Officers belonging to the regiment of the President of a court-martial were forbidden to sit on that court.

Also Regimental agents, that is Colonel's clerks, were to give bonds.

A similar Act¹⁴⁸⁵ was continued for one year from the tenth of April, 1696, with an additional clause inflicting a fine of five pounds on persons harbouring deserters, or purchasing clothing or arms from them.

In the Act¹⁴⁸⁶ from the tenth of April, 1697, to the tenth of April, 1698, it was enacted that the Marine regiments being an integral part of the Army were, notwithstanding existing doubts on the subject, to be subject to the Act.

After this, no further Act was brought forward during the remaining five years of King William's reign.

The only military tribunal of justice recognised by these several Acts was the Court-Martial, and although originally, and indeed up to the time of the first Mutiny Act, Courts-Martial and Councils of War had been synonymous terms, the former not necessarily implying a trial of offenders, yet since that time a Council of War has usually denoted a military council convened in the field for the consideration of military matters and for mutual advice, while a Court-martial is a

¹⁴⁸¹ 2 Wm. & M., Sess. 2, C. 6.

¹⁴⁸² 4 Wm. & M., C. 13.

¹⁴⁸³ 5 & 6 Wm. & M., C. 15.

¹⁴⁸⁴ 6 & 7 Wm. & M., C. 8.

¹⁴⁸⁵ 7 & 8 Wm. III, C. 13.

¹⁴⁸⁶ 8 & 9 Wm. III, C. 13.

military court of judicature for the administration of special laws applicable to military men alone and denominated martial law.

Of COURTS-MARTIAL there were three kinds, the General, the Garrison, and the Regimental ; their powers of judicature being on a descending scale.

The General Court-Martial was originally one standing Court composed of the General or Administrative Officers of the Army, or else a Court specially summoned by the Commander-in-Chief or the Sovereign. Thus in the Articles of War of 1673¹⁴⁸⁷ such a Court is styled "Our General Court "Martial"; and in 1678¹⁴⁸⁸ the distinction between the several Courts is thus laid down ; "Upon information of disobedience "of inferior officers towards their superior officers or of soldiers "to their officers, or other great offences, the Lord-General "gave commissions to court-martials to examine such offences, "and to bring such offenders to their trial, and condign punish- "ment, provided that the same extended not to the taking "away of life or limb, lesser offences being punished by regi- "mental court-martial or court-martials of the garrisons."

This General Court-Martial seems to have been instituted in 1670,^{1488a} when a Royal Warrant convened the Colonels of regiments to assist the Duke of York in the consideration of "several particulars relating to military affairs, and the well "ordering our forces, as well Guards as others, which remain "yet unregulated since my Lord General's death." In March, 1688,¹⁴⁸⁹ this Court, now composed of all the principal Officers of the Army, was ordered to sit at the Horse-Guards every Friday for the redress of all disorders and grievances. A like order was again given in 1695 ;¹⁴⁹⁰ but whereas on the former occasion the commission was termed the General Court-Martial, on the latter it is called only a meeting of the chief officers of the Army. General Courts-martial had evidently multiplied with the growth of the army, and the one at Whitehall was no longer "*the*" General Court-Martial.

A similar Court of "General Officers" was established at Dublin in 1697,¹⁴⁹¹ and was composed of the following Officers :

¹⁴⁸⁷ Articles of War, 1673, Cl. 8, &c.

¹⁴⁸⁸ Heads of the late Lord Genl.'s function, 1678 ; App. XXI.

^{1488a} R. Warrt., 18 June, 1670 ; W.O. Records.

¹⁴⁸⁹ Royal Warrt., 27 Febr., 1687-8 ; App. XCV.

Royal Warrt., 11 Mar., 1687/8 ; App. XCV.

¹⁴⁹⁰ Royal Warrt., 19 Feby., 1694/5 ; App. XCV.

¹⁴⁹¹ Commission, 9 June, 1697 ; State Papers, Dublin ; App. XCV.

Sir J. Hanmer, Brigr. Genl. of the Forces.

W. Wolseley, Esq., Master-Genl. of the Ordnance, and Brigr. Genl. of the Horse.

Sir C. Fielding, Governor of Limerick.

Sir J. Topham, Advocate Genl. of the Army.

R. Gorges, Esq., Adjutant Genl. of the Army.

Wm. Robinson, Esq., Deputy Receiver and Paymaster Genl.

Denny Musshampe, Esq., Comry. Genl. of the Musters.

W. Molyneux, Esqre., Surveyor Genl. of H.M.'s Works and Fortifications.

The duties of this Committee¹⁴⁹¹ were to "receive, hear, "and examine all informations and complaints that shall be "brought before them of the misbehaviour of any officer or "soldier of the Army," and to report their opinion to the Crown.

Matters of payments to the troops might also be adjudicated upon by the Committee, which was to sit twice a week : three officers were to form a quorum, of which Sir J. Hanmer or Brigadier Wolseley was always to be one. When necessary, the Committee was to refer matters to a Court-Martial ; the Committee was also authorised to frame rules and regulations for the government of the troops, subject to the approval of the Crown.

In fact, this was a Board for the execution of the modern administrative functions of the two conjoint offices of Secretary at War and Commander-in-Chief ; and it may readily be conceived that the joint experience and balance of interests represented in a Board thus constituted might prove to be after all a solution of the long-standing modern difficulty of the separation or the fusion of those two high offices.

In the Articles of War of 1686 General Courts-Martial are mentioned as of common occurrence and as if convenable in any place. Both these Articles, and those of 1673, make the distinction between an ordinary or Regimental Court and a General Court, but neither of them mentions the intermediate Garrison Court. However, the Garrison Court, as distinguished from the General and Regimental Courts,¹⁴⁹² was in vogue certainly

¹⁴⁹² Heads of the late Lord Genl.'s function, 1678 ; App. XXI.

This paper purports to be a *retrospective* view of the practices from 1660 to 1670. The paragraph has already been quoted in the text a page or two back.

There does not, however, appear to have existed any such distinction at Tangier in 1662 ; "The Court-Martial" is spoken of in Articles of War, 1662, App. LIII.

prior to 1678 and apparently from the very commencement of the Standing Army.

An appeal lay from a regimental to a General Court-Martial.¹⁴⁹³

The form of procedure at a court-martial in the seventeenth century was much the same as it is now.

The President, who was of course the senior officer,¹⁴⁹⁴ sat at the head of the table, the judge-advocate at the foot of it, and the other members of the court at the sides¹⁴⁹⁵ in order of army seniority, the senior being on the right of the president,¹⁴⁹⁴ the next senior on his left, and so on. Subaltern officers, not being on the court, had a right to enter the room, but were "to stand at the captains' backs with their hats off, and have "no vote."^{1495a} Sometimes all Officers off duty were ordered to attend a Court-Martial for their instruction.¹⁴⁹⁶

The prisoner was brought in under the guard of the provost-marshal; and the oath¹⁴⁹⁷ was administered to the court by the judge-advocate.

The informations were read, and the evidences were called, sworn, and examined.¹⁴⁹⁸ The prisoner was interrogated, and allowed to make his defence, and was then removed.

In the absence of the prisoner, the court considered the verdict and sentence, the junior officer giving his opinion first and the president last; the sentence being carried by the majority of votes,¹⁴⁹⁸ and the president having the casting vote.

The prisoner was again brought in, the sentence was read to him by the President, and the provost-marshal took him away for punishment, receiving a Warrant for the same from the Court.¹⁴⁹⁹

The oath tendered to the members used to be "for the due

¹⁴⁹³ Articles of War, 1673 Art. 63; App. LIII.

Articles of War, 1686, Art. 51; App. LIII.

Articles of War, 1692, Art. 55; App. LIII.

¹⁴⁹⁴ Eng. Mil. Discipline, 1686.

¹⁴⁹⁵ Articles of War, 1673, Art. 60; App. LIII.

Articles of War, 1686, Art. 48; App. LIII.

^{1495a} English Mil. Discipline, 1686.

I believe this was until very lately (if it be not so still), the rule in the French army.

¹⁴⁹⁶ Order, 10 Feby., 1673/4, convening a Court-Martial at Tangier; Sloane MSS. 3,299.

¹⁴⁹⁷ 1 Wm. & M., C. 5.

¹⁴⁹⁸ Articles of War, 1673, Art. 60.

Articles of War, 1686, Art. 48.

Articles of War, 1692, Art. 52; App. LIII.

1 Wm. & M., C. 5.

"administration of justice according to the Articles of War,¹⁴⁹⁹
 "or (where those Articles assign no absolute punishment)
 "according to their consciences, the best of their understandings,
 "and the customs of war in like cases."

In the first Mutiny Act (1689) another oath was substituted for that previously used, and it will be at once observed that it was endeavoured to assimilate it to the oath taken by juries in Civil Courts and to eliminate the obnoxious military element. It ran thus:¹⁵⁰⁰

"You shall well and truly try and determine according to
 "your evidence the matter now before you between Our
 "Sovereign Lord and Lady the King and Queen's Majesties
 "and the prisoner to be tried. So help you God."

Nevertheless, the modern oath is far more like the first than the last of these.

By the first Mutiny Act, also, the oath was not compulsory, except in cases where the life of the prisoner was at stake.^{1500a}

Another modification introduced at the same time was, that in sentences of death the majority of votes was to be not less than nine out of thirteen.

Thirteen would seem to have been the number of members originally fixed for Courts-Martial, for that number is specified in Warrants convening courts as early as 1672,¹⁵⁰¹ the twelve members being captains and the president a field-officer. But in 1686 the order was that a Court must consist of not less than seven,¹⁵⁰² and that when sufficient captains could not be made available, "inferior officers" might be detailed to sit. The first Mutiny Act¹⁵⁰³ mentions thirteen as a probable number for a Court, but intimates that a larger number might be present; but the second Act¹⁵⁰⁴ (as already mentioned) again fixed the

¹⁴⁹⁹ Articles of War, 1673, Art. 60.

Articles of War, 1686, Art. 48.

¹⁵⁰⁰ 1 Wm. & M., C. 5.

1 Wm. & M., Sess. 2, C. 4, &c., &c.

In this review of the history of Military tribunals, it has been thought well to risk repetition rather than not make it complete in itself.

^{1500a} See, however, Note ¹⁵⁴⁴.

¹⁵⁰¹ e.g., Royal Warrant, 22 June, 1672; App. LXI.

Order convening a Court-Martial at Tangier, 1673/4; Sloane MSS. 3,299.

Dartmouth MSS., 23 July, 1678, C. M. in Flanders.

¹⁵⁰² Eng. Mily. Discipline, 1686.

The Courts-Martial at Tangier, 1663/1670, shew numbers varying from nine to thirteen.

¹⁵⁰³ 1 Wm. & M., C. 5.

¹⁵⁰⁴ 1 Wm. & M., Sess. 2, C. 4, Cl. 3 and 4.

e.g., Proceedings of Court Martial, Cork, 22 Janry., 1690/1; App. LXIII.

number at thirteen, the whole to be Commissioned Officers, and the President to be a Field-Officer; and in the case of the prisoner being a Field-Officer, the whole of the members were to be Field-Officers.

In the Act¹⁵⁰⁵ of 1695 the proviso was added that the Officers of the regiment to which the president belonged were not to be detailed as members.

The inconvenience of the minimum being placed at so large a number as thirteen, (a number evidently adopted originally from the numbers of a civil jury) was experienced before long, for in 1694 the legal advisers of the Crown were appealed to for an opinion upon this subject: and they opined¹⁵⁰⁶ that except in cases of mutiny, desertion, or fraudulent exchange from one regiment to another (these being the only crimes specified as punishable with death in the Mutiny Acts) the Court might consist of a lesser number, "so as the Court-Martial do consist of such a number of Officers as by Law-Martial do constitute such a Court."

In 1697 we find a Garrison Court convened at Cork for the trial of a private *for mutiny*¹⁵⁰⁷ "consisting of five or more Commissioned Officers in garrison."

In 1698 a Court was held at Dublin to try a Lieutenant of the Thirteenth Foot,¹⁵⁰⁸ with a Colonel for president, and seven members not under the rank of Captain; but in the same year the Court¹⁵⁰⁹ to try a Major and a Captain of the Twenty-second Foot for indecencies was composed of thirteen members, six of them being field-officers, and six captains, while the president was a brigadier-general: and again the Court on an Ensign of the Eighth Regiment consisted of a brigadier and twelve officers not under the rank of captain.¹⁵¹⁰

Prior to 1689 the power of convening Courts-Martial, other than Regimental, lay with the Sovereign only, and was deputed by him to none except to the Commander-in-Chief himself,¹⁵¹¹

¹⁵⁰⁵ 7 & 8 Wm. III, C. 23.

¹⁵⁰⁶ Opinion, 21 July, 1694; App. LXII.

¹⁵⁰⁷ Warrant, Dublin, 18 Decr., 1697; Dublin State Papers.

¹⁵⁰⁸ Warrant, Dublin, 9 June, 1698; ditto.

As an almost invariable rule the garrison Courts-Martial proper in the W.O. records consists of 13 Members, while Regimental Courts consist of "five or more."

¹⁵⁰⁹ Warrant, Dublin, 13 Aug., 1698; Dublin State Papers.

The numbers to try a Captain at Tangier, 10 Sept., 1669, were 2 Field Offrs., and 9 Captains.

¹⁵¹⁰ Warrant, Dublin, 8 Decr., 1698; Dublin State papers.

¹⁵¹¹ Commission of Monck, Duke of Albemarle, 1661, App. 1.

Royal Warrt., 22 June, 1672; App. LXI.

or to the General Commanding an Army on foreign or active service.¹⁵¹²

The second Mutiny Act¹⁵¹³ empowered Officers commanding garrisons to convene Courts-Martial; but these could not have been only Garrison Courts; for we have many subsequent instances of officers in command of Garrisons¹⁵¹⁴ and even holding commissions as Governors of places applying to the Commander-in-Chief or to the Crown for a Court-Martial within the limits of their local commands. And in 1692, and subsequent years, we find special commissions issued to individual Generals in command empowering them to convene Courts-Martial.^{1514a}

Regimental Courts were standing Courts¹⁵¹⁵ permanently authorised by the Articles of War.

General Courts-Martial might be held upon whole regiments,¹⁵¹⁶ troops, or companies. At all Courts a sworn clerk,¹⁵¹⁷ was to attend to record the proceedings.

A Court-Martial upon a soldier of the Life-Guards, or Foot-Guards,¹⁵¹⁸ was composed of Officers of the Troops or Regiments of Guards alone.

Heads of the late Lord Genl.'s function, 1678; App. XXI.

Royal Warrant, 10 July, 1685; App. LX.

¹⁵¹² See Note ¹⁴⁸⁰ in this chapter.

¹⁵¹³ 1 Wm. and Mary, Sess. 2, Cap. 4.

¹⁵¹⁴ Proceedings of Genl. Ct. Mar., Cork, 22 Janry., 1690/1; held "by virtue of "an Order from Lt. Genl. Ginckel" (Commander in Chief Ireland), the Governor and Commandant of the Garrison being himself the President; App. LXIII.

Letter, Cork, 21 Febr., 1690/1, Col. Hastings to Clarke; requests him to ask Genl. Ginckell for leave to hold General Court-Martial.

Letter, Galway, 30 July, 1691, Bellasyse to Genl. Ginckell; "I desire your "Excellency will send me an order to hold a Court-Martial here." Clarke MSS.

Lords Justices (*i.e.*, Royal) Warrant, Dublin, 3 Decr., 1697; App. LXIV.

Lords Justices Warrts., Dublin, 9 June, 13 Aug., and 8 Decr., 1698; Dublin State Paper Office.

^{1514a} *e.g.*, To Count Solmes, Bethlehem, 29 May, 1692, as "General of the "Foot." To d'Auverquerc, Parck, 1 June, 1693, as Lt. Genl. of the Horse. In these Warrants the Guards were specially exempted; and on 28 Aug., 1693, a similar commission was issued to the Brigadier of the Guards for the brigade of Foot-Guards alone. A similar Warrant was given to the Master General of the Ordnance on the same date for the Train of Artillery; W.O. records.

¹⁵¹⁵ Articles of War, 1673, Art. 59; App. LIII.

Articles of War, 1686, Art. 47; App. LIII.

Articles of War, 1692, Art. 51; App. LIII.

¹⁵¹⁶ Articles of War, 1673, Art. 8.

Articles of War, 1686, Art. 23.

Articles of War, 1692, Art. 9.

¹⁵¹⁷ Articles of War, 1673, Art. 61.

Articles of War, 1686, Art. 49.

Articles of War, 1692, Art. 53.

¹⁵¹⁸ Musters Regulations, 5 May, 1663, App. XXIV.

See also Note ^{1514a}.

Throughout the reign of Charles the Second, the sentences of Courts-Martial were carried into effect at once by warrant from the Court; ¹⁵¹⁹ but although such summary execution ¹⁵²⁰ continued to be authorised by the Articles of War up to 1686, there had yet crept in a practice of submitting the proceedings to the General or Governor on the spot, ¹⁵²¹ notwithstanding that the Commissions to Courts-Martial still continued to empower the Court to "cause the sentence to be put into execution." ¹⁵²²

But after the Revolution it was customary for all sentences of death to be sent up for approval ¹⁵²³ by the General Commanding-in-Chief, until in the Articles of War of 1695 ¹⁵²⁴ it was distinctly laid down that such sentences required the approval of the Sovereign before execution could be made; ¹⁵²⁵

¹⁵¹⁹ Warrant convening a Court-Martial, Whitehall, 22 June, 1672; App. LXI. Articles of War, 1673, Art. 60.

¹⁵²⁰ Articles of War, 1686, Art. 48.

¹⁵²¹ Letter, Chapel Izod, 4 July, 1686, Clarendon to Rochester; Clarendon correspoce.; "The last week a soldier in the Regt. of Guards was brought before a Council of War for having spoken disrespectful words against my Lord Tyrconnell;"

"and that, after the trial, the practice here had always been for the Judge-Advocate to attend the Chief Governor, and give him an account of the proceedings, it being fit he should know everything. I told him that as it was of absolute necessity to observe good discipline in the army, so I did expect to be made acquainted with everything. He pretended to excuse himself by saying, he did not know the customs of this place. I told him I was not willing to believe he intended anything amiss, but he would do well to enquire into the customs of this place; and, as to what related to the military affairs, he would find them the same as in England, and that what I expected, was done to every general officer in England, when he was upon the place."

There are several instances of approval, by the General and Governor, of sentences, extending to life or limb such as hanging, branding, &c., in the Courts Martial held at Tangier between 1663 and 1669; Brit. Mus., Sloane MSS. 1,957-1,960.

¹⁵²² Courts-Martial Books; W.O. records.

e.g., Proceedings, 10 July, 1685; App. LX.

¹⁵²³ Courts-Martial, and Letters, W.O. records, 1690 upwards.

Letter, Kinsale, 1 Decr., 1690, Churchill to Clarke; submitting for approval of the General, sentence of death on three deserters; and suggesting casting "lots who is to suffer."

Letter, Cork, 21 Febr., 1690/1, Hastings to Clarke; requesting order from Genl. Ginckell to try disorderly soldiers for their lives; the sentences not to be executed until approved by the General.

Letter, Cork, 11 Mar., 1690/1, Hastings to Genl. Ginckell, submitting sentences of death for plundering for approval. Clarke MSS.

Provost-General Veldhoven's Accounts, 1691; Harl. MSS. 6,844.

¹⁵²⁴ Articles of War, 1695, Art. 92; see next note.

¹⁵²⁵ Courts-Martial Books; W.O. records; In 1693 many sentences of death confirmed by the Queen (in the King's absence).

Royal Warrt., Kensington, 9 Febr., 1696/7, convening Courts-Martial in Devonshire; "Mem. His Majesty's further pleasure is that no sentence of death be

and this rule was much insisted upon afterwards, until in Ireland, if not in England, it became the usage¹⁵²⁶ (before the close of the century) to submit all proceedings of General Courts-Martial for the approval of the Crown, whether the sentences involved loss of life or not.

Sometimes a mitigation of punishment was the result.

In 1686¹⁵²⁷ by Royal direction the exercise of Martial law was extended to the troops in the Channel Islands, who must up to that time have been punished (except for desertion) by fines and other punishments of the sort inflicted by civil law, in the same way as with the Militia.

In 1697, doubts having been expressed whether the Marine Regiments were subject to Military law, it was declared in the Mutiny Act¹⁵²⁸ that such regiments formed an integral portion of the Army and were accordingly within the intent and meaning of the Act.

In the Commission of Monck, Duke of Albemarle,¹⁵²⁹ as Commander in Chief (1660) it was most clearly laid down that a soldier was not impeachable in any civil court for a crime for which he had already stood his trial by a Court-Martial, or for which, being a crime under the Articles of War, he had been already pardoned by the Commander-in-Chief. But the same principle had been partially recognised many years earlier,¹⁵³⁰ and such double trial had been declared unjustifiable and illegal by the Petition of Right. In the first Mutiny Act a clause was

"put in execution till an account be first given to himself in pursuance of the directions to that purpose in the 92nd Art. of War, and His pleasure declared thereupon."

Proceedings of Court-Martial, Exeter, 13 Janry., 1696/7; App. LXVI.

¹⁵²⁶ Commission, Dublin, 9 June, 1697, authorising a standing Committee of the Chief Officers of the Army to examine all complaints, &c.; and when necessary to refer matters to a Court-Martial, the Court-Martial not to proceed to judgment until after the approval of the Lords Justices (*i.e.*, the King), App. XCV.

Warrant for a Court-Martial, Dublin, 3 Decr., 1697; App. LXIV.

Order, Dublin, 7 July, 1697; suspending Capt. Morgan of Charlemont's Foot pending His Majesty's decision on a Court-Martial on him.

Warrants for Courts-Martial, Dublin, 18 Decr., 1697; 9 June and 13 Aug., 1698.

Approvals of Courts-Martial, Dublin, 5 Octr., 1697; 16 June, 1698; 16 Janry. and 3 July, 1699; One of these sentences is suspension and another cashiering of officers; and the others are the gallows or "running the gauntlet" by soldiers. Dublin State papers.

¹⁵²⁷ Royal Warrant, 28 Novber., 1686; appointing a Deputy-Judge-Advocate, having directed "that Martial law be exercised in Our Islands of Jersey and Guernsey upon soldiers in pay"; Harl. MSS. 7,436.

¹⁵²⁸ 8 & 9 Wm. III, C. 13.

These repetitions are necessary, to render the subject complete in itself.

¹⁵²⁹ Commission of Monck, Duke of Albemarle, 1661; App. I.

¹⁵³⁰ Petition of Right; App. LVIII.

inserted declaring martial law to form in no way an exemption from "the ordinary processes of law";¹⁵³¹ but anterior to the period of that Act officers were not permitted to be arrested for debt.¹⁵³² In case of a complaint on the part of creditors a military inquiry was held, and upon proof of the debts, a period was assigned by which payment should be made; and upon failure of compliance, the debtor, if a soldier, was dismissed, and, if an officer, was permitted to be subjected to any of the processes of law except arrest.

The JUDGE ADVOCATE-GENERAL was the adviser of the Crown on all matters of martial law, and the supervisor of the machinery for setting it in motion.

In the seventeenth century the office of judge-advocate was far more extensive in its responsibilities and powers than it now is. The duties of the post would be better described by the term public prosecutor,¹⁵³³ for the judge-advocate not only attended courts-martial as a sort of legal adviser and clerk of the court, but he was also to take steps to bring to trial any suspected offender, exercising in fact the function since delegated to the adjutant or other officer of the delinquent's corps and who is now denominated the "prosecutor." The transfer of this function of prosecutor to other officers arose from a regulation which named as the deputies of the judge-advocate in his absence, "the town-major, or the aide-major (adjutant), " or quarter-master of the regiment."¹⁵³⁴

The duties of the Judge-Advocate in detail were: to give due notice¹⁵³⁵ of Courts-martial to all concerned; to administer oaths to the Members;¹⁵³⁶ to inform the Court and prosecute on behalf of the Crown;¹⁵³⁷ and to inquire into suspected crimes, and pursue the offenders to punishment before a Court-Martial.¹⁵³⁸ The Office dates from a period considerably

¹⁵³¹ 1 Wm. & M., C. 5, &c., &c.

¹⁵³² Heads of the late Lord General's function, 1678; App. XXI.

There are many petitions in the Ormonde papers for leave to proceed against officers and soldiers.

¹⁵³³ Judge-Advocate's Commission, 12 Octr., 1661; App. LXV.

Articles of War for Tangier, 1662, Art. 14—IV; App. LIII.

¹⁵³⁴ Eng. Mil. Discipline, 1686.

¹⁵³⁵ Royal Warrt., 22 June, 1672; App. LXI.

¹⁵³⁶ 1 Wm. & M., C. 5.

¹⁵³⁷ Articles of War, 1673, Art. 64; App. LIII.

Articles of War, 1686, Art. 52; App. LIII.

Articles of War, 1692, Art. 56; App. LIII.

¹⁵³⁸ Judge-Advocate's Commission, 12 Octr., 1661; App. LXV.

Courts-Martial, Tangier, 1663/1670; Brit. Mus., Sloane MSS. 1,957-1,960.

anterior to the Standing Army, and it seems at first to have been deemed advisable to select a lawyer for the post.¹⁵³⁹ Judging by the rate of pay¹⁵⁴⁰ attached to the Office, it does not appear to have been regarded at first as an appointment of much importance; but in 1688 the pay was raised considerably, although this might possibly have been owing to a suppression of a part of the fees which doubtless attached to this office as to almost all others.

There was but one Judge-Advocate-General in England,¹⁵⁴¹ with a staff of only one clerk; there was the same in Ireland;¹⁵⁴² and there was, from 1686, a Deputy Judge Advocate in the Channel Islands.¹⁵⁴³

The absence¹⁵⁴⁴ of the Judge-Advocate from a General Court-Martial was considered irregular and as unfair to the prisoner as to the Crown, whence it may fairly be presumed that he was regarded (as he is now) as the adviser of the Court against any illegality towards the prisoner as well as against any partiality that might baulk the prosecution.

¹⁵³⁹ Petition, Janry., 1661, of Sir Edm. Peirce, *D.C.L.*, for the place of Judge Advocate to the Forces; Dom. State Papers.

Chamberlayne, 1679; *Dr. Saml. Barrow* was Judge-Advocate.

But in 1684 "Geo. Clerk (or) Clark, Esqre.," held the appointment; he was son to Sir Wm. Clarke, a sort of Secretary-at-War, and does not appear to have been bred up to the law.

In Ireland the post was held from 1635 to 1687 by W. Clerke, J.C.B., E. Lake, LL.D., E. Cook, LL.D., Sir Peter Pett, Sir John Topham, and Felix O'Neal, Esquire, *Liber Munerum*: the office was instituted in Ireland in 1635, in imitation of "the like office in our Kingdom of England."

¹⁵⁴⁰ Est. Lists, 1680 to 1690.

See also Chap. XXIX, Part 3, on Pay.

¹⁵⁴¹ Royal Warrt., 22 June, 1672; App. LXI.

Chamberlayne, 1679.

Est. Lists, 1680, 1688, 1689, 1687/9, 1689/90. Harl. MSS., 6,425, 7,436, 7,437, 7,018.

Nathan Brooks, 1684.

List of H.M.'s Army, Decr., 1686; Harl. MS. 4,161.

List of the Officers of H.M.'s Army, Novr., 1687; Harl. MS., 4,847.

¹⁵⁴² Letter, Chapel Izod, 4 July, 1686, Clarendon to Rochester.

Irish Est. Lists, 1690, 1691/2; Harl. MSS. 7,441, 7,442.

¹⁵⁴³ Royal Warrt., 28 Novr., 1686, being first appointment; see Note ¹⁵²⁷.

Est. List, 1689/90; Harl. MS. 7,018.

¹⁵⁴⁴ Letter, Chapel Izod, 4 July, 1686, Clarendon to Rochester; "I told him, "without entering into the particulars of the fellow's punishment, that it was a very "good thing to keep good discipline in the regiment, and to punish men for any "affronts done to superior officers; but that he must look to observe, in all such "cases, the rules prescribed in the Articles of War, which, I doubted, had not been "done in the late case before him, and I was pretty perfect in them; that I had been "told the Judge-Advocate was not present at the trial of this fellow, and that no "examinations had been taken upon oath, which was always practised both in "England and here, when any severe corporal punishment was inflicted in time of "peace"; Clarendon corresponce.

Having now described the machinery for the prosecution of military criminals, we pass next to the PROVOST-MARTIAL who was charged with the apprehension and custody of all offenders,¹⁵⁴⁵ the execution of sentences of punishment, and the maintenance of order in the camp or quarters generally: his duty was also to see to the detail of Courts-martial¹⁵⁴⁶ in warning the members and witnesses and so forth.

The title provost is derived through the Spanish from the Latin *præpositus*, a chief or governor: the Spanish for the office of provost is *prepositura* (*preposito* also meaning a president), but the Spanish for the provost himself is *preboste*; the *b* in Spanish is much the same as a *v*, and hence the French word *prévôt* from which we derive ours.

The Provost-Martial, during the Civil war, used to have power to hang all soldiers he took in actual fault,¹⁵⁴⁷ but he had no power to make them cast dice, or otherwise to distinguish between them.

There were provosts to every regiment¹⁵⁴⁸ until about the year 1680 when the duty was thrust upon the Quarter-Masters,¹⁵⁴⁹ those hapless officers who seem to have been always made a sort of escape-pipe for all work too arduous or too distasteful for others.

An army in the field had also a Provost-Martial-General,¹⁵⁵⁰ and from the beginning of King James's reign a similar officer was borne on the staff in England.¹⁵⁵¹ The "Martials to the

¹⁵⁴⁵ Sir J. Turner.

Provost-Genl. Veldhoven's Accounts; Ireland, 1691; Harl. MS. 6,844.

St. Helena Official records, 15 Janry., 1687/8.

Orders for Courts-Martial, &c., &c.

¹⁵⁴⁶ Royal Warrt., 22 June, 1672; App. LXI.

¹⁵⁴⁷ Symonds, 1645.

¹⁵⁴⁸ Petition, June, 1660, of Henry Thomas for post as "Marshall" to some regiment; Dom. State Papers.

Articles of War, 1673, Art. 59.

¹⁵⁴⁹ Est. Lists, 1680, 1687/89, &c.

Nathan Brooks, 1684.

This had, however, been occasionally the case as early as 1665.

Commission, 23 June, 1665, for Lieut. Vaux to be Qr.-Master and Marshall in the 3rd Foot; Dom. State Papers. See also Chap. XXIII, Note ⁹⁷¹.

¹⁵⁵⁰ Petition, June, 1660, of Henry Thomas, on the place of Marshal-General beyond seas, promised him by H.M., being given to another; Dom. State papers.

¹⁵⁵¹ List of H.M.'s Army, Decr., 1686; Harl. MS. 4,161.

Est. List, 1687/89.

Est. List, Ireland, 1690; Harl. MS. 7,441; "Provost-Martial-General and 24 men."

No such Officer appears in the Est. List, 1680, or in Nathan Brooks, 1684.

"Horse"¹⁵⁵² must not be confounded with the Marshalls or Provosts of Foot regiments.

The earlier PUNISHMENTS of the British army were in their number and variety of a character calculated to meet every phase of offence. DEATH was of course the extreme penalty, but even of death there were four degrees or kinds each "more honourable" (as Sir James Turner quaintly but seriously says) than another. Beheading¹⁵⁵³ was deemed a more aristocratic mode of exit than shooting (there being two degrees of the latter), while the common herd had to content themselves with the rope.

The practice of beheading, although mentioned by Sir James Turner in 1670, may be reckoned as almost obsolete (as a purely military punishment) prior to the existence of the Standing Army, except in the case of very superior officers.

The illustration of an execution by shooting is from a print of the year 1633 (Ill. CCXLI). From this it may be seen that the ceremony used to be very similar to that now practised. The troops of the regiment or garrison being drawn up in a semi-circle, the prisoner was led forth by a guard, and attended by the chaplain: with his arms pinioned, he was then paraded along the whole line of troops until he arrived at the place of execution on the blank side of the circle: here sometimes the poor wretch's grave had already been dug. The prisoner then stood¹⁵⁵⁴ against a post or stake, or was bound to it, or else knelt down, and his eyes were blindfolded: the chaplain withdrew, and the provost-marshal replaced him. The firing-party being drawn up close to the prisoner in two platoons, the one to fire, the other as a reserve, now made ready. Sometimes the man gave the signal for his own death, sometimes the provost-marshal gave it: the execution party fired, and if the man still lived the reserve stepped forward and delivered their fire: if this was still insufficient, the provost was personally responsible for the effectual completion of the sentence. The troops then filed past the body before returning to their

¹⁵⁵² See Chap. XXVIII, and Index.

¹⁵⁵³ Sir J. Turner.

Court-Martial, 19 Octr., 1695, W.O. records; sentencing Major-General Ellenberg to be beheaded for surrender of Dixmude.

¹⁵⁵⁴ The practice in England in 1697 appears to have been to kneel; for we find some men sentenced to be shot, while others, their less guilty companions in crime, were to "*kneel*" by them during the time of their execution; Proceedings of Court Martial, Exeter, 13 Janry., 1696/7; App. LXVI.

quarters: or occasionally the corpse was carried three times round the parade.

In the reign of Charles the Second, if not later, cavalry soldiers were to be shot with pistols,¹⁵⁵⁵ while infantry men suffered by muskets. Truly military etiquette could no farther go, for it was here almost carried into the next world.¹⁵⁵⁶

The less honourable death by hanging was awarded for the baser crimes such as desertion in the field,¹⁵⁵⁷ acting as a spy, rape, theft from comrade, and unauthorised plunder (III. CCXLII).

In the Court Martial Book of the garrison of Tangier from 1663 to 1669,¹⁵⁵⁸ which has been preserved, we have six instances of death for acts of neglect on sentry, of insubordination, or of violence to superiors, and in five cases the sentence is by Shooting; while there are seven cases of death for desertion and theft from comrades, all of which are by Hanging. In the exceptional case out of the six first-mentioned, the Court appears to have been composed of Officers of an uncertain cast of mind; for they sentenced a man, for quitting his post, to be hanged at the post which he quitted, while the next prisoner was to be shot merely for grumbling at being put on sentry. There is one instance of three capital sentences by the same Court, two being hanging for desertion and theft, while the sentence of shooting is for sleeping on sentry.

Prior to the passing of the first Mutiny Act (1689) and the consequent legalisation of military modes of execution in *this country*, the punishment of death was inflicted by the rope¹⁵⁵⁹

¹⁵⁵⁵ Sir J. Turner.

¹⁵⁵⁶ Prior to the Restoration; a Major Picher was shot in St. Paul's Churchyard in Janry., 1648/9; The Moderate Intelligencer, 28 Decr., 4 Janry., 1648/9.

Subsequently to the first Mutiny Act there were several cases in England of death by shooting.

Courts-Martial, 26 May and 30 May, 1693; 13 Janry., 1696/7, &c., &c.; W.O. records.

Exact relation, &c., a Serjt. of the 17th Foot shot at Chester for desertion, 1689. Great news from camp, Chester, 1689, a soldier of Drogheda's shot for desertion.

¹⁵⁵⁷ Provost-Genl. Veldhoven's Acct., 1691; Harl. MS. 6,844-Story, 1689/91.

D'Auvergne, 1691/97.

Proclamation, Camp at Cullen, 5 Septr., 1690; Clarke MSS.

Letter, Whitehall, Aug., 1691, Yare to Clarke; ditto.

¹⁵⁵⁸ Court-Martial Books, Tangier, 1663 to 1669; Brit. Mus., Sloane MSS.

1,957-1,960.

¹⁵⁵⁹ Lond. Gaz., 11/15 July, 1678.

Court-Martial, 10 July, 1685; App. LX.

Lond. Gazettes, 10/23 Septr., 1686, 14/18 Apr., and 19/23 May, 1687, &c., &c.

In 1659 two soldiers of the Parliamentary army were hanged in London "for "mutiny and robbery"; Whitlock Memorials.

on soldiers as on any other felons under civil law, but after that era death for military offences, not of a disgraceful character, was effected by shooting.¹⁵⁵⁶

BURNING WITH FIRE at the stake used to be the fourth and most ignominious mode of military sentence of death (III. CCXLIII), and it was reserved for incendiarism and similar extraordinary crimes. Two instances of this occurred in the army in Flanders in King William's reign.¹⁵⁶⁰

For certain offences, and when the number of offenders was inconveniently large, justice was satisfied, and an example was made, by selecting every tenth man¹⁵⁶¹ by lot to suffer; the remaining nine-tenths of the number being either pardoned, or punished in some lesser degree.

Another and more common mode of producing terror, was to sentence a batch of men for the same or like offences to DICE¹⁵⁶² for their lives. The whole of the prisoners being

¹⁵⁶⁰ D'Auvergne.

Carleton.

For an instance *see* Chap. XII.

¹⁵⁶¹ Articles of War, Tangier, 1662, Art. 10—XIV; App. LIII.

Articles of War, 1673, Art. 8, App. LIII.

Articles of War, 1686, Art. 8, App. LIII.

See Article 9 of 1692, App. LIII.

The same punishment was awarded for faults committed by a whole body, in Laws and Ordinancies of War, 1640.

¹⁵⁶² Court Martial Book, Tangier, 1663/1669; Sloane MSS. 1,957-1,960; 8 Sept., 1663, Two Privates to throw dice on a drum-head, to be shot; "he who throws the least to suffer."

14 Aug., 1665; Two Privates for theft from comrade to be hanged: Warrrt. by the Commander of the Forces for casting dice, as follows:

"You are to see Thomas Shaw and Peter Craggs within mentioned throw dice upon a drum-head in the face of the parade, and that being done, to cause execution to be made upon him of the two who throws least, according as in the sentence is expressed, and then to remit the other back to prison.

"From the Upper Castle in Tangier, 18 Aug., 1665.

"J. Bellasysc.

"To Bartholomew Hudson

"Provost Marshall."

4 August, 1668; several soldiers "to throw dice for their lives."

Provost-Genl. Veldhoven's Accts., 1691, Harl. MSS. 6,844.

Letter, Kinsale, 1 Decr., 1690, Churchill (Marlb'ro') to Clarke; submits for the General's approval death of three deserters and suggests "*casting* lots who is to suffer"; Clarke MSS.

Letter, before Londonderry, 5 July, 1689, Rosen to James II.

D'Auvergne, 1691/97.

Court-Martial, Flanders, 4 Sept., 1694, Seven men to die for desertion; one to be executed, the remaining six "to draw lots and two of them on which the lot shall fall to be executed"; W.O. records.

Court-Martial, Portsmouth, 30 May, 1693, Three deserters from Cutts's to be shot, and to cast lots; Ditto.

Court-Martial, Portsmouth, 30 May, 1693, sentence "that one of the three

marched to the place of execution¹⁵⁶³ and all being in readiness for it, a drum was placed, dice were produced (*see* Ill. CCXLII), and the prisoners were desired to "throw for "their lives": those who threw the lowest numbers were to be forthwith shot or hanged, the rest to be released. The proportion of pardoned and executed was according to no fixed rule and varied strangely.¹⁵⁶⁴ To a sensitive or nervous mind the agony produced by this species of torture must have been intolerable, and yet to careless or debased characters nothing could have been more demoralising.

Another phase of this barbarity was to acquaint a number of defaulters that they were to "play" at dice, the loser to be hanged for the common delinquency, it being all the while intended to pardon them *all*.¹⁵⁶⁵ When the whole play had been played out, and the unlucky wight (whose real crime was that he could not throw sixes) stood with the rope about his neck, the pardon was produced, and the half-dead soldier was permitted to depart in what peace he might with his more fortunate comrades.

When the musquet took the place of the rope, this exciting ceremony was sometimes attended with the trivial inconvenience of the culprit being shot before the pardon was exhibited. An instance of this occurred about the year 1760 when a marine was shot¹⁵⁶⁶ at Portsmouth, the major holding the pardon in his hand, but carrying on the "ceremony" to the very last (and just a little too long) with the view of rendering it duly impressive.

An aggravation of the sentence of hanging was, that the "patient,"¹⁵⁶⁷ as he is styled in one official paper, should be "left hanging" and thus refused burial.

A ludicrous, though probably very ancient, custom prevailed at this period, of permitting "patients" under sentence of death

"(deserters) should suffer death by being shot, and that all three shall lot whose "chance it shall be to die"; Confirmed; ditto.

Court Martial, 13 Janry., 1696/7; App. LXVI, one out of three.

¹⁵⁶³ Veldhoven's Accts., 1691; One soldier "got his freedom with dicing *under the gallows*."

See also the Illustration of death by hanging, which shews that this practice was in use at least as early as 1633.

¹⁵⁶⁴ *e.g.*, Letter Rosen to James II, 1689; one in twenty-five to be executed.

Veldhoven's Account, 1691; one in two; one in seven.

D'Auvergne, 1693, six in thirty: three in six.

See also previous note.

¹⁵⁶⁵ Veldhoven's Accts., 1691; Harl. MSS. 6,844.

¹⁵⁶⁶ Williamson's Military Arrangement, Lond. 1784.

to choose whatever they most fancied to eat and drink ¹⁶⁶⁷ as an "extraordinary treat," the expense being charged to the government by the provost.

It is curious to note how lowly were the notions of the condemned soldiers of an extraordinary treat. A pot of beer with a double ration of bread and meat was their highest ideal of a feast, and those who demanded this seem indeed to have been rather epicures when compared with some of their companions in misfortune. Several poor souls have left to posterity testimony of the state of their minds by refusing all the delicacies of the provost's larder excepting "only one pot of beer"; while two individuals, "being both raperies" upon some Hibernian females, abandoned themselves to the intricate calculation of the numerical chances of the dice, and had "nothing at all" for their extraordinary treats. All this did not prevent the provost, who was a Dutchman, from charging in his accounts six shillings per man for their treats. His charges for one party tend to shew, either that prospective hanging is productive of great thirst, or else that a soldier's idea of bracing his nerves lies in beer, and beer, and yet again beer. In this instance there were seven men undergoing the mixture of pain and pleasure that must have been evolved by an "extraordinary treat," and they all had similar tastes. Here is a copy of the bill of fare :

"Seven quarts of beer.

"Small beer.

"More strong beer, a pint apiece.

"More strong drink."

Of minor corporal punishments, not extending to loss of life (although some involved loss of limb), there were several varieties, and it is remarkable that few of these are to be found specified in any of the Articles of War or the Mutiny Acts. That they were practised, and some of them far more commonly than others, is certain; and it is to be presumed that they were justified by the phrase "such other punishment as a Court-

¹⁶⁶⁷ Provost Veldhoven's Accts., 1691.

Court-Martial, Tangier, 14 May, 1664; a soldier, for desertion to the enemy, to be hanged "and there continue hanging until he rot off."

¹⁶⁶⁸ The term "flogging" was not used for many years after the close of the seventeenth century; and the difference in name probably arose with the difference of the instrument employed, whipping being performed with rods and flogging with cords.

"Martial shall award," which so frequently occurs in the authorised allotment of punishments.

The punishment of "WHIPPING," which in our day under the name of flogging¹⁵⁶⁸ has been carried to such wanton excess, was not unknown; but it was of so comparatively mild a character that it can scarcely be classed as the same punishment. There were three degrees of whipping; whipping at the hands of the provost's men or regimental provost; the Gatloup; and manual correction by an officer.

Whipping or scourging by the provost was performed by tying the culprit naked to the waist to a post, and thrashing him with stout switches or wands.¹⁵⁶⁹ Sometimes the culprit, when his crime was little less than deserving of death, was flogged "standing under the gallows with a rope about his neck, "at the head of the regiments in camp."¹⁵⁷⁰ Except when the punishment was inflicted summarily by the camp-provosts, the delinquent's regiment (and sometimes other corps besides) was usually paraded to witness it.

The number of strokes varied according to the degree of offence; but the highest award seems to have been based upon the old Jewish law¹⁵⁷¹ which limited the number to forty, where-

¹⁵⁶⁹ Sir J. Turner, 1670/80.

St. Helena Official records, 2 Sept., 1678.

Court Martial, 19 June, 1694, W.O. records; two men "to be publicly whipped "at the head of their regts."

Provost Genl. Veldhoven's Accts., 1691, Harl. MSS. 6,844.

Court-Martial, 13 Janry., 1696/7; App. LXVI.

Butler, Hudibras, Part I, Canto 2.

In the Print Room Brit. Mus. is a print 5/148 of Titus Oates being whipped at the cart's tail in 1685:—Wands or switches tied in a bunch like a birch rod are being used; and the horse bears a basket with a fresh supply of them.

¹⁵⁷⁰ Court-Martial, 20 July, 1685; App. LX, also Courts Martial, Tangier, 1663 to 1669.

Court Martial, Tangier, 11 Apr., 1666, "tied upon his tiptoe by the neck to the "gallows."

¹⁵⁷¹ Court-Martial, 20 July, 1685; the award was 39 stripes.

Thus the apostle Paul "of the Jews five times received I forty stripes save one" (*i.e.*, 39 stripes); and he evidently dwells upon the fact of his having each time received the highest number permitted by law; for he proceeds to mention *besides* that "Thrice was I beaten with rods"; Paul, 2 Corinthians, Chap. XI, V. 24 and 25.

Courts-Martial; Tangier.

26 June, 7 July, 8 Sept., 1663; 14 and 25 Aug., 9 Oct., 1665; 11 and 21 Apr., and 5 Dec., 1666; 6 Aug., 1667; 31 Aug., 1668; Stripes 10, 11, 21, 29, 30, 31, and 39. Sloane MSS.

Court Martial, 13 Janry., 1696/7; twenty stripes; App. LXVI.

St. Helena official records, 2 Sept., 1678; twenty-one stripes.

Moses; Deuteronomy, Chap. XXV, V. 3, "Forty stripes the judge may give, and "not exceed."

fore it was usual to specify thirty-nine in order to avoid the risk of excess. I have, however, met with three instances in which an evasion of this limit occurs: in the one case the culprit was sentenced to receive only thirty stripes,¹⁵⁷² but then he was to receive three separate whippings of that number on three different days, so that he was awarded ninety stripes for the one offence. In the second case two soldiers of the Fourth Foot, in Flanders, were sentenced, for desertion, "to be whipped by the Hangman^{1572a} with a rope about his neck, at the head of every regiment of His Majesty's subjects, and to have "twenty-one lashes at each regiment." There were twenty-six British regiments in camp, so that these unfortunates received between five and six hundred lashes. In the third case it was not the whippée but the whipper who was thus unmercifully dealt with: it was customary at one time to specify in the sentence that the stripes were to be "on the naked back and all smartly laid on"; and not satisfied with this the Court sometimes added¹⁵⁷³ that "in case the Marshall's man does not lay them on smartly he is to receive as many"; but one Court, while thus enjoining energy upon the official, awarded him "twice as many" and so exceeded the Mosaic number.

It is a remarkable circumstance that the second largest number of lashes I have met with as inflicted on one day was awarded to a woman.¹⁵⁷⁴ This woman was tried by Court-Martial for inciting to mutiny; and her sentence was that she should be gagged and receive on her bare back fifty lashes, ten at five different spots, and be sent out of the garrison by the first ship, being whipped also from the prison to the water-side. This was in 1664; but at another Court-Martial in Ireland in 1691 a woman was tried and sentenced to death¹⁵⁷⁵ for inciting to desertion while in the field.

The GATLOUP, corrupted into Gantelope and later into Gantlet, was an institution of the Roman army, and Gustavus Adolphus was the first to revive it as a modern punishment.¹⁵⁷⁶

The word gatloup is of German origin¹⁵⁷⁶ from *Gasse* a street or lane, and *Laufen* to run: in the seventeenth century

¹⁵⁷² Court-Martial, Tangier, 20 Octr., 1669.

^{1572a} Court-Martial, Parck, 3 July, 1693, W.O. Records.

¹⁵⁷³ Courts Martial, Tangier, 14 and 25 Aug., 1665, 9 Octr., 1665, and others.

¹⁵⁷⁴ Court-Martial, Tangier, 25 June, 1664; Sloane MSS. 1.960.

¹⁵⁷⁵ Story.

¹⁵⁷⁶ Sir J. Turner.

these words seem to have been interchangeable¹⁵⁷⁷ with *Gat* or *Gatte* and *Louppen* whence the compound gat-loup.

The difference between scourging and the gat-loup was that, whereas the former was entrusted to the provost alone, and frequently without the presence of fellow-soldiers, the latter was inflicted by the culprit's own comrades: the gat-loup was considered the more severe,¹⁵⁷⁶ though the less disgraceful, punishment of the two. The mode of it was this:¹⁵⁷⁸ the regiment or company paraded with open ranks, each man being furnished with a willow wand or other stout switch: the ranks were then

¹⁵⁷⁷ It has been conjectured that the origin of the term gantlet lies in the possible use of the gauntlet as the instrument of correction: but this derivation will not serve to explain away the spelling gat-loup, nor is there I believe any record of the use of the glove in lieu of sticks. *Gassenlaufen* (to run the lane), or *Spiess-ruthen* (to run through the rods) are still the German terms for the Gat-loup, which was very lately (if it be not still) practised in the Austrian and Russian armies. The French expression was "*passer par les baguettes*," *baguette* meaning a switch or a ramrod; in Spanish "*baquetear*," *baqueta* meaning a ram-rod or a drum-stick. So that in none of these languages is there any allusion to gauntlets or gloves, and the German derivation is the only one left to fall back upon.

Probably gantlet was merely the British soldier's corruption of gat-loup *via* gantelope. Sir J. Turner in 1670-83 spells the word "Gatloup"; in the St. Helena official records for 1681, 4 July, the spelling is "Gantlett," and the same spelling is kept up throughout those records for the century; In Nihell's Journal, 1689, it is given by Macpherson as "run the gauntlet," but whether it is so in the original MS. I am unable to say.

Court Martial, Tangier, 17 May, 1665; "run the gauntlet."

Royal Proclamation, Hillsborough, 20 June, 1690, "run the gauntlope"; Clarke MSS.

Letter, Chapel Izod, 4 July, 1686, Clarendon to Rochester; "run the gantlet"; but this is in print from an original MS. the spelling of which seems to have been modernised; Clarendon Corresponce.

Letter, Camp at Chester, Lond., 1689, "run the gauntlet."

Court-Martial, Dublin, 3 July, 1699; "run the gantlett."

Military Dictionary, 1702: "gantlet."

It is in the Proclamation of July, 1690, above quoted that we have traces of the corruption of the word in "gauntlope." See also next note, in 1649, and Note ¹⁵⁸¹ in 1686.

¹⁵⁷⁸ Sentence on two men of the Parliamentary army in 1649, being for deer-stealing: "That they be stripped naked from the waist upward, and a lane to be made by half of the Lord General's regiment of foot and half of Colonel Pride's regiment, with every soldier a cudgel in his hand, and they to run through them in this posture, every soldier having a stroke at their naked breasts, arms, or where it shall light; and after they have run the *gantelop* in this manner, they are to be cashiered the regiment."

Sir J. Turner, 1670/83.

Military Dictry., 1702.

Court Martial, Tangier, 17 May, 1665; "at the time of the parade have his back stripped naked, and run the gauntlet" a specified distance.

Hamilton, Duties of a regimental surgeon, 1787, describes the method of "running the gantlet" as it had been in his day.

See also succeeding Notes,

faced inwards so as to form so many lanes of men (Ill. CCXLIV). The prisoner, stripped to the waist, was then brought out and was marched down the lane or lanes: as he passed along each soldier struck him on his "naked back, "breast, arms, or where his cudgel should light." The provost-marshal attended the parade to regulate the details of the punishment,¹⁵⁷⁹ and he gave the signal to begin it by inflicting the first stroke. It was the business of the Officers of the regiment to see that no favour was shewn.¹⁵⁷⁸ In order to drown the cries of the patient, drums were beaten during the punishment.¹⁵⁸⁰

The punishment of the gatloup was proportioned to the crime and rendered more or less severe, by a specification of the number of companies to be run,¹⁵⁸¹ and the number of times that the passage was to be made.

Sometimes the infliction was not entrusted to the delinquent's own regiment, but to some other regiment, or to detachments of different regiments. The punishment must have been frequently excessively severe, so much so that there were instances of soldiers being so cudgelled as to fall by the way and to be scarcely able to complete the cruel journey.¹⁵⁸²

¹⁵⁷⁹ Sir J. Turner.

¹⁵⁸⁰ See illustration.

Hamilton.

¹⁵⁸¹ On 26 July, 1650, a soldier of Okey's regt. (Parliamentary army) was sentenced by court-martial to run through four companies.

See also Note¹⁵⁷⁸.

St. Helena Official records, 4 July, 1681; "twice through all the soldiers on the "island."

Ditto, Octr., 1693; Two instances, once "through all the soldiers."

Letter, Chapelizod, 4 July, 1686, Clarendon to Rochester; "quite through the "whole regiment."

Royal Proclamation, Hillsborough, 20 June, 1690, Penalty of illegally impressing transport; "if a dragoon or Foot-soldier he shall run the *Gauntlope* thrice through "all the whole regiment." Clarke MSS.

Court-Martial, Confirmation, Dublin, 2 Decr., 1698, six dragoons of the 5th Drs. for mutiny "to run and be whipped three several times by an entire regt. of *Foot* "drawn out for that purpose on three several days on Stephen's Green."

Court Martial, Portsmouth, 21 July, 1693, for desertion, "to run the gauntlet "five times through 600 men with two days' intermission 'twixt each time of "running"; W. O. records.

Court-Martial, Confirmation, Dublin, 16 June, 1698.

Court-Martial, Dublin, 3 July, 1699; "to run the gantlett three times a day for "three days successively through a *detachment of each regt.* ordered that day to mount "the guard"; (for disrespect to officers); approval attached. Dub. state papers.

¹⁵⁸² Letter, Chapelizod, 4 July, 1686, Clarendon to Rochester; "for the fellow "had run the gantlet quite through the whole regiment, and was beaten with that "severity that he fell down twice by the way."

The gatloup did not supersede the whipping-post (*see* Ill. CCXLVIII) nor the latter the former, but both were in vogue concurrently.¹⁵⁸³

Sometimes the less guilty of a number of culprits were made to witness this punishment *in terrorem*,¹⁵⁸⁴ in the same way as was done with that of hanging, undergoing all the disgrace short of the actual corporal infliction.

It is in Sir James Turner's notice of the duties of the provost at the infliction of the gatloup, that we have the earliest intimation of that gradual degradation of drummers to the office of regimental executioners which afterwards became a confirmed custom. Sir James tells us that the provost is to attend and furnish the rods and give the first stroke; if there is neither provost nor deputy present "then a drummer gives the " rods."¹⁵⁸⁵ Before the close of the century it had become a part of the drummers' duties to administer the flogging¹⁵⁸⁶ when it was to be inflicted at the whipping-post and not by gatloup, a duty which doubtless first devolved upon them upon the abolition of regimental provosts about the year 1680.

The practice of correcting soldiers summarily¹⁵⁸⁷ with a stick, cane, or the hand, had obtained at all events anterior to

¹⁵⁸³ See Notes 1569 to 1574.

¹⁵⁸⁴ Court-Martial (Confirmation), Dublin, 2 Decr., 1698; of sixteen of the 5th Drs., six to suffer the gatloup, the other ten to be present "stripped of their " clothes"; Dublin State papers.

¹⁵⁸⁵ Sir J. Turner.

¹⁵⁸⁶ Court-Martial, 13 Janry., 1696/7; "to receive twenty stripes apiece from a " drum-beater upon the naked back," &c., App. LXVI.

I have met with no mention of the "Cat" in military records of this period; but it was already in use in the Navy, and apparently with some of those accompanying cruelties which have so disfigured our annals of the last and present centuries. 1678, 16 Sept., "A seaman had twenty-nine lashes with a cat of nine tails and was then " washed with salt water" (for theft); Teonge's Diary.

¹⁵⁸⁷ Laws and Ordinances of War, 1640.

Ditto, 1642.

Sir J. Turner states that in the reign of Henri IV of France, field officers carried a battoon or staff three and a half feet long for the purposes of mensuration, with which they were empowered to chastise all below the rank of Captain.

Shakespeare; Othello, Act 2, Scene 1; Iago, speaking of Cassio *when officer of the guard*, "Sir, he is rash, and very sudden in choler, and haply with his truncheon " may strike at you."

In a painting of Charles II quitting Holland for England in 1660, an Officer of the Guards is represented on parade with a battoon (bâton) in his hand. See Illustration No. III.

From the Court Martial Book, Tangier, 1663 to 1669, it appears to have been deemed quite correct for an Ensign to strike a Serjeant on the head with the flat of his sword, or for a Colonel or a Captain to strike the men "with his cane."

Articles of War, Tangier, 1662, Art. 4-V, No man to resist "any Officer correct- ing him for his offence, upon pain of death"; App. LIH.

the period of this history : and the power of this correction was not confined to the commissioned officer ; non-commissioned officers were authorised to beat the men but not to quite the same degree.¹⁵⁸⁸ In Charles the Second's time officers carried a staff about a yard long (*see* Ill. III) called a "battoon" wherewith to correct the men, while serjeants were permitted to strike with their halberds and corporals with "only musket-rests." In the *Pallas Armata*, 1670/83, the question is started, "If a corporal broke a rest in beating a soldier, who should pay for it, the corporal or the soldier?"

Another and a peculiarly elaborate corporal punishment was that of the STRAPADO or estrapade.¹⁵⁸⁹ The strapado was still in use in Sir James Turner's time, but appears to have become obsolete very shortly after he wrote. It was a cruel operation and possessed the monstrous defect of physically disabling, and sometimes permanently crippling, the soldiers subjected to it.

The legs of the delinquent having been tied,¹⁵⁹⁰ he was hoisted to a considerable height by means of a rope passed through a pulley and fastened to the man's arms behind his back ; when he had been wound up to the top of the apparatus, he was let drop and then suddenly stopped with a jerk before he reached the ground (Ills. CCXLV, CCXLVI) : this sudden check to the fall (and the operation was sometimes repeated

¹⁵⁸⁸ Sir J. Turner.

Royal Warrt., 30 Apr., 1680, for payment of £2 17s. 0d. for "Canes," explained in contemporary endorsement to be "Staves for Officers of H.R.H.'s "troop of Guards"; Brit. Mus., Add. MSS. 5,752.

Proc. Ho. of Commons, 15 Mar., 1698; Petition from soldiers of the 5th Dragoons against the Major, among other things, for beating a soldier for remonstrating about his accounts with a thick cane to such a degree as to damage him for life : Evidently the Officer could not be amenable to the ordinary martial law for this : the allegation was considered proven by the House.

The Major in Bavarian regiments exercised the power of manual correction ; De la Colonie, 1703.

Court Martial, Tangier, 13 July, 1667 ; illegal for a Corporal to correct a soldier with his sword blade.

Court Martial, Tangier, 20 Octr., 1669 ; a Serjeant and Corporal fined one month's pay for grievously beating soldiers.

Court Martial, Tangier, 11 Febr., 1669 ; a Serjeant tried for excessive correction of a soldier, but acquitted, he having only beaten him with a hollow bamboo cane.

Court Martial, Tangier, 4 Aug., 1663, a *Serjeant* punished with imprisonment for *resenting* manual correction : a private, ditto, 5 Decr., 1666. Sloane MSS.

¹⁵⁸⁹ By Daniel and some other authors the strapado has been confounded with whipping, but erroneously so. The word is derived from the Italian, strapare, to pull with a snatch or jerk.

¹⁵⁹⁰ Sir J. Turner.

Callot, *Misères et malheurs de la guerre*, 1633.

Markham mentions the strappado also.

two or three times), frequently dislocated the joints, and always caused great pain and soreness.

Throughout the period under consideration the punishment for blasphemy, for both officers and privates, was to have the TONGUE BORED¹⁵⁹¹ with a red-hot iron; and this was the only corporal punishment applicable to officers in common with the men. Tongue-boring was also occasionally awarded for social blasphemy, that is libellously and falsely accusing other men,¹⁵⁹² as well as for the special crime of blasphemy against the Deity.

The principle upon which this penalty was founded was that of making the offending member of the body the channel of punishment to its owner. Another instance of the application of this principle was the striking off the right hands¹⁵⁹³ of incendiaries prior to their execution by fire: also the right hands of soldiers fighting in camp.

There were in vogue at this period three other descriptions of punishments by MUTILATION,¹⁵⁹⁴ namely cutting off the ears, cutting off the nose, and branding with a hot iron. All were ordered in the French army¹⁵⁹⁵ for the crime of desertion when not on service: but there is no record of their award in the British service for that offence. BRANDING was occasionally, in our Service, the punishment for murder or manslaughter in a

¹⁵⁹¹ Laws and Ordinances of War, 1639, 1640 and 1642.

Sir J. Turner, 1670.

Articles of War, 1662, Art. 1, App. LIII.

Articles of War, 1673, Art. 4, App. LIII.

Articles of War, 1686, Art. 4, App. LIII.

Articles of War, 1692, Art. 4, App. LIII.

Mallet, 1684.

¹⁵⁹² Letter, Whitehall, Aug., 1691, Yare to Clarke containing extract from Letter, Camp Gerpines, 30 July, 1691, that a spy, for falsely accusing some considerable Officers in King William's army "had his tongue bored through with a red-hot iron, before being hanged; Clarke MSS.

¹⁵⁹³ D'Auvergne.

Articles of War, Tangier, 1662, App. LIII, Art. 6-II "He that shall strike any "man with his sword undrawn, or with a cudgel, stone, or otherwise, that blood "follows, shall lose his hand or be otherwise punished at the discretion of a Court- "Martial."

¹⁵⁹⁴ Ear-mutilation is mentioned by Sir J. Turner among the punishments in use in 1670, and, as it was also a military punishment in the reign of George the First, it was most likely practised during the intervening time.

Court-Martial, Tangier, 12 Mar., 1669; a Private for biting his comrade's ear, to have his own ear nailed to the gallows during a parade.

¹⁵⁹⁵ French Royal Edicts, 24 Decr., 1684, for desertion at home, nose and ears cut off, branded with two fleur-de-lys on the cheeks and the galleys for life: 28 Octr., 1686, branding and whipping for trafficking in soldiers' necessities: 25 July, 1665, branding and whipping for personation at musters; Briquet; Lamont.

duel or brawl:¹⁵⁹⁶ and sometimes the letter, which was burnt into the right hand, was an M and sometimes an R ; the former may be conjectured to mean Murderer, but the signification of the latter is not so easily understood : possibly it might have been intended for Red-handed.

A naturally common form of corporal punishment was IMPRISONMENT, sometimes rendered more galling to the prisoner by the addition of fetters or by low diet.

The mildest form of imprisonment consisted in the simple deprivation of personal liberty for a stated period. In the case of an officer this was termed an arrest ; but, at the time of which we are now speaking, the arrest of an officer differed little in rigour from the imprisonment of a soldier ; for he was at once confined¹⁵⁹⁷ either in his own room or elsewhere, and usually under a guard (as is now the case with an officer who has attempted to break his open arrest), until his case was tried or otherwise disposed of. The custom of demanding the surrender of his sword¹⁵⁹⁸ from an officer on his being placed in arrest is of considerable antiquity in the service. It used also to be deemed irregular, as it is still, to order an officer,¹⁵⁹⁹ or even to

¹⁵⁹⁶ Courts Martial, Tangier, 29 Apr., 17 May, 25 June and 9 Octr., 1665 ; 2 Mar., 1666 ; before the parade to "be tied to the gallows and have an R burnt in his "right hand, and then be dismissed the garrison." The others are similar instances, and in some of those in which R is the letter used, the crime is specified as "manslaughter."

Court Martial, Flanders, 13 June, 1693, W.O. records ; for breaking into powder stores, "to be whipped and burnt in the hand by the Hangman at the head of the "Train," the culprit being an Artilleryman.

¹⁵⁹⁷ Letter, Cork, 29 Janry., 1690/1, Col. Hastings to } A Captain Lowther escaped
Genl. Ginkell ; } from his arrest with the
Letter, Cork, 27 Janry., 1690/1, Hastings to } Serjt. of the Guard over
Clarke ; } him.

Letter, Cork, 11 July, 1691 ; Hanmer to Ginkell ; "The Officer commanding "in Fermoy is confined to his chamber and I hope your Excellency will have him "tried at a Court-Martial." Clarke MSS.

De la Colonie, 1691.

Order, Dublin, 25 Janry., 1697/8 ; Order for a Lieutenant Bennet of Mitchelburne's regt., to "be confined" pending investigation.

Order, Dublin, 25 Febr., 1698/9 ; Lieutenant Obery, 17th Foot, to be placed in arrest and "kept in custody under a guard" pending investigation. Dub. state papers.

Full and true account of all the remarkable actions in the north of Ireland, 1689 ; Commissary-General Shales placed in arrest under a guard, with a Commissioned officer always to attend him.

¹⁵⁹⁸ De la Colonie, 1691.

St. Helena official records, 16 May, 1698, the sword of Mr. Carne, on his arrest, demanded by the Marshall.

¹⁵⁹⁹ Letter, Cork, 29 Janry., 1690/1 ; Hastings to Ginkell ; complains that Capt. Lowther "has also been permitted to mount the Guard since your Excellency ordered "him to be put under arrest " ; Clarke MSS.

suffer him, to do duty between the time of his arrest and his final release. The arrest of an officer differed from the imprisonment of a soldier in this ; that it was only preliminary to his examination or trial and subsequent punishment or release, whereas the soldier¹⁶⁰⁰ was imprisoned as an expiation of his crime. There are, however, a few rare instances of the infliction of imprisonment upon Officers by sentence of Court-Martial.^{1600a}

The hardships of suffering a soldier to be confined for an indefinite time, pending the preparation of a definite charge against him, and the abuses that might ensue from such a practice, were early perceived ; and in 1664¹⁶⁰¹ an order was issued by the General Court-Martial at Tangier that "all prisoners in the Marshal's hands, against whom no charge hath been given in within forty-eight hours after their commitment, shall immediately be released." In the Articles of War from 1673 upwards this period was limited to twenty-four hours.

I have met with two instances of TRANSPORTATION as a military punishment for a purely military offence. A Sergeant was tried in 1678^{1601a} at Nieuport in Flanders for speaking mutinous words, and was sentenced to ride the wooden horse with two musquets tied to each leg, and to be afterwards transported. This transportation was doubtless as a slave to the West Indies or the American colonies. In 1673 three soldiers of the First Foot Guards were ordered to be transported to "Foreign parts"^{1601b} upon the recommendation of a Regimental Court Martial.

In order to render imprisonment a heavier penalty, the prisoner was sometimes deprived of all food excepting only BREAD AND WATER;¹⁶⁰² and to make it still more

¹⁶⁰⁰ Articles of War, 1673, Art. 17 ; indefinite period.

Articles of War, 1686, Art. 16 ; indefinite period.

St. Helena Official records, 28 Apl., 1691 ; Octr., 1694, and 2 Mar., 1695-6, &c. ; all for short periods.

^{1600a} W.O. records ; e.g., Court-Martial, 25 Aug., 1685, Suspension, and imprisonment during H.M.'s pleasure, on an Officer 1st Foot, for striking his Captain. Similar case 13 June, 1686. Court Martial 20 Apl., 1688, Quarter-Master to be confined to his quarters for two months.

¹⁶⁰¹ Court-Martial, Tangier, 17 June, 1664 ; Sloane MSS. 1,960.

Articles of War, 1673, Art. 72 ; 1686, Art. 61 ; 1692, Art. 65 ; Appendix LIII. But see also Articles of War Tangier, 1662, 14—III and IV.

^{1601a} Dartmouth MSS.

^{1601b} R. Warrt., 2 June, 1673, W.O. records.

¹⁶⁰² Sir J. Turner.

Art. of War, 1673, Art. 27.

S. Helena Official records, 5 July, 1680.

Courts-Martial, Tangier, 1663-1670.

Articles of War for Tangier, 1662, Art. 9—XVIII ; App. LIII.

irksome, and even physically painful, he was laid in IRONS (III. CCXLVII).¹⁶⁰³

Somewhat akin to the restraint by fetters was that by the STOCKS;¹⁶⁰⁴ an exceedingly ancient instrument of correction; the main distinction between the two being that the former were used in prisons, while the latter were invariably accompanied with a public exposure of the disgrace (Ills. CCXLVIII, CCXLIX).

It does not appear that the stocks were used generally in England as a military punishment, although they probably were so in Scotland, for in the regulations issued in the year 1700 to the Edinburgh Town Guard (or Trained Bands) they are ordered as a penalty of lighter weight than that of the wooden horse.¹⁶⁰⁵ There is also an instance in Ireland, in 1704, of an award of 3 days' Stocks.^{1605a}

The WOODEN HORSE¹⁶⁰⁶ was the most common of the punishments for minor offences. The horse was a rough and angular imitation of the animal, and was made of wood, whence it was jocularly termed the "mare foaled of an acorn"; the legs

¹⁶⁰³ Sir J. Turner.

Articles of War, 1673, Art. 1, 3, 28, 32, 35; App. LIII.

Ditto, 1686, Art. 1, 3, 30, 33; App. LIII.

Ditto, 1692, Art. 1, 3, 34, 37; App. LIII.

St. Helena official records, 5 July, 1680; 13 Oct., 1684; 9 Janry., 1687/8.

The periods in the above authorities vary from twelve hours to three days.

Court-Martial, Parck, 3 July, 1693, W.O. records; Corporal of Graham's, for suffering prisoner to escape, "to lie in iron 14 days in custody."

¹⁶⁰⁴ The punishment of the Stocks is one of the most ancient in this country, for it was in vogue in the twelfth century; Illustration in a MS. Psalter, Trinity College, Cambridge.

But the Stocks are mentioned 1,500 years B.C.; Job XIII, 27; XXXIII, 11.

See also Jeremiah XX, 2; "Then Pashur smote Jeremiah, and put him in the "stocks that were in the high-gate of Benjamin."

See also Acts XVI, 24.

¹⁶⁰⁵ Orders to be observed by the Town Guard of Edinburgh, 1700; Art. 3 and 4; Maitland.

^{1605a} Dublin State Paper office.

¹⁶⁰⁶ Articles of War, 1640.

Articles of War, for Tangier, 1662, App. LIII.

Sir J. Turner, 1670/83.

Warrt., 5 Novr., 1678, W.O. records, for payment of £2 for a *new* Wooden Horse at Rochester.

Articles of War, 1673, Art. 32; App. LIII.

Ditto, 1686, Art. 30, 33; App. LIII.

Ditto, 1692, Art. 38; App. LIII.

Orders for the Town Guard of Edinburgh, 1700; Maitland.

See also following notes.

Smollett, in Sir Lancelot Greaves, 1762, uses the term of "the mare foaled of an "acorn."

were posts which either rested on the ground or were fastened to a sort of moveable truck (Ills. CCL, CCLI, CCLII) ; the back was formed of planks joined at a very acute angle, and a head and tail completed the creation of this delectable steed, which was of sufficient height to make it difficult for a man to slip readily off, particularly when, as was sometimes the case, he was mounted with his hands tied.¹⁶⁰⁷ The ride was made proportionate to the offence, first by its length, and secondly by weighting the legs of the rider with articles tied to his feet ; and even in these weights degrees of severity were found.

Thus a soldier might be sentenced¹⁶⁰⁸ to ride for a time

¹⁶⁰⁷ See the Illustrations.

¹⁶⁰⁸ The following offer examples of duration of the punishment ;

Half an hour ; —St. Helena records, 8 Janry., 1683/4 ; Oct., 1693, and 2 Mar., 1695/6. Court-Martial, Tangier, 4 Janry., 1664.

One hour ; —St. Helena records, 22 June, 1686 ; 9 Janry., 1687/8 ; Oct., 1694 ; 18 Mar., 1697/8.

„ „ Edinburgh T.G. orders, 1700.

„ „ Dartmouth MSS., 23 July, 1678, on active service in Flanders, one hour with two muskets tied to each leg.

Two hours ; St. Helena records, 12 Apr., 1680 ; 18 Mar., 1683/4 ; 3 and 6 Apl., 1700.

„ „ C. M. Guernsey, 29 Decr., 1686, W.O. records, 2 hours on three days.

Three hours ; St. Helena records, 24 Feb., 1683/4.

The following offer examples of repetition of the punishment ;

Dartmouth MSS. (in Flanders), 23 July, 1678 ; to ride three days, one hour daily. St. Helena records, 2 Aug., 1689, to ride twice.

Ditto 28 Oct., 1693, to ride seven days, one in each week.

Ditto Oct., 1694, to ride three days, one in each week.

Ditto 28 Apl., 1691, to ride three times, the first time with three muskets at each heel, the second with two, and the third with one.

The following offer examples of the weights used ;

One musket ... { Court-Martial, Tangier, 2 Janry., 1664, and 1 Feb., 1664. St. Helena records, 28 Apl., 1691.

Two muskets ... { St. Helena records, 8 Janry., 1683/4 ; 28 Apl., 1691 ; 3 Apl., 1700.

{ Also Court-Martials, Tangier, 3 Octr. and 14 Oct., 1663.

Three muskets ... { St. Helena records, 24 Feb., 1683/4 ; 28 Apl., 1691.

{ Also Court-Martial, Tangier, 14 Sept., 1666.

Four muskets ... { St. Helena records, 6 Apl., 1700.

{ Court-Martial, Guernsey, 29 Decr., 1686, W.O. records, on three days with four musquets at each heel.

Whole culverin shot ; { Court-Martials, Tangier, 3 Aug., &c., 1666, and 26 Janry., 1669, &c.

12 lbs. or 20 lbs. { St. Helena records, 18 Mar., 1683/4 ; 22 June, 1686 ; 9 Janry., 1687/8.

Demi culverin shot ; { Ditto, 22 June, 1686 ; Oct., 1694.

6 lbs. or 12 lbs.

Bag of shot... { Ditto, 12 Apl., 1680.

Sixty lb. shot, and 36 lb. shot ; Courts-Martial, Tangier, 22 July and 30 July, 1665.

And frequently without weights. All the above weights were to be borne at *each* heel.

varying from half an hour to three hours at a time ; it might be but once or on several successive days ; and he might be ordered the ride simple or the ride weighted with one musket at each heel, with two, three or even four muskets, with a whole culverin shot or a demi culverin shot, with a bag of shot, or with some other specified weight, even as much as 60 lbs. being sometimes ordered.

The wooden horse was especially made a means of disgrace by public exposure ; thus among the sentences of Courts-Martial at Tangier between 1663 and 1670, we find soldiers, for crimes committed while in drink,¹⁶⁰⁹ ordered to ride the wooden horse "at the time of the parade with pots and cups about their necks" : sometimes their crimes would be exhibited¹⁶¹⁰ "in great letters on their backs and breasts" as they sat on the horse ; thus, "For having received stolen goods." This punishment seems to have been suffered in the barrack-yard or other "place of the parade" in the case of crimes purely military or not affecting civilians, and in the market-place in the case of the complainant being a civilian : the sentence upon one man, a sentence apparently calculated to publish the disgrace rather of the boxed than of the boxer,¹⁶¹¹ was that he "ride the wooden horse in the market-place for a space of half an hour, with this inscription in fair characters on his back and breast ; "For giving a Jew a box on the ear.'"

Another mode of publishing the nature of the rider's misdemeanour was by hanging the tokens of his sin about his neck, not only "pots and cups" for drunkenness, but also such articles¹⁶¹² as "a shirt," "a rug," a "pair of stockings" indicating the nature of the defaulters' thefts, a "bag of chips" for purloining planks from the Government yards, and a petticoat for beating and ill-treating a wife.¹⁶¹³

For insolence or for "words and expressions not becoming a soldier," a man would be ordered to ride the horse with a gag in his mouth.¹⁶¹⁴

¹⁶⁰⁹ Courts-Martial, Tangier, 15 Aug., 1663 ; 25 June and 7 and 17 Novr., 1665 ; Sloane MSS.

¹⁶¹⁰ Court-Martial, Tangier, 2 Janry., 1664.

Court-M., Guernsey, 29 Decr., 1686, W.O. records, for theft from civilian, to ride in market place on market day, and at Guard-House, and at Castle barracks, with a paper of the crime on his breast.

¹⁶¹¹ Court-Martial, Tangier, 4 Janry., 1664.

¹⁶¹² Courts-Martial, Tangier, 1666.

¹⁶¹³ Ct.-Martial, Tangier, 26 Janry., 1669.

¹⁶¹⁴ Courts-Martial, Tangier, 1 Feby., 1664, and several other instances between 1664 and 1669.

To render the punishment even more disgraceful and the delinquent even more an object of public ridicule, he was occasionally sentenced to ride his horse "with his face to the horse's tail."¹⁶¹⁵

Artillerymen were not exposed to the disagreeables of the wooden horse, but instead were sentenced to the not less distasteful punishment of "riding the gun."¹⁶¹⁶

While the wooden horse was used almost exclusively in the infantry, there was an equally degrading and a more painful punishment peculiar to the cavalry and denominated the "piquet,"¹⁶¹⁷ a name evidently derived from the French *piquer* to prick, puncture, or goad.

The man to be piqueted was mounted on a block or stool, while his right hand was being secured at its full length to a ring that had previously been driven into the wall or into a tall post (III. CCLIII). Close to the post were low stumps bluntly pointed at the top and fixed firmly in the ground. When the culprit's hand had been fastened to the ring above, the block or stool was removed from under him and the pointed stumps were substituted as the only rest for his feet. It is only after a personal trial of this torture that the painful nature of it can be appreciated, the aching in the feet and wrists becoming intolerable after a few minutes.

The piquet was not introduced into our army until the Revolution,¹⁶¹⁷ when it was most likely first adopted from the French or Dutch troops in Ireland, but its prototype can be clearly traced in some of the punishments awarded by Courts-Martial at Tangier as early as 1665: among these sentences we find a private ordered to be whipped¹⁶¹⁸ "tied by one hand to the gibbet so stretched out that he can but just reach the ground having the other hand tied behind him"; we find another sentenced to receive "twenty-nine stripes tied upon his tiptoe by the neck to the gallows";¹⁶¹⁹ and as a refinement

¹⁶¹⁵ Ct.-Martial, Tangier, 17 Novr., 1665.

¹⁶¹⁶ Ct.-Martial, Tangier, 25 June, 1664; a gunner for insubordinate conduct, "in face of the parade for the space of an hour to ride the gun with a 12-lb. ball at each heel."

¹⁶¹⁷ I can find no mention of this punishment prior to the Revolution. The first mention of it occurs in the Army in Ireland in 1690, and then as applicable to Horse soldiers only;

Royal Proclamation, Hillsborough, 20 June, 1690; Penalties for illegally impressing transport;—"if an officer he shall be dismissed Our Service: if a trooper he shall stand three several times on the Picquett, and if a Dragoon or Foot soldier he shall run the Gauntlope," &c.; Clarke MSS.

¹⁶¹⁸ Ct.-Martial, Tangier, 9 Octr., 1665.

¹⁶¹⁹ Court-Martial, Tangier, 11 April, 1666.

upon this, other men a few months later condemned to receive their stripes "tied by the neck and on tiptoe to the gallows¹⁶²⁰ " with a brickbat under his feet and a gag in his mouth and " that then the brickbat shall be took from under his feet " for the last half or quarter of the punishment.

" TYING NECK AND HEELS " was a common punishment in the garrison at Tangier¹⁶²¹ as early as 1663, and it was practised in this country at least as early as 1689.¹⁶²² This barbarous punishment is thus described later by an officer who had often witnessed its infliction:¹⁶²³ " The criminal sits down on the " ground, when a firelock is put under his hams, and another " over his neck, which are forcibly brought almost together by " means of a couple of cartouch-box straps. In this situation, " with his chin between his knees, has many a man been kept " till the blood gushed out of his nose, mouth, and ears, and " ruptures have also too often been the fatal consequences, and " a worthy subject lost to the Service or rendered incapable of " maintaining himself when the exigencies of the State no " longer required his duty."

Another of the minor corporal punishments, and one which corresponded to our modern PUNISHMENT-DRILL was the loading the shoulders of a delinquent with musquets, and then compelling him to walk about with them (III. CCLIV). The number of musquets to be carried and the duration or distance of the walk were apportioned to the fault for which the punishment was awarded.¹⁶²⁴

Grose tells us of another corporal punishment, of which however I have not yet succeeded in finding mention elsewhere ; but as he speaks of it as of a certainty and as his words appear

¹⁶²⁰ Courts-Martial, Tangiers, 5 Decr., 1666, 26 April, 1667, 31 Aug., 1668.

¹⁶²¹ Courts-Martial, Tangiers, 26 June, 1663, for half an hour: 2 Janry., 1664, " while the whole parade marches past him " ; 18 June, 1665: 4 Aug., 1668: 22 Sept., 1668, for 3 days, one hour each day ; Sloane MSS.

¹⁶²² The State of the Protestants of Ireland under the late King James's Government, &c., Lond. 1692. The punishment in this instance was threatened to a civilian but by the " Provost-Martial's Deputy," to my mind sufficient evidence that it had already become a military punishment in this country.

St. Helena Records, 30 Mar., 1703, Ralph Gates a soldier for quitting his post was sentenced to ride the Wooden Horse one hour " with a musquet to each leg, and " to be tied neck and heels at the head of the Company one hour." The above is the earliest instance of the application of this punishment in the island.

¹⁶²³ Cautions and Advices to Officers of the Army, by an Old Officer. Lond. 1761.

¹⁶²⁴ Sir J. Turner.

In the illustration the soldier bears two musquets on each shoulder. In the St. Helena records for June and October, 1706, are two instances of men ordered to carry three on each shoulder for a distance of about a mile and a half.

to refer to the period which is now being treated of, I quote his account :

"In garrisons ¹⁶²⁵ where martial law prevails, the followers of "an army are liable to military punishments ; one formerly very "common for trifling offences committed by petit sutlers, jews, "brawling women, and suchlike persons, was the WHIRLIGIG " (Ill. CCLV) ; this was a kind of circular wooden cage which "turned on a pivot ; and when set in motion, whirled round "with such amazing velocity that the delinquent became "extremely sick, and commonly emptied his or her body "through every aperture."

There was one other corporal punishment which was very convenient, very common, and which has survived to the present day, namely the infliction of extra fatigue duties. Degrading to the quality of a PIONEER is mentioned by Markham in 1622, and he informs us that this punishment was regarded with much abhorrence ¹⁶²⁶ by good soldiers as being far more disgraceful than even such tortures as the rack or strappado.

The word pioneer is borrowed from the French "*pionnier*" which itself appears to be derived from "*pion*" a chess-pawn, a destitute person, or a person of no account ; and this etymology is confirmed by the fact that pioneers ¹⁶²⁷ used to be regarded as the lowest persons in camp. At the same time the word may be derived from the Spanish *Peon*, a labourer or peasant ; for when pioneers were required for works in the field it was customary to demand from each of the neighbouring towns and districts a quota of peasants, ¹⁶²⁸ and on a set day the men selected presented themselves at the camp for work ; but in barracks and camp the scavenging and general dirty work ¹⁶²⁹ fell to the lot of the pioneer-soldiers (Ill. CCLVI), and this did

¹⁶²⁵ Grose, *Military Antiquities*, 1786.

It will be noticed that Grose speaks of it as apparently applicable to camp-followers only : this would account for absence of mention from court-martial books, &c.

¹⁶²⁶ Markham, *Epistles of war*, 1622. "When any common soldier shall commit "a slight offence savouring either of carelessness, slothfulness, or baseness, then "presently to take away his sword and make him a pioneer : which in times past I "have known so hateful and intolerable to every quick and understanding spirit, that "they would with more alacrity have run to the rack, the bolts, or strappado, nay "even to death itself, rather than to the mortal degradation."

¹⁶²⁷ I leave to etymologists the possible connection with the Hindu word *Peon*.

¹⁶²⁸ D'Auvergne, *De Beaurain*, &c., &c.

¹⁶²⁹ *Laws and Ordinances of War*, 1640. "If any trooper shall lose his horse or "hackney, or a footman any part of his arms, by negligence or lewdness, by dice or "cards ; he or they shall remain in quality of *pioneers* and *scavengers* till they be "furnished with as good as were lost, at their own charge."

not tend to raise the public estimation of their office. Thus it became the practice to degrade soldiers guilty of the baser military offences by confining them to camp as "pioneers or "scavengers." This punishment was in vogue till long after the close of the century (notwithstanding the formation of a Company of Pioneers to the Artillery Train),¹⁶²⁰ and to this day it is a part of the punishment of a defaulter confined to camp to be called upon to undertake duties of fatigue not otherwise provided for in the day's roster.

Sometimes this punishment was in the form of a fixed period or stated task of hard labour on the fortifications¹⁶³¹ or other public works, it being occasionally added that the man was to "perform all his duties of a soldier besides."

All the corporal or physical punishments have been now enumerated, but there were yet other penalties which may be termed pecuniary and moral.

The chief of these was "CASHEERING" or dismissal.

The word "cashier" as it is now written, is also found spelt cashire, casheer, and casseer, and casse.¹⁶³²

The word has no connection, as it is often thought to have, with cash and paying off; it simply means to break. It is derived from the French *casser* to break: *casser* was the French technical term for discharging a soldier, the original idea con-

"If a trooper shall spoil his horse willingly, of purpose to be rid of the service; he shall lose his horse and remain in camp for a pioner" (*sic*).

A regiment or company of horse or foot for cowardice, to have "every tenth man punished at discretion, and the rest to serve for pioners (*sic*) and scavengers till a "worthy exploit take off the blot."

Articles of War for Tangier, 1662, Arts. 7—II, IV, and 10—XIV, App. LIII.

Articles of War, 1673, Art. 52, to "remain in the quality of a pioneer or "scavenger."

Articles of War, 1686, Art. 40, "To be degraded to the quality of a pioneer or "scavenger."

Articles of War, 1692, Art. 44, to "remain in the quality of a pioneer or "scavenger"; App. LIII.

Court-Martial, Tangier, 4 Aug., 1668, of several culprits one to be hanged, by lot, and the remainder "to remain scavengers for the space of a month."

¹⁶³⁰ Bruce, 1717, &c.

¹⁶³¹ Courts-Martial, Tangier, 26 Jan., 28 July, 15 Aug., and 22 Oct., 1663, and 1 Febr., 1664, some being for so many days, and some for so much task work.

St. Helena official records, 2 Aug., 1689, and 28 Oct., 1693; in both cases the soldiers were sentenced to do fatigue on the fortifications, in the first case for one month, in the second for seven weeks.

¹⁶³² Ward, *Animadversions of war*, 1639 (Cashired).

Laws and Ordinances of war, 1640 (Casseer and Casseered throughout).

In the Articles of War 1673 and 1686, the spelling is cashier.

The usual spelling used to be casheer.

See also subsequent Notes.

veyed being that the corps to which he belonged was broken up, nor did the term necessarily imply disgrace:¹⁶³³ hence the English literal translation to "break" a soldier, which word also did not until recently signify ignominy. Thus Goldsmith, writing in the year 1770, is evidently not speaking of a *disgraced* soldier:—¹⁶³⁴

"The *broken* soldier, kindly bade to stay,
 "Sat by his fire and talked the night away,
 "Wept o'er his wounds, or, tales of sorrow done,
 "Shoulder'd his crutch, and shewed how fields were won."

In an official document¹⁶³⁵ dated 1640 are instructions for noting on the muster-roll the dates whereon soldiers had been "casseered," and the word is thus spelt several times; and in an earlier work the word is spelt "casse"¹⁶³⁶ which yet more directly points to its French derivation.

In a work published in 1639 there occurs a very conclusive instance of the use of the term in a sense the reverse of dishonourable:—¹⁶³⁷ "After any company is cashired, if the Ensign hath behaved himself honourably, the captain ought to bestow the colours on him as a favour." In this instance "cashired" signifies no more than a reduction of the strength of the corps, and the ensign who was to receive a most flattering mark of approbation had been casheered with all the rest of his company.

The term came gradually to imply ignominy after its employment in the different regulations and in the Mutiny Acts to express dismissal as a punishment.

The word used to be applied indifferently to officer and

¹⁶³³ Richlet, Dictionnaire, 1693; "Casser. En parlant de soldat, c'est désarmer un soldat à la tête de la compagnie ou du régiment, et le remercier de son service mais en parlant d'officier, c'est le faire remercier de la part du roi, par un commissaire, des services qu'il a rendus et le renvoyer."

Shakspeare; Othello, Act I, Scene 1:—

. "You shall mark
 "Many a duteous, and knee-crooking knave,
 "That, doting on his own obsequious bondage,
 "Wears out his time, much like his master's ass,
 "For nought but provender; and, when he's old, casheered."

¹⁶³⁴ Goldsmith; The deserted village.

¹⁶³⁵ Laws and Ordinances of War, 1640.

¹⁶³⁶ Sir J. Smythe, Certain Discourses, &c., 1590; "our men of war did casse and discharge them out of their hands for dead men."

¹⁶³⁷ Ward, 1639.

private,¹⁶³⁸ instead of applying as it now does to commissioned officers alone (and that in a detrimental sense only).

In the seventeenth century there were two kinds of penal casheering. The first was the dismissal simple, and was often associated with some other punishment: the second was the dismissal ignominious. This latter kind of discharge from the service was distinguished from the other by the ceremony of disgrace with which the delinquent was ushered out of the army.

In the case of an officer, his sword was broken over his head¹⁶³⁹ by the regimental provost or executioner in front of a parade of his own regiment.

In the case of a soldier, public degradation from his arms was performed by taking his sword from him¹⁶⁴⁰ and breaking it, and then stripping his coat over his ears in front of his comrades.¹⁶⁴¹ Sometimes the culprit's disgrace was emphasised by declaring

¹⁶³⁸ Laws and Ordinances, 1640.

Musters Regns., 5 May, 1663; App. XXIV.

Hutchinson's Memoirs, 1663.

Lond. Gaz., 16/19 May, 1687.

Mutiny Acts, 1 Wm. & M., Sess. 2, C. 4; and subsequent Acts.

Edinburgh Town Guard Orders, 1700; Maitland, &c., &c.

However in Articles of War, 1673 and 1686, the word "casheer" is used for Officers and "dismiss" or "discharge" for N.C.O. and men.

In the Articles of 1692 the term cashier is applied to both Officers and soldiers; App. LIII.

¹⁶³⁹ Sir J. Turner, 1670/83.

Articles of War for Tangier, 1662, Art. 10-XIV; App. LIII.

That this ceremonial out-lasted the century is shewn by a description given in Grose's Military Antiquities of the casheering of an officer for cowardice in 1745.

Order, Dublin, 26 Apr., 1698, is that Ensign Hall of the 18th Foot, for duelling, was to be declared "casheered and dismissed from his command at the head of his *Company*"; but further details are not given; Dublin State Papers.

Court Martial, 19 Oct., 1695, W.O. records; Colonel Sir Chas. Graham to be "cassé"; but Col. O'Farrell "cassé avec infamie."

¹⁶⁴⁰ Sir J. Turner.

¹⁶⁴¹ English Military Discipline, 1686. "Before a soldier be punished for any infamous crime, he is to be publicly degraded from his arms, and his coat to be stript over his ears."

Court Martial, Dublin, 11 Mar., 1698/9, sentencing a private trooper of the 2nd Dr. Gds. for drunkenness on duty to be publicly discharged at the head of a troop of Horse; his clothes, his arms, and his horse to be taken from him; Dub. State papers.

Court Martial, Flanders, 6 July, 1694, W.O. records; Corporal of the Artillery Train for assaulting and wounding one of the "Gentlemen of the Ordnance" in the Train (who had first struck the Corporal) "to be brought by the Hangman to the head of the Train, who is there to proclaim his crime aloud, to break his sword over his head, to strip him of H.M.'s livery, to give him a kick, and turn him out of the Train"; approved by the King.

him for ever incapable of serving the King¹⁶⁴² and then trooping him out of the garrison with drums. At what precise period this ceremony of DRUMMING OUT was first adopted cannot be ascertained, but it was certainly before the end of the seventeenth century.

It is perhaps owing to this ceremony of breaking the sword, that when the word *casheer* came to signify penal dismissal the word *break*¹⁶⁴³ began to be used to distinguish infamous dismissal from the dismissal simple.

Officers could not be *casheered* or dismissed regimentally, but only by the Sovereign,¹⁶⁴⁴ the Commander-in-Chief, or a General Court-Martial. But Non-Commissioned Officers and men might be discharged by their Captains¹⁶⁴⁵ with the sanction of their Colonel.

A conviction of felony by the Civil power appears to have always involved discharge from the Service.¹⁶⁴⁶

Akin to the punishment of *casheering* inasmuch as it involved loss both of position and emoluments, was that of REDUCTION

¹⁶⁴² Court Martial Confirmation, Dublin, 2 Decr., 1698; 16 of the 5th Drs. to lose their horses, clothes, &c., &c., and to "be declared broken and disbanded and "for ever incapable to serve his Majesty, and then to be trooped out of the Garrison "with drums"; Dub. State papers.

See also previous note "to give him a kick, and turn him out."

Several instances of declaring incapable in W.O. records.

¹⁶⁴³ Sir J. Turner mentions two kinds of dismissal, one to "be turned out of the "army by the hangman" and the other to have the "sword broke by the hangman" or regimental provost.

In the Edinboro' Town Guard Orders, 1700, there is a manifest distinction in the use of the words "*cashiered*," and "*broke*." Absence without leave and disobedience entailed "*being cashiered*," while for the more disgraceful military crimes of sleeping or being drunk on post, quitting a post, discovery of the watch word, mutiny, &c., the penalty was "*being broke*": from the proximate use of the terms the distinction cannot but be intentional; Maitland.

In a Court-Martial Confirmation, Dublin, 5 Octr., 1697, the expression respecting a Captain of Dragoons is "to be *casheered and broke*"; Dub. State papers.

¹⁶⁴⁴ Articles of War, 1673, Art. 49, App. LIII.

Ditto, 1686, Art. 38, App. LIII.

Ditto, 1692, Art. 42, App. LIII.

¹⁶⁴⁵ Court-Martial, Tangier, 3 July, 1665; a Serjt. for manslaughter in a duel, to be "*immediately casheered (sic)* and left incapable of ever serving His Majesty in this "garrison of Tanager."

Articles of War, 1673, Art. 49, App. LIII.

Ditto, 1686, Art. 38, App. LIII.

Ditto, 1692, Art. 42, App. LIII.

Royal Warrt., 3 Augt., 1674, App. LIII.

Proclamation concerning the Pay and Clothing of the Army; Dublin, 26 July, 1697; "nor shall any soldier be disbanded but by consent or order of the Colonel or "Officer in chief commanding"; Dub. State Papers.

¹⁶⁴⁶ St. Helena Records, 30 June, 1684.

OR DEGRADATION from a higher grade to a lower. This penalty still forms part of our martial code; but it has of late years been modified in one very important particular. At the time of which we are treating, the punishment of reduction used to be inflicted summarily¹⁶⁴⁷ by commanding officers as well as with the intervention of a court martial. Degradation of rank does not appear to have ever extended to the commissioned officer in the English army, but a sort of reduction for privates was the degradation to the duty of pioneer which has been already mentioned.

On the occasion of the reduction of a Serjeant to the ranks a ceremony of degradation from his arms was generally observed similar to that observed in the case of casheering: the Serjeant had to stand in the face of a parade of the garrison¹⁶⁴⁸ "to have "his halberd (his badge of office) taken away, and stand with his "hat off," while his crime was exhibited on his breast, or else declared aloud. Those who have witnessed the ceremony of cutting the stripes from the arm of the reduced Non-Commissioned Officer in these days will not fail to recognise here its origin.

Equally akin to the punishment of casheering as also to that of Reduction was that of SUSPENSION, a punishment frequently inflicted upon officers towards the end of the century. Sometimes it was inflicted pending an officer's trial,¹⁶⁴⁹ sometimes pending the confirmation of the sentence of a Court-martial:¹⁶⁵⁰ sometimes it was ordered summarily by the Crown,¹⁶⁵¹ sometimes it was awarded by Court-martial; sometimes the suspension was for a definite period, sometimes until further orders.¹⁶⁵²

¹⁶⁴⁷ Articles of War, 1686, Art. 38.

St. Helena Official records, 7 May, 1684, and 29 July, 1684.

Courts-Martial, Tangier, 4 Mar. and 22 Aug., 1664, "reduced to a private "centinel": 17 Novr., 1665; 12 Apr., 1667; 22 Decr., 1667.

¹⁶⁴⁸ Courts-Martial, Tangier, 25 June and 17 Novr., 1665; 11 April, 1666; 12 Apr. and 22 Decr., 1667; Sloane MSS.

¹⁶⁴⁹ Order, Dublin, 31 July, 1697; Capt. Burleigh of Mitchelburne's for not appearing to answer a charge against him.

¹⁶⁵⁰ Order, Dublin, 7 July, 1697; Capt. Morgan of Charlemont's pending H.M.'s decision on a Court Martial on him.

Order, Dublin, 5 Octr., 1697; Capt. Hamilton of Echlin's Dragoons, ditto; the approval was promulgated on the 26 Novr.; Dub. State papers.

¹⁶⁵¹ Some of the cases quoted in the foregoing and following notes are by Court-martial, and some by an order of the Crown.

¹⁶⁵² Court Martial, 19 Octr., 1695, W.O. records; Col. Brewer suspended for three months.

Order, Dublin, 5 Octr., 1697; Lt. Tate, 11th Foot, for three months.

Order, Dublin, 19 Novr., 1698; a Lieut. for one month for mutinously assaulting his Major.

This punishment was not confined to Officers, but was also awarded to Non-Commissioned Officers,¹⁶⁵³ thus saving these latter from the desperation consequent upon reduction to the ranks.

Another pecuniary penalty was by means of direct FINES or stoppages of pay ; and this mode of punishment was applicable to Officers as well as to privates.¹⁶⁵⁴ It was usual for Courts-Martial to fine Officers¹⁶⁵⁵ absenting themselves from the Court half a day's pay or more.

As will have been readily perceived, the moral punishments of dismissal and degradation involved also pecuniary loss ; but there was yet another moral punishment which did not do so. This was the REPRIMAND or ADMONISHMENT.

Non-Commissioned Officers were, equally with Officers, liable to a reprimand by the sentence of a Court-martial at this period : ¹⁶⁵⁶ and this continued to be the case for many years. It is curious to note that the term still used commonly among soldiers for a reprimand, and never used in the same sense among civilians, is that employed in the proceedings of Courts-

Orders, Dublin, 15 Janry., 1698/9 ; a Lieut. for one month, and a Quarter-Master for six months.

Order, Dublin, 26 Febr., 1697/8 ; Lt. Stirk of Donegal's suspended "until further orders" as a punishment for malversation of the pay of the men.

The expression is, in all these authorities, "suspended from his command and pay" ; Dublin State Papers.

¹⁶⁵³ Courts-Martial, Tangier, 4 Aug., 1663, a Serjeant for resenting manual correction "imprisoned and suspended from his command" during the General's pleasure.

15 April, 1666, Two Serjeants, for quarrelling, to be "dismissed their employment" and reduced to private soldiers until such time as it shall be thought fit by their "Colonel to restore them."

Other similar instances in 1665 ; Sloane MSS.

¹⁶⁵⁴ Courts-Martial, Tangier, 1669.

Articles of War, 1673, Arts. 1, 3, 29, 52, App. LIII.

Ditto, 1686, Arts. 1, 3, 40, App. LIII.

Ditto, 1692, Arts. 1, 3, App. LIII.

Mutiny Act, 1 Wm. & M., Sess. 2, C. 4 ; and succeeding Acts.

St. Helena Official records, October, 1693.

Edinburgh Town Guard Orders, 1700.

See also Chap. XXIV on Militia.

¹⁶⁵⁵ Courts-Martial, Tangiers, 1665 to 1670.

¹⁶⁵⁶ Courts-Martial, Tangier, 15 Aug., 1663 to 1670 : the term generally used is "to have a severe check from the President," or occasionally a "check and admonishment."

Articles of War, 1673, Art. 1, App. LIII.

Articles of War, 1686, Art. 1, App. LIII.

Ditto, 1692, Art. 1, App. LIII.

In the St. Helena Official records to the year 1700 are many instances of soldiers being dismissed with only a reprimand or "severe admonishment" or "check," but not by sentence of Court-martial.

Martial more than two hundred years ago: a soldier is still said to be "checked" by his Officer when spoken to respecting some fault. It does not appear that public reprehension at the head of a regiment was yet in vogue, but rather that the only fashion of reprimand was before a court-martial. Sometimes a merely nominal punishment was awarded by Court-Martial, although more than a reprimand or "check." Thus, for instance, a Private was sentenced to ask his Officer's "forgiveness in the face of the parade upon his knees";¹⁶⁵⁷ and another having made away with his kit for the sake of drink was respited upon condition of taking the pledge until he had refurnished himself.¹⁶⁵⁸

Not unfrequently the same offence would render a soldier liable to a DOUBLE PUNISHMENT or rather to an expiation of a double kind;¹⁶⁵⁹ as for instance reduction and flogging, imprisonment and forfeiture of pay, fine and reprimand, wooden horse and confinement: and a repetition of offence involved in some cases a heavier penalty than a first offence of the same kind.

Not unfrequently the ignominy of summary discharge was added to the infliction of the gatloup or whipping;¹⁶⁶⁰ but it was not held that the whipping itself so disgraced a soldier as necessarily to involve his dismissal from the Service.

There is one instance on record of a Serjeant being broke, whipped, and discharged with ignominy. The Serjeant, who belonged to the Sixth Foot,^{1660a} had quitted his post on active

¹⁶⁵⁷ Court-Martial, Tangier, 7 July, 1663.

¹⁶⁵⁸ Court-Martial, Tangier, 19 Octr., 1664.

¹⁶⁵⁹ Courts-Martial, Tangier, 8 Sept., 1663; 1 Feb. and 29 July, 1664; 11 Apl., 1666; 12 Apl., 1667.

Articles of War, 1673, Arts. 1, 27, 52, App. LIII.

Ditto, 1686, Arts. 1, 34, 40, App. LIII.

Ditto, 1692, Arts. 1, 3, 38, App. LIII.

Letter, Camp Gerpines, 30 July, 1691; Clarke MSS., for false witness, tongue bored with a red-hot iron before being hanged.

Mutiny Acts 1 Wm. & M., Sess. 2, C. 4, &c.

St. Helena Official Records, 1678; 1684; 1693; 1694.

Edinburgh Town Guard Orders, 1700.

Court-Martial, Flanders, 13 June, 1693, W.O. records; whipping and branding.

¹⁶⁶⁰ *e.g.*, Court Martial, 10 July, 1685; App. LX, after whipping to be forth-with casheered.

Court-Martial Confirmation, Dublin, 2 Decr., 1698; after the gatloup "and then to be trooped out of the garrison with drums," &c., &c. But as frequently no such addition was made, and sometimes the contrary is specified; *e.g.*,

Court-Martial, Exeter, 13 Janry., 1696/7; App. LXVI, after whipping, "and then to return to the regiment as usual."

^{1660a} Court-Martial, Mélé, 25 June, 1692; W.O. records; duly approved.

service with the utmost nonchalance and was therefore liable to death. The Court's finding discloses some of the secrets of regimental promotion, as well as some of the Officers' difficulties in spelling. "The *Serjeant*, having been an *Officer's servant*, and not long a soldier, but newly made Serjeant, and a very simple man, is judged to be broke, and scurtctted (scourged) along by the Hangman, with a rope round his neck, a paper upon his breast with the crime he is guilty of written upon it."

The crimes mentioned in the martial regulations of this period are as follows:—¹⁶⁶¹

- | | |
|---|--|
| 1. Mutiny. | 2. Treason. |
| 3. Cowardice before the enemy. | 4. Correspondence or treating with the enemy. |
| 5. Concealment of conspiracy or mutiny. | 6. Desertion. ¹⁶⁶² |
| 7. Sacrilege. | 8. Abuse of females. |
| 9. Sleeping on centry. | 10. Quitting post on centry. |
| 11. Neglect on centry. | 12. Discovery of watch-words. |
| 13. Violation of safe-conduct. | 14. Violation of flag of truce. |
| 15. Illicit pillage. | 16. Giving false alarm. |
| 17. Theft from a comrade. | 18. Selling or embezzling ammunition or rations. |

¹⁶⁶¹ Royal Warrt., 10 May, 1676; renewing regulations of 1660 anent drunkenness; W.O. records.

Commission of Duke of Albemarle, 3 Aug., 1660, App. I.

Musters Regulations, 5 May, 1663, App. XXIV.

Sir J. Turner, 1670/83.

Articles of War, 1673; 1686; and 1692, App. LIII.

Mutiny Acts, 1689/1700; see first part of this Chapter.

Courts-Martial, Tangier, 1663 to 1670; Brit. Mus., Sloane MSS., 1957/1960.

Court-Martial Books; State Papers.

Dublin Military State Papers.

St. Helena official records, 1678/1700.

Edinburgh Town Guard regulations, 1700.

Briquet, &c., &c.

¹⁶⁶² (6. Desertion.) In France desertion was punished invariably with death up to the year 1684, when the punishment for desertion on home service was reduced to Hard labour for life at the galleys, the mutilation of ears and nose, and branding on the cheeks; Edict 24 Decr., 1684; Briquet.

(38. Overstaying Pass.) Passes for quitting the lines or quarters for any distance beyond two leagues at home and beyond half a league on the frontier were first ordered in the French army in 1668; the penalty for breach of the Edict was treatment as a deserter; Edict 23 July, 1668, Briquet.

(44. Entertaining after tap-to.) The word "tattoo" was originally "tap-to," a term evidently derived from the drum-beating by which the hour of tattoo is notified to the troops. St. Helena Records, Apr., 1693. Story, July, 1691, &c., &c.

- | | |
|--|---|
| 19. Abuse of inhabitants. | 20. Extortion from inhabitants. |
| 21. Damaging property. | 22. Fraudulent enlistment. |
| 23. Withholding pay. | 24. Violence to clergy. |
| 25. Profanation of churches. | 26. Blasphemy. |
| 27. Insubordination. | 28. Bribery to excuse billets. |
| 29. Duelling or abetting the same. | 30. Making or abetting false musters. |
| 31. Rioting. | 32. Quarrelling. |
| 33. Provocation to comrades. | 34. Drunkenness on duty. |
| 35. Absence without leave. | 36. Absence all night. |
| 37. Absence from parade. ¹⁶⁶² | 38. Overstaying a pass. |
| 39. Absence after tap-to. | 40. Straggling on the march. |
| 41. Pawning, selling, or spoiling arms. | 42. Preferring unfounded or frivolous complaints. |
| 43. Absence from Divine service. ¹⁶⁶² | 44. Entertaining soldiers after tap-to (tattoo). |
| 45. Noisiness in the ranks. | 46. Uncleanliness of quarters. |
| 47. Swearing or using profane language. | 48. Appearing out of uniform. |
| 49. Gambling for any sum beyond the day's pay. | 50. Uncleanliness of accoutrements. |

Of these offences there were of course many phases, upon the circumstances of which the degree of crime would depend.

There is one crime in this catalogue with regard to which there has always existed a difference in the treatment of soldiers and civilians,¹⁶⁶³ although the crime of duelling is not of necessity more open to the one class than to the other. Duelling has always been regarded more leniently in the soldier than in the civilian; indeed it used to be debated within the memory of men not yet old in the Service, whether duelling was not only *not* a crime in an Officer, but whether he should not be tried by Court-martial for neglecting to offer a challenge or for refusing to accept one upon any point affecting the honour, or the spotless moral integrity, of the parties concerned. Upon all this much more will have to be written in due course. It will suffice for the present to state that the same peculiar doubt—whether in the case of soldiers, duelling constituted

¹⁶⁶³ It is to be wished that there existed in English some equivalent to the French word *militaire* and the Spanish *militar*, to express all military men (whether Officers or soldiers) as distinguished from civilians.

murder as much as in the case of civilians—is apparent throughout the seventeenth century.

In the Articles of War¹⁶⁶⁴ from 1673 to 1700 everything was done to discourage duelling short of declaring it to be murder. Those who gave first provocation, those who offered and those who accepted a challenge, those who carried it or acted as seconds, those who being on duty did not do their best to prevent duels taking place, even those who upbraided another for refusing a challenge, were all declared punishable: but then the punishment assigned was ridiculously disproportionate to the offence, if that offence was to be classed as murder; for casheering for Officers and the wooden horse for privates were the utmost penalties specified. The military feeling on the subject is implied in an addition made to the Articles of 1686 absolving those who refused challenges from “all disgrace or opinion of disadvantage.” It is not surprising that the idea of disgrace should at this early period have attached to the refusal of a challenge, for there were men yet living in whose youth such personal combats “concerning “military causes, or honour, or arms,” had not merely been winked at as customary, but had been hedged about with a ceremony and constitutional court of their own;¹⁶⁶⁵ and such combats had been lawful, provided only that they were fought under the auspices of the only military court then acknowledged, and presided over by the Constable and Earl Marshal of England. The powers and privileges of this court¹⁶⁶⁵ seem to have been in full play so lately as 1641; and it was only when the disadvantages of such a mode of settlement of disputes became manifest in a disciplined Standing Army, that the Earl Marshal’s court of honour was superseded by the modern military tribunal of a court-martial, and that an attempt was made to quell the practice of duelling by prohibitory regulations. Notwithstanding the plainness of these regulations,¹⁶⁶⁶

¹⁶⁶⁴ Articles of War, 1673; Art. 36; App. LIII.

Ditto, 1686; Art. 34; App. LIII.

Ditto, 1692; Art. 38; App. LIII.

Venn also says that the laws against duelling were strict, but were not observed among soldiers.

¹⁶⁶⁵ Tate, 1600; Antiquity use and ceremony of lawful combats in England.

Ancient customs of England, 1641; Harl. Misc. :—“Then is the Lord Marshal of the Land, a great and renowned officer in whom consist the solutions of all “differences in honour, and dispensation of all things appertaining to the greater or “lesser nobility.”

¹⁶⁶⁶ Courts-Martial, Tangier, 1663 to 1670; many instances, and stated in the proceedings to be contrary to the 23rd and others of the Articles of War.

duels between Officers from Generals downwards were not unfrequent: in 1691 the Secretary-at-War in England wrote to the Secretary-at-War in Ireland giving him an account of a duel between the Colonels of the Third Dragoons and Twenty-second Foot, and so far from hinting at any punishment, he mentions, as if it were an exculpatory fact, that the duel was "according to form": and it is certain that neither of the combatants suffered professionally for this duel. The regulations were, however, more rigidly enforced half-a-dozen years later. From the letter just mentioned we learn also that it was deemed worthy of remark in 1691 that the seconds did not fight as well as their principals.¹⁶⁶⁷

It was decided by a Court-Martial in 1666, that a Serjeant who killed a man who assaulted him when on duty was not guilty of any crime.

The necessity for some method of transferring a SOLDIER'S CHARACTER with himself, such as is now served by the system of defaulters-sheets, was not altogether unrecognised, although that recognition does not seem to have gone beyond "Certificates of behaviour."^{1667a}

Transfer from a well-paid Corps to one worse paid was sometimes awarded as a punishment.¹⁶⁶⁸

It will be seen from this summary of military crimes and the descriptions of their punishments that the martial code of

There is one instance among these Courts-Martial of a duel between an Ensign and a Serjeant, arising from a quarrel over their drink in the Serjeant's quarters; and this intimate association between the Officer and the Serjeant does not appear to have been deemed worthy of rebuke or comment. Court-Martial, 4 Aug., 1663.

In W.O. records, 1670 to 1694 are many instances of Courts-Martial on mortal duels, but almost invariably with the finding of "Self-defence."

Letter, Whitehall, 22 Janry., 1690/1; Blathwayt to Clarke; "Colonel Leveson "(3rd Dragoons) has had satisfaction of Sir H. Bellasyse (Brigr.-Genl. and Col. 22nd "Foot). The latter has received a large wound in the thigh, but not mortal. The "duel was according to form and attended by *seconds who did not fight*"; Clarke MSS.

Order, Dublin, 26 Apr., 1698; cashiering Ensign Hall, 18th Foot, for *killing* another Officer in a duel; Dublin State Papers. The same series of papers, 1697 to 1700, contain several instances of punishment for duellings; Dub. state papers.

¹⁶⁶⁷ Court-Martial, Tangier, 16 Mar., 1666.

^{1667a} St. Helena official records, 22 Apr., 1680; Serjt. Taylor being about to return home it is ordered "that he have his accounts stated and signed, with a "certificate of his orderly behaviour and demeanour." Similar certificates were also at different times ordered for others, and among them a Lieutenant.

Certificate, 22 June, 1660; Montgomery's Regt.; App. LXVII. Sloane MSS. 3,299.

¹⁶⁶⁸ Court-Martial, Tangier, 25 June, 1664; a Mattross sentenced to be "removed "out of the Train, and to be a private soldier in what company soever the Governor "shall appoint."

to-day is closely founded on that of two centuries ago. And, altogether, the changes that have taken place have, until lately, not been for the better. In the seventeenth century military law was sharp and barbarous; but we read of no such daily brutalities¹⁶⁶⁹ as were, until but the other day, perpetrated under colour of discipline, and which fill the annals of the cat-o'-nine-tails.

¹⁶⁶⁹ If anyone shall be inclined to censure the use of such strong words let him suspend his judgment until he has read either in a future volume of this work or elsewhere, the detailed records of the lash in our Service; and he will then, I think, support the opinion that while we may have possibly gone too far in altogether removing the power of corporal punishment (in the Field), no language can yet be too strong to express abhorrence of practices that prevailed up to within the writer's own life-time.

CHAPTER XXVII.

MILITARY HONOURS AND REWARDS, DURING THE PERIOD
FROM 1660 TO 1700.

1660-1700.

Regimental Promotion as a reward.—Gratuities.—Ransoms.—Prize-money.—Blood-money.—Dispensation of Apprenticeship.—Rewards to disabled and wounded soldiers.—County relief.—Crown Pensions.—The Hereford Institution.—The Royal Hospital of Kilmainham.—The Royal Hospital at Chelsea.—Out-pensions. Pensions and gratuities to Widows and Orphans.—The institution of the Poor or Military Knights of Windsor.—Honorary rewards.—Funeral honours,

[*For Illustrations, see Note on p. xiii.*]

ALMOST all soldiers may be placed in one of two classes,—those who should be ruled by restraint, and those who should be ruled by encouragement : but unhappily far more energy has ever been expended in enacting fresh measures of restraint, than in perfecting the government by encouragement. Thus it happens that, while we have been able to enumerate many varieties of punishments, and those very unmistakable in their direct action on the soldier, we shall find a difficulty in reckoning up even a few kinds of rewards, and some even of those were very unsubstantial in their nature or very uncertain in their action.

Sir James Turner¹⁶⁷⁰ limits the list of rewards in his time (1660/80) to promotion, titles, and money.

That the British soldier fights “beneath the cold shade of an “aristocracy” was far more true of the seventeenth than of the nineteenth century.

Putting aside the “private-gentlemen” of the Guards and “gentlemen-volunteers” serving temporarily as privates, promotion from the ranks was almost unheard of. The prejudices of feudalism still pervaded the national mind. The days in which it was scarce possible to win a knight-hood without proof of gentle birth were not so far distant but that the tradition of them still warped the national institutions to some similarity of practice. Again, the difference of education between the

¹⁶⁷⁰ Turner.

classes from which officers and soldiers respectively were drawn was far more marked in those days than in these. The officer could read and write fluently, could spell fairly,¹⁶⁷¹ could generally speak French as well as his own language; and had either been at some large school, or had gone through a course of classics with a neighbouring parson: his education was not much inferior to that of the modern officer. The private soldier on the other hand could very rarely read, much less write or cypher: his mother tongue came from his mouth disguised in the broadest and grossest provincialisms, unqualified by any such free intercourse as all men have forced upon them nowadays. The captain or subaltern of his company was probably son to the squire of his native village, the possible heir to half his native shire; was it likely that the uneducated humble farmer's lad would dare aspire to be on a level with him? Would such an one deem it any hardship that to him it was forbidden to dream of sitting at the same table and on an equality with his officers? If he could at length return home with a serjeant's honours and a pension to be his former captain's butler and the great authority of the servants' hall, he would be perfectly contented with his lot.

Regimental promotion can, then, scarcely be reckoned among the rewards that were open to the private soldier at this period. Indeed among the many recommendations to commissions that I have perused, I have not met with a single instance of the actual or contemplated promotion of a soldier from the ordinary ranks.¹⁶⁷²

Neither were honours and pecuniary recompenses showered upon the private soldier then as they are now. There were no regular gratuities to be earned; no good-conduct money, and no fixed meritorious service bonuses; there were no medals and crosses for the soldier's breast. The encouragement held out to soldiers referred almost exclusively to the termination of their service.

The simplest form of military reward was the GRATUITY. Special Gratuities or "Bounties" were occasionally conferred

¹⁶⁷¹ Marlborough, it is said, could not spell, and certainly there are some sad mistakes in his letters; but he was an exception to the rule. In the Clarke MSS. are many letters from Officers and nearly all of them excellently spelt, though often rather hazily expressed.

¹⁶⁷² For the mode of regimental promotion, see Chapter XXIII on Regimental Economy.

In using the expression ordinary ranks, a distinction is drawn between ordinary soldiers and such aspirants to Commissions as Cadets or what were termed Volunteers.

upon both Officers and men for extraordinary courage or conduct in the field,¹⁶⁷³ or in consideration of unusual trouble or expense incurred in the Service; the sums allotted differing in proportion to the value, danger, or cost of the service performed.

Thus, in 1678,¹⁶⁷⁴ special remuneration was ordered to the subaltern officers who had been at unusual trouble and expense in taking care of the sick at Brussels. Thus, too, a Captain Mordo McKenzie of the First Royals¹⁶⁷⁵ received a bounty of £100 in 1686 for "losses and services" during the rebellion in the West. A Serjeant Weymss of the same regiment received £40 for his conduct at the battle of Sedgemoor in 1685,¹⁶⁷⁶ and other soldiers were awarded smaller sums on the same occasion. This regiment was fortunate in the matter of gratuities,¹⁶⁷⁷ for some of the men had been awarded £2 each "as of free gift" in 1681, doubtless for good service during the siege of Tangier. In the same year we find grants of £15 to a Lieutenant and £3 6s. each to two Serjeants.

In the accounts of expenditure of secret-service monies during Charles's and James's reigns appear many "bounties" to officers, but the reasons for these grants are not stated.

After the victory of Aghrim (1691) a general gratuity of six months' pay was ordered to all engaged:¹⁶⁷⁸ it appears, however, highly probable that this was not *additional* pay, but simply an order for payment of arrears: nevertheless, as the troops had the greatest difficulty in getting any pay at all, even such an order was regarded as a gratuity. Unfortunately for the recipients of such gracious bounty the order was not strictly executed, for some of the soldiers had not received their shares six years afterwards.

At the siege of Namur in 1695 gratuities were promised to the troops to encourage them;¹⁶⁷⁹ and an officer, Lieutenant Cockle of the Twenty-first Scots Fusileers, received a pecuniary

¹⁶⁷³ This practice was as ancient as the time of Edward IV; see Grose, Vol. 2, Chap. 7.

¹⁶⁷⁴ Letter, Septr., 1678, Earl of Monmouth to Feversham; App. XLV.

¹⁶⁷⁵ Guy; Schedule of secret service money, June, 1686.

¹⁶⁷⁶ Royal Warrt., 26 Feby., 1685/6, "for good service in the action of Sedgemoor, in firing the great guns against the rebels."

¹⁶⁷⁷ Guy; Schedule of Secret Service money, 1681.

¹⁶⁷⁸ Proceedings, Dublin, 7 Septr., 1697, respecting a claim for "the six months' pay paid to the rest of the army after the fight at Aghrim"; Dub. state papers.

¹⁶⁷⁹ D'Auvergne.

In Brit. Mus., Add. MSS. 28,949, is a Warrt. by William III for £200 each to H. Watkins and S. Syme "as of our Royal gift and bounty in consideration of their service during the last war, without deduction or account."

reward¹⁶⁷⁹ as well as promotion for the courage with which he led the forlorn hope on the 19th of August.

It will not fail to be observed that these gratuities or bounties were on no fixed scale, and their naturally capricious action probably caused as much discontent among the non-recipients as encouragement to those who were fortunate enough to have their merits reported and recognised.

One windfall which may be regarded as a sort of gratuity was in the form of RANSOMS permitted to be received by soldiers.

The custom of giving ransom, or a price for freedom from captivity as a prisoner of war, is naturally as ancient as war itself,¹⁶⁸⁰ and is found among even the veriest savages in some form or another. It appears to have obtained in this country¹⁶⁸¹ also from the earliest times, and the practice had not yet expired in the reign of William the Third.

Of old there existed a law¹⁶⁸² by which a prisoner of war could be claimed as captive by an officer of equal rank with himself upon payment of a fair sum to the original captor: the claiming officer might act from one of two motives; either he might desire to offer hospitality and aid to his compeer, or he might hope to gain a large ransom for a valuable prisoner. Thus the original captor seldom got the full value of his captive's ransom. This usage still obtained in a modified form as late as 1673: the Articles of War issued in that year¹⁶⁸³ laying down that soldiers capturing General Officers were to present them to their General, who was to "reward them." In the same Articles may be traced the commencement of the modern system of exchange which has supplanted that of ransom: for officers below the rank of General might be retained by their captors, but they were not to be ransomed without previous sanction. Of course prisoners were frequently made whose retention was an object, on account of either their military ability or their princely or official rank; and in spite of any proffered ransom such prisoners would not be liberated except in order to obtain the release of some officer of corresponding importance from the enemy. The system of ransom

¹⁶⁸⁰ Grose (Mil. Ant.) has a chapter under the head of Ransom in which he cites some curious instances; and of some of the information given by him, I have made use here after verification.

¹⁶⁸¹ Froissart; Rymer; Grose.

¹⁶⁸² Rymer, Vol. 5.

¹⁶⁸³ Articles of War, 1673, Art. 26.

benefited only individuals, while that of exchange benefited the belligerent nations: therefore the two systems came to be fused, and he who desired to be ransomed had to await an exchange. This was the case up to the close of the seventeenth century; ¹⁶⁸⁴ officers were exchanged, but still they paid a ransom: and the rates of ransom seem to have been regularly laid down ¹⁶⁸⁵ betwixt the conflicting nations. In the case of poorer officers and of non-commissioned officers, where the ransom had to be foregone altogether, a comparative scale of exchange obtained: thus in 1691 ten privates of Dragoons ¹⁶⁸⁶ were considered a full equivalent for one Lieutenant of Foot.

Somewhat akin to the subject of ransoms is that of what is now designated PRIZE-MONEY, that is to say the Spoil of the enemy. The practice of spoiling an enemy is, like that of Ransoms, naturally as ancient as warfare itself; and, were it not foreign to the purpose of this work, much curious information might be detailed on this topic.

During the latter half of the seventeenth century, the right of soldiers to the spoil of the enemy was recognised ¹⁶⁸⁷ in the Articles of War, but subject to certain limitations and restrictions. Soldiers were forbidden on pain of death to pillage before the enemy was entirely defeated, or before the General's leave had been given; and the pillage of offenders against this rule became forfeited to the use of the sick and wounded. It was also prohibited to pillage any place surrendered on terms. ¹⁶⁸⁸

But all ammunition and victuals ¹⁶⁸⁹ (or supplies of war) became the property of the Crown, "for Our use and for the "better relief of the Army."

It is remarkable that the Articles of 1673 add "Ordnance" (that is, cannon) to the other spoil falling to the Crown, whereas

¹⁶⁸⁴ D'Auvergne, 1692 and 1693.

Berwick.

¹⁶⁸⁵ D'Auvergne, 1692; Cols. Douglas and O'Farrell were released on paying "the *regulated* ransom."

In 1678 a Drummer's ransom was three guineas; Col. the Earl of Ossory's accounts to June, 1678; Brit. Mus., Add. MSS. 28,943.

¹⁶⁸⁶ Letter, Sligo, 11 July, 1691, L. Scott to Col. Mitchelburne; "Now you know "that ten dragoons, whereof one is a Corporal, is more than is usually given in "exchange of one Lieutenant of Foot"; Clarke MSS.

¹⁶⁸⁷ Articles of War, 1673, Art. 23, App. LIII.

Ditto, 1686, Art. 24, App. LIII.

Ditto, 1692, Arts. 28 and 29, App. LIII.

¹⁶⁸⁸ Articles, 1673, Art. 24.

¹⁶⁸⁹ Articles, 1673, Art. 25.

Articles, 1686, Art. 25.

Articles, 1692, Art. 29.

the Articles of 1686 omit Ordnance altogether, but the word was again inserted in 1692.

Père Daniel tells us¹⁶⁹⁰ that the "Grand maître des arba-létriers" in the French Army was in ancient times entitled to all the artillery in a captured place, and that when this office was superseded by that of the "Grand maître de l'artillerie," the latter retained this perquisite, together with that of all metal vessels found in the place, and especially the bells of the churches. Now, in a very old English manuscript (circum 1500), quoted by Grose,¹⁶⁹¹ laying down the privileges and duties of the Artillery, it is expressly mentioned that upon the capture of a town, whether by assault or by surrender, the Artillery might claim "the best bell within that place so won"; the corporation of the town being at liberty to redeem their bell at the captors' price.

It seems as though, between 1673 and 1686 (a period during which the first advances towards a permanent corps of Artillery were made), the English Officers had laid claim to the same perquisites as their compeers in France, upon the ground of some old warrant similar to that just mentioned, and as though the word Ordnance had for this reason been omitted from the Articles of 1686 in the mention of the spoils that accrued to the Crown.

This view is borne out by the fact of an actual recognition in William's reign of the rights of the Artillery to captured Ordnance. A quotation of a Warrant of 1693 will suffice to exemplify the usage of this period in this respect:—¹⁶⁹²

"William R.

"Whereas by our Royal Warrant bearing date the 25th day of February in the fourth year of our reign, we did authorise and empower the Lieut.-Genl. and principal Officers of our Ordnance to pay to our trusty and well-beloved Colonel Whynant Goor the sum of £500 in consideration of several broken and unserviceable brass ordnance, &c., found in the towns reduced during the war in our Kingdom of Ireland, being a perquisite belonging and appertaining to the said

¹⁶⁹⁰ Daniel.

¹⁶⁹¹ Grose; Mr. Austis's MS. on the dower and perquisites of the Master of the Ordnance.

¹⁶⁹² Royal Warrant, 14 Febr., 1693.

Colonel Goor commanded the Artillery in Ireland.

"Colonel Goor, and were by him delivered into our magazines
"for our future service, &c., &c.

"Given, &c., Whitehall, 14 February, 1693,

"By H.M.'s command,

"I. TRENCHARD."

One form of gratuity, however (and which survives to the present day), was reduced to some sort of scale; it is known under the rather repulsive name of BLOOD-MONEY. It does not seem to have become an established allowance prior to 1685.¹⁶⁹³ In that year a Warrant was published regulating the amounts to be paid as "His Majesty's bounty" to Commissioned Officers damaged in fight. The indemnification was to be by ready-money and not by pension, and was to be regulated by the quality or degree of the recipient, and of the Corps to which he belonged, or in point of fact was proportioned to the recipient's pay.

Where the wound was equivalent to the loss of an eye or limb or to the loss of the use of them, the bounty was to be one year's pay. Lesser wounds were to be specially considered, and indemnified proportionably. The certificate of the Surgeon-General of the Forces that the officer's wound was equally prejudicial to his health as the loss of a limb would have been, likewise secured to the officer a year's pay.

There were several instances of blood-money being granted¹⁶⁹⁴ in 1685 to Officers who had been wounded at Tangier.

Although by the same warrant non-commissioned Officers and soldiers were debarred from these ready-money bounties, and were to draw daily pensions only when disabled by their wounds (as will be mentioned presently); yet in the case of men whose wounds were not of a nature to disable them for future service,¹⁶⁹⁵ fit rewards might be given them on their Colonel's certificate "in full satisfaction," and we have instances of this satisfaction for wounds in the lump-sums granted to many

¹⁶⁹³ Royal Warrt., 1 Janry., 1685, App. XLI.

Establishment and Regulation of Rewards, &c., for His Majesty's Land Forces, 1686/7 and 1690; Harl. MSS. 7,018 and 7,436.

Royal Warrt., 26 Mar., 1686, Preamble, App. LXVIII.

¹⁶⁹⁴ Guy; Schedule of secret-service money, 1685; *e.g.*, May, 1685, "To Lieut. Jas. McCracken, bounty, in consideration of a wound which he received at Tanger"; £60.

Cornet Pownall, for a wound "in the head" also at Tanger; £30.

Another Lieutenant, £100, &c., &c.

¹⁶⁹⁵ Royal Warrt., 1 Janry., 1685.

of the rank and file ¹⁶⁹⁶ for injuries received at Sedgemoor, the amounts varying considerably.

In William the Third's reign it was usual to mulct soldiers left in billets on the march, from wounds or sickness, of all their pay except four-pence a day.¹⁶⁹⁷

All other substantial rewards, beyond those already mentioned, had reference only to the termination of the soldier's service.

The earliest fixed reward of this kind was conferred by those Acts of Parliament ¹⁶⁹⁸ which permitted all who were in the Army at a particular date, and who had not since become disqualified by desertion or other disloyalty, to exercise their especial trades in any town in the kingdom (except the two University cities) without completion of their terms of apprenticeship, any custom, statute or charter to the contrary notwithstanding. By one of the same Acts of Parliament,¹⁶⁹⁹ a soldier on discharge was not liable to arrest for any debts contracted prior to his enlistment.

The reward due to soldiers who might from the nature of their duties become disabled for active work, had long formed a subject of consideration to the Government.

Acts had been passed in the reign of Queen Elizabeth,¹⁷⁰⁰ and in subsequent reigns, by which a weekly allowance was to be raised in every County for the relief of such men: by these Acts ANNUAL PENSIONS were not to exceed ten pounds for rank and file, fifteen pounds for an Ensign, and twenty for a Lieutenant; and a penalty was enjoined, of forfeiture of the pension and treatment as a common rogue, upon all soldiers convicted of begging or of exhibiting fraudulent papers. These Acts were put in force after the Restoration for the benefit of soldiers injured in the Civil war.

¹⁶⁹⁶ Royal Warrants, 26 March, 1686; and 28 May, 1686; Apps. LXVIII; XXII.

Similar Warrants were issued on the same occasion to other regiments.

¹⁶⁹⁷ Letter, July, 1690, Clarke to the "Sovereign" of Naas; that H.M. has heard that some of the sick soldiers left there were reduced to begging; that they are to be supplied up to 4*d*. a day "which is the most that is allowed in those cases"; Clarke MSS.

¹⁶⁹⁸ 12 Car. II, Cap. 16, &c.

An Act to the same effect was passed after the peace of Ryswick in 1698; it being requisite that the trade should have been exercised prior to enlistment: 10 Wm. III, C. 17.

¹⁶⁹⁹ 10 Wm. III, C. 17.

¹⁷⁰⁰ 35 Eliz., C. 4; 39 Eliz., C. 21; 43 Eliz., C. 3; 1 Jas. I, C. 25; 21 Jas. I, C. 28; 3 Chas. I, C. 5.

Although they were still in force¹⁷⁰¹ at the close of William the Third's reign, they had nevertheless been suffered to fall into desuetude, and the County pensions had been superseded by Crown pensions and bounties. The reason of this was probably the difficulty of compelling County relief for any soldiers other than those of the constitutional militia, whereas the wounded and disabled of Charles's and James's armies all belonged to the much decried Standing Army. In 1673¹⁷⁰² it was ordered that "one-tenth part of all spoil (taken from the "enemy) shall be laid apart towards the relief of the sick and "maimed soldiers": but at the same time the soldier could claim no pension; for it is expressly mentioned that a sick or wounded man was to draw his pay, although in hospital, until he was found unfit for further service,¹⁷⁰³ when he "is to be sent "by Pass into his county with money to bear his charges in his "travel." So that pay ceased with the ability to serve.

Some amelioration had taken place in this respect between 1673 and 1680, for the Establishment for the latter year¹⁷⁰⁴ shews some £1,300 for "Pensions to reformed Officers and disabled soldiers." But so far there was no recognition of any defined right on the part of the soldier to a pension after his connection with the Army had ceased.

There are at this moment several military charitable endowments independent of government support, but for many years after the period here treated of there existed but one private institution having for its aim the relief of decayed soldiers, namely the CONINGSBY HOSPITAL at Hereford (III. CCLVII).

Some five hundred years ago a friary was erected near the Widemarsh Gate of the city of Hereford. Upon the suppression of monasteries in England, Sir Thomas Coningsby of Hampton Court in Herefordshire obtained possession of the friary and its adjacent lands. In 1614 Sir Thomas^{1704a} "in

¹⁷⁰¹ Blackstone.

¹⁷⁰² Articles of War, 1673; Art. 25, App. LIII.

Ditto, 1686, Art. 25, App. LIII.

Ditto, 1692, Art. 29, App. LIII.

¹⁷⁰³ Art. of War, 1673; Art. 46.

R. Warrt., 16 Decr., 1673, W.O. records, nevertheless authorises some maimed and wounded soldiers not only to receive a gratuity of £3 each, but also to be entertained in the Company at Carlisle.

¹⁷⁰⁴ Est. List, 1680; Harl. MS. 6,425.

There are several instances of pensions or gratuities to wounded soldiers or soldiers' widows in W.O. records; *e.g.*, Royal Warrt., 30 Mar., 1674, granting seven shillings a week to a soldier of the First Foot Guards, who had lost his sight in action.

^{1704a} The Hospital records,

"thankfulness to Almighty God for his protection as well in travels by sea as land, as also against malice and practice at home, and with a Christian hope for the divine blessing on his posterity," built a set of almshouses upon the site of and with the materials of the old friary. By a deed dated 1 July, 1617, he willed that these almshouses should remain an Hospital for ever, to be styled "Coningsby's Company of old servitors in the suburbs of the City of Hereford": the Company was to consist of a Chaplain and eleven Servitors, of whom six were to be old soldiers, or in their default Mariners, of at least three years' service being natives of Herefordshire, Worcestershire, or Shropshire: the other five were to be Serving-men, destitute of other maintenance, and of seven years' service in one family.

One of the Servitors is styled Corporal, and he and the Chaplain receive £20 a year each. The other inmates of the Hospital receive about £13 a year, besides clothing.

The founder desired that, upon first admission, each Servitor should receive "a fustian suit of ginger colour, of a soldier-like fashion, seemly laced; a hat with a band of white, and red slippers; a soldier-like jerkin, with half sleeves, and a square skirt reaching down half the thigh, with a moncado or Spanish cap; a soldier-like sword with a belt to wear as he goeth abroad; a cloak of red cloth lined with baize of red, and reaching to the knee; and a seemly gown to be worn, of red cloth, reaching down to the ankle, lined likewise with red baize, to be worn in walks and journeys."

The clothing at present furnished is a scarlet-coloured suit (Ill. CCLVIII) every second year, and a scarlet-coloured coat with a hat every third year. From the colour of the uniform the institution is generally denominated "the Red-coat Hospital."

The noblest of all our national rewards to the soldier were inaugurated during the seventeenth century, and, strange to say, under the auspices of the most selfish, the least warlike, and the most ungrateful of the dynasty of Stuarts.

Towards the close of the reign of Charles the Second, attention began to be especially attracted to the condition of soldiers discharged in consequence of age, wounds, or infirmity. Twenty years had elapsed since the Restoration and the establishment of a Standing Army, and many a soldier who had then been in his prime was now broken and infirm. Twenty years' defence of Tangier against the Moors had sent home many a cripple, and many still young men had returned decrepit from

sun-stroke or the country fevers. Some regiments had seen bloody service on the Meuse and the Rhine in the war with Holland. Maimed, sickly, or aged soldiers were to be seen begging or starving in the streets of our towns and villages ; and such reproachful sights became at length so frequent, that the consideration of the pitiable condition of those who were thus cast loose to drift on to the end of a wretched life after having devoted their best years to their country, forced itself irresistibly upon the minds of several benevolent and influential persons. The subject obtained especial prominence in Ireland, where to the daily discharges from a large force were added the veterans of the Civil war all now well stricken in years. Accordingly the King was induced in 1679 to issue a Warrant¹⁷⁰⁵ to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland empowering him to take measures for the erection of "an Hospital for such aged and "maimed Officers and soldiers" as might have to be discharged as unserviceable ; and to make a deduction of sixpence in the pound from all military pay¹⁷⁰⁵ towards that object, the deduction to commence from the 29th of March, 1679, so as to accrue against such time as the scheme should be matured. The Duke of Ormond, who was Lord-Lieutenant, appointed a mixed Committee¹⁷⁰⁶ of Officers and civilians in the following February, and the matter progressed apace.

A grant was made by the Crown of sixty-four acres^{1706a} of that part of the Phoenix Park called Kilmainham, close to Dublin ; and on the 29th of April, 1680, the first stone of KILMAINHAM HOSPITAL was laid by the Duke of Ormond, and the second by the Earl of Longford, as Master-General of the Ordnance (III. CCLIX).

On the 19th of February, 1684, a Royal Charter¹⁷⁰⁷ was formally granted, and with very slight modifications (made in the reign of George the Third) this Charter remains unaltered to the present day. Its principal provisions were as follows:—

1st, An hospital, to be called "The Hospital of King Charles "the Second, for ancient and maimed soldiers of the Army of "Ireland," was authorised to be erected.

2nd, A grant was made of sixty-four acres "in frank "almoigne," for the purpose ; the property to be fully vested

¹⁷⁰⁵ Royal Warrt., 27 Octr., 1679 ; App. LXIX.

¹⁷⁰⁶ Warrant, Dublin, 27 Feby., 1679/80.

^{1706a} R. Warrt., Whitehall, 19 April, 1681 ; App. CXII.

¹⁷⁰⁷ Royal Charter, 19 Feby., 1684 ; App. LXX.

See also Burston's account.

in the Governors for the time being, to be held free of all Crown taxes, and in perpetuity; and it was rendered impossible at any time to alienate the property to any uses foreign to the original intention of the King.

3rd, The deduction of sixpence in the pound out of *all* pay on the Military establishment was confirmed.

4th, Soldiers were to be eligible who were maimed, or who after at least seven years' service had become aged, infirm, or unserviceable.

5th, The Governor must have had at least ten years' standing as a commissioned officer.

In March, 1684, the new Hospital was ready for occupation, and the following staff was sanctioned :—¹⁷⁰⁸

	Salary per ann.		Salary per ann.
	£		£
Master (Col. John Jeffreys) ...	300	Butler ...	10
And for his table ...	200	Cook, with fees ...	20
Chaplain ...	80	Gardener ...	16
Treasurer ...	80	Chapel keeper ...	8
Auditor and Registrar ...	50	Yeoman of fuel ...	8
Aid-Major ...	10	Do. of chambers ...	8
Reader (religious) ...	20	10 Servants to assist and attend the Officers ... each	5
Surgeon ...	50	Women to wash and attend the sick (without diet) ...	15
Do. Mate ...	20		
Providore... ..	30		

The occupation was limited for the time to ten officers and one hundred soldiers :¹⁷⁰⁹ the diet of all was to be alike, and a money allowance was given out every Saturday night at the rates of twelpence a week for Lieutenants and Ensigns, ninepence for non-commissioned officers, and sixpence for privates. This allowance was very shortly raised ¹⁷¹⁰ to eighteenpence for officers, and twelpence for serjeants, and a few years later the men were allowed twopence additional "for tobacco."¹⁷¹¹

The diet in 1686 was thus laid down ¹⁷¹² for "the soldiers and under officers" :—

Monday...	... Mutton and broth.
Tuesday...	... Mutton, Veal, or Lamb, roast.
Wednesday	... Peas and butter.

¹⁷⁰⁸ Royal Hospital Registry-books, 26 Mar., 1684.

¹⁷⁰⁹ Ditto, 29 Apr., 1684.

¹⁷¹⁰ Ditto, 20 June, 1684.

¹⁷¹¹ Ditto, 7 Apr., 1693.

¹⁷¹² Ditto, 20 Feby., 1685/6; the cost was 1½d. per man per day.

Thursday	...	Beef, boiled.
Friday	...	Fish.
Saturday	...	Burgooe.
Sunday	...	Beef, roast.
Daily	...	Eighteen ounces of bread.

Of roast meat one pound was considered a ration.

In 1692 the diet was changed,¹⁷¹³ and as it then remained unaltered up to the close of our period, it is to be presumed that the suppression of "burgooe," and the substitution of water-gruel and cheese and beer proved palatable to the old pensioners. The amended regimen ran thus :—

Sunday	...	} Breakfast ; 1 Pint water-gruel. Dinner ; 1 lb. beef or mutton. Supper ; 1 Quart broth.
Monday	...	
Tuesday	...	
Thursday	...	
Wednesday	...	{ $\frac{1}{2}$ lb. cheese ; or 3 Pints of pease-porridge, and butter ; 1 Quart water-gruel.
Saturday	...	
Friday	...	Fish and butter ; 1 Quart gruel.
Daily	...	1 lb. bread, and three Pints of beer.

Two important bye-laws must be mentioned ; the first,¹⁷¹⁴ passed in 1685, decided that the vacancies were to be filled equally from each regiment ; and the second,¹⁷¹⁵ passed in 1698, permitted out-pensioners to draw eighteenpence a week " instead of their maintenance in the Hospital."

The cost of the first erection of the Hospital was about £24,000. It is a very handsome square block of buildings, excellently situated on a hill, and with no very large outlay on its surroundings it might be so improved in its outward aspect, as to become one of the most ornamental structures that any capital can boast.

The scheme of an asylum for the worn-out soldier was scarcely less forward in England than in Ireland. Tradition ascribes to Nell Gwyn, one of King Charles's mistresses, the honour of having originated this charitable design. Her compassion is said to have been excited by the pitiful tale of a maimed soldier¹⁷¹⁶ who came begging to the side of her coach.

¹⁷¹³ Ditto, 17 Novr., 1692.

Burgooe is the name still used in America for porridge, oatmeal and water.

¹⁷¹⁴ Royal Hospital Registry-books, 23 Feby., 1684/5.

¹⁷¹⁵ Ditto, 11 Apr., 1698.

¹⁷¹⁶ Gwyn, Eleanor, Memoirs of, Lond. 1752.

This story is somewhat apocryphal, but there is considerable circumstantial evidence that CHELSEA HOSPITAL is more or less indebted to the kind-hearted woman for its institution. A writer of the last century ¹⁷¹⁷ tells us that there was in his time the "sign-board of a public house not far from the College still "decorated with her portrait, underneath which is an inscription "ascribing the foundation to her desire." Her mother lived in a house at the water's edge in Chelsea ¹⁷¹⁸ (and was indeed drowned there by falling into the water from her lawn), so that Nell must have been well acquainted with the neighbourhood. A later writer who made it his occupation to hunt up anecdotal facts about historical characters, asserts that the first toast of the old pensioners of Chelsea over their liquor used to be to Nell Gwyn.¹⁷¹⁹

Foremost among the promoters of the work was Sir Stephen Fox,¹⁷²⁰ the Paymaster-General of the Forces and a man of considerable weight with the King; and he is generally set down as the originator of the Hospital, while Mistress Gwyn's generosity is given a secondary place in its history.

The scheme was laid before King Charles, and a piece of ground was begged of him on which to erect the building. The King, ever ready to give so long as the gift entailed no self-denial, and to be liberal so long as no personal inconvenience was demanded, at once gave his assent to the proposal, and offered for a site the spot at Chelsea ¹⁷²¹ on which Saint James's College then stood: "but odso," he added, "I now recollect "that I have already given that land to Mistress Nell here."—"Yes, so you have, Charles," rejoined the generous Nell Gwyn, "but willingly will I give it back to you for so good a purpose." All soldiers will be glad to learn that Charles shortly afterwards built her a house in Pall-Mall instead of that she had surrendered for the Hospital.

It would appear as if the King, with his habitual thoughtlessness, made a grant of Saint James's College before he had fully acquired the right to do so; for not only did Nell Gwyn thus forego her claim upon the estate, but the Royal Society ¹⁷²² also received thirteen hundred pounds for the restoration to

¹⁷¹⁷ Lysons.

¹⁷¹⁸ Domestic Intelligencer, 5 Aug., 1679.

¹⁷¹⁹ Jesse.

¹⁷²⁰ Evelyn.

¹⁷²¹ Faulkner.

¹⁷²² Evelyn.

Conveyance, 8 Febr., 1681/2, from Royal Society to the King

the King of the College about to be mentioned. Perhaps the building itself had been granted to the Royal Society while the lands had been given to Mistress Gwyn.

The site thus obtained in 1681 is situate on the left bank of the Thames not far above Westminster. On it there stood a half-finished building designed by James the First to become a college for theological students, but abandoned for want of funds. The intention of this foundation still survives in the designation frequently applied to the Military Hospital that replaced it; to this day residents in Chelsea may be heard to term it "the College."¹⁷²³

This college was pulled down; and in the Spring of 1682 King Charles, with considerable ceremony, laid the first stone of the Royal Military Hospital of Chelsea. The King also agreed to give twenty thousand pounds¹⁷²⁴ towards the building, and an endowment of five thousand a year.

Many munificent donations were made to the new Hospital.¹⁷²⁵ Archbishop Sancroft gave a thousand pounds; and Tobias Rustat of the King's Household contributed a like sum, besides the brass statue of Charles which still adorns the quadrangle. Sir Stephen Fox, who had built hospitals in Wiltshire, Norfolk, and Northampton, was not less generous in this instance: he made a donation of thirteen thousand pounds,¹⁷²⁴ and did not cease to exhibit otherwise a lively interest in the furtherance of so noble an undertaking.

However, the Hospital was not entirely a free gift to the Army; for the troops were called upon to contribute more to its erection and maintenance, than, with proper management, it should have cost altogether. On the seventh of March, 1684,¹⁷²⁶ a tax was laid upon purchased commissions of ten per cent. on the purchase-money, five per cent. to be paid by the purchaser and five per cent. by the seller, the proceeds of the tax to be applied to the uses of Chelsea Hospital. And on the seventeenth of the same month,¹⁷²⁷ a deduction of five per cent. upon all military pay was authorised, of which two-thirds was to be "disposed of either towards the erecting, building, and maintaining our Royal Hospital at Chelsea for aged, maimed, and

¹⁷²³ Evelyn styles the Hospital "Chelsea College" at the time it was being planned.

¹⁷²⁴ Evelyn.

¹⁷²⁵ Faulkner, Peck, &c., &c.

¹⁷²⁶ Royal Warrt., 7 Mar., 1683/4, App. XLVIII.

¹⁷²⁷ Royal Warrt., 17 Mar., 1683/4, App. LXXI.

"infirm land-soldiers, or towards the payment of the establishment of our Forces." Three months later¹⁷²⁸ a further tax was laid upon the Army of one day's pay per annum (and two days in leap-years) for the Hospital.

Thus nine shillings and four-pence was the annual premium paid by the private of Infantry toward the insurance of his (possible) pension or admission into Chelsea, while most of the Officers' deductions and the tax on purchase-money may be considered as so much to the good;—so that Chelsea Hospital was not at first so generous a provision for the decrepit soldier as might be thought. On the contrary there was procured in 1701 an account of the Chelsea stoppages or poundage for six years up to 1692;¹⁷²⁹ and from this it appears that the troops contributed something like £30 for every £1 actually expended on account of the Hospital.

Sir Christopher Wren was the designer and architect of the building (III. CCLX), which is a very large and handsome edifice of brick faced with stone. The cost amounted to about one hundred and fifty thousand pounds. The grounds pertaining to the Hospital are over fifty acres in extent, and sunny gardens and shady walks are not wanting to the veteran residents.

It would be tedious to enter into a minute description of the Hospital buildings. It is well worth the while of every visitor to London to go and see the place for himself. Let him visit

¹⁷²⁸ Royal Warrt., 17 June, 1684, App. LXXII.

¹⁷²⁹ Authority mislaid; but to the best of my recollection, a Brit. Mus. MS.

Home Office records, Statement 4 Mar., 1689, compiled for the information of the King, and signed "Ranelagh." Shews 579 on Hospital charge, with allowances of from fivepence to eighteenpence per diem, makes Expenditure £6,087 per annum.

Add for pay of Staff	...	...	...	...	1,262	„
Total Expenditure	...	...	...	...	<u>£7,350</u>	(round numbers)
Revenue, 1 day's pay from all the Forces	...	...	...	...	£1,657	
One moiety of the 8 <i>d.</i> stoppage from do.	...	...	...	...	10,376	
From small rents accruing	...	...	...	...	52	
					<u>£12,085</u>	

Leaving a surplus of £4,735 per annum which could be applied to expenses of building and furnishing, "which will be all perfected in a few months," and without reckoning the other moiety of the 8*d.* which was still available. That the Hospital would accommodate only 472 Pensioners, when finished.

The annual expenditure was therefore only some £7,000 or £8,000 plus the interest on capital advanced by Government for building (possibly *nil*); while the Officers and Soldiers were taxed to the amount of £23,000 per annum,—an amount vastly increased within the next year or two with the increase in the strength of the Army.

the simple soldier-like rooms of the old pensioners, and learn how little may make happy a poor man's heart ; let him observe those war-worn old soldiers sitting basking in the sunny corridors, clothed in the long red coats and the three-cornered* hats of William the Third's time (Ill. CCLXI), and while grateful if his own life has been spent in peace and at home, let him not forget to honour and to sympathise with those who, in order to secure to him the enjoyment of that peace and the quietude of that home, have passed their lives in restraint, hardship, frequent privation, and danger. As he enters their Chapel and looks up at the numerous trophies hanging on the walls, let him picture to himself the hideous carnage, the noble self-sacrifice, the manly daring, the death, the glory, and the heroism, represented by those tattered flags: and he will own that this visible epitome of England's triumphs can be under no more worthy guardianship than that of the scarred veterans who assemble here to worship the God of Battles.

Begun in 1682, Chelsea Hospital was not completed until 1690.¹⁷³⁰ In 1689 a general muster was taken throughout the Army¹⁷³¹ "of the men disabled by wounds in fight or other accident, or who, having served the Crown twenty years, had "been judged unfit for service," whence it appeared that five hundred and seventy-nine soldiers had been admitted on to the pension list. The Hospital probably began to be occupied very soon after this, for a Board of Commissioners of Management was appointed in the Spring of 1691,¹⁷³² and the tombstone of the first pensioner that died in the Hospital bears date the 6th of April, 1692.¹⁷³³

The Hospital is accounted a military station, although the inmates are not subject to any martial law beyond the Hospital rules. The following is a list of the establishment in 1694 :—¹⁷³⁴

1 Governor (Sir Thomas Ogle).	1 Physician.
1 Major.	1 Secretary.
2 Chaplains.	1 Secretary's Clerk.
	1 Steward.

* The above words were written in 1860.

¹⁷³⁰ Inscription on the entablature of the Colonnade, viz., "In subsidium et levamen emeritorum senio belloque fractorum condidit Carolus II, auxit Jacobus II, perfecere Gulielmus et Maria, rex et regina, MDCXC."

¹⁷³¹ Memorandum, 5 Mar., 1689, W.O. records.

¹⁷³² Royal Patent, 3 Mar., 1690/1 ; Add. MSS. 19,519 contains this "Patent to the Commissioners for Chelsea Hospital," 6 Febr., 1703, with their duties.

¹⁷³³ Tomb of Simon Box, Chelsea Hospital.

¹⁷³⁴ Chamberlayne, 1694.

1 Comptroller.	1 Master-butler.
1 Clerk of the Works.	3 Under do.
1 Chirurgeon.	1 Master-baker.
1 Apothecary.	3 Under do.
1 Depy. Treasurer.	1 Sexton.
1 Under Clerk of Works.	1 Usher of the Hall.
1 Chirurgeon's Mate.	1 Yeoman of the coal-yard.
1 Wardrobe - keeper and	1 Porter.
Comptroller to the	2 Sweepers.
coal-yard.	1 Barber.
1 Master-cook.	1 Canal-keeper.
1 Second do.	1 House-keeper (female).
3 Under do.	1 Under do. do. (do.)
1 Scullery-man.	24 Nurses.

Pensioners.

9 Captains	} 3s. 6d. each per week, besides diet and clothing.
9 Lieutenants	
9 Ensigns	
33 Light-Horse ;	2s. 0d. a week besides diet and clothing.

Foot, 8 Companies—

32 Serjeants ...	... 2s. 0d. a week	} besides diet and clothing.
32 Corporals ...	... } 10d. do.	
16 Drummers ...	... } 8d. do.	
336 Privates ...	... 8d. do.	

Out-Pensioners.

- 4 Gentlemen of the Horse-Guard (*i.e.*, Life-Guards) ; 1s. 6d. pr. diem.
- 3 Light-Horse ; 1s. 0d. pr. diem.
- 15 Serjts. and Corpls. ; 11d. to 7d. pr. diem.
- 30 Privates ; 4d. pr. diem, and 1d. pr. diem for clothing.
- 36 Gentlemen of the Horse-Guard and Corporals of Light Horse ; 1s. 0d. pr. diem pending vacancies in the Hospital.
- 97 Privates ; 5d. pr. diem pending vacancies.

These numbers are considerably in excess of the first estimate for the Hospital, which was limited to but four companies of one hundred each.¹⁷³⁵

In 1698 the 97 Privates "at fivepence a-day pending "vacancies" had been increased to six hundred,¹⁷³⁶ in four companies of one hundred and fifty each of "maimed and decrepit "soldiers."

Either partly or wholly formed out of these were four companies of "Invalids," armed and quartered as garrisons at Windsor, Hampton Court, Teignmouth, and Chester. Thus originated the body of ENROLLED PENSIONERS. The men were allowed clothing biennially, in addition to their daily fivepence.

Besides the regulation clothing, the Chelsea pensioners receive triennially a great coat out of an endowment of £3,250 invested for that purpose by Lord Ranelagh.¹⁷³⁷

The principle of the right to relief by the service-worn soldier having been once admitted, it was determined, as just mentioned, to allot pensions pending the construction of the Hospital,¹⁷³⁸ and thus originated the out-pensions given in lieu of admission to it. When the Hospital began to be occupied,¹⁷³⁹ the number of claims to admission had so increased that the temporary pensions had to be continued as out-pensions. The number of these out-pensions in 1694 has already been given above.

The rates of out-pensions were laid down as follows in 1685, and reiterated in 1689:—¹⁷⁴⁰

Grade.					Horse.	Dragoons.	Foot.
					<i>s. d.</i>	<i>s. d.</i>	<i>s. d.</i>
One of the troops of Guards ... per diem					1 6	...	...
Serjeant	...	...	...	do.	...	...	0 11
Corporal	...	...	...	do.	1 6	0 9	0 7
Private	...	...	...	do.	1 0	0 6	0 5
Drummer	...	...	...	do.	...	...	0 7
Master-Gunner	...	...	...	do.	...	...	1 2
Other Gunners...	...	...	...	do.	...	...	0 7

¹⁷³⁶ Proc. Ho. of Commons, 16 Decr., 1698, List of Forces now in Pay.

R. Warrt., 24 May, 1690, for arms to a Company of Chelsea Pensioners, 100 Pte. Centinels besides N. C. O., Home Office records; also Ordnance papers.

Royal Order, 13 Sept., 1698, for raising to its establishment three companies of "Invalids" equal to the 1st Compy.; and for arming them; W.O. records.

¹⁷³⁷ Handbook to the Royal Hospital, published by authority of the Commissioners, Lond. 1857. The Earl of Ranelagh was one of the three first Commissioners, the other two being Sir Stephen Fox and Sir Christopher Wren.

¹⁷³⁸ Royal Warrants, 1 Janry., 1685, and 1 May, 1689; App. XLI.

¹⁷³⁹ Royal Warrant, 1 May, 1689; ditto.

Chamberlayne, 1694.

¹⁷⁴⁰ Royal Warrants, 1 Janry., 1685; and 1 May, 1689; App. XLI.

Memorandum, 5 Mar., 1689; W.O. records. See also Note ¹⁷³⁶.

The grant of these pensions was contingent upon disability for further service owing to wounds or other hurt received in the Service, or owing to infirmity after twenty years' service: the nature and extent of the disability was to be certified by the Surgeon General or the Chief Commander; and the claimant was to drop the out-pension upon admittance to Chelsea Hospital. These pensions were payable quarterly;¹⁷⁴¹ and if a soldier gained a place in the Hospital or on the pension-list he could not claim blood-money as well for the wounds that had incapacitated him.¹⁷⁴²

Besides the pensions to soldiers themselves, it had been usual, at least as early as 1651 (in the Army of the Commonwealth), to grant to the widows¹⁷⁴³ of soldiers slain in battle some sort of compensation for the loss of their means of support. In the Army of the Commonwealth the compensation was made in the shape of a weekly pension, the average being about three shillings a week for a widow with two children; but to obtain the pension it was requisite to plead destitution.

After the Restoration it was still customary to give the "KING'S BOUNTY"¹⁷⁴⁴ to the nearest relations of the slain, and this continued to be the case throughout Charles the Second's

¹⁷⁴¹ Establishment Lists 1687/9; Harl. MS. 7,018.

¹⁷⁴² Royal Warrt., 26 Mar., 1686, App. LXVIII.

¹⁷⁴³ Pension Book, 1651/3; Dublin State Papers, viz.,

Warrt., 19 May, 1651; Widow and two children two shillings a week.

Warrt., 20 Aug., 1651; the same.

Warrt., 20 Aug., 1651; A widow two shillings a week.

Warrt., 20 Aug., 1651; A widow and two children four shillings a week.

And many others all worded much alike; *e.g.* :—

"Upon reading the petition of Ann Waighton and the Certificate thereupon, it appears that her husband died in the Parliament service, leaving the petitioner and two small children destitute of any manner of subsistence: It is thought fit and ordered that the sum of four shillings be weekly paid unto the petitioner until further order, the same to be issued by the Treasurer at Droghedagh out of the moiety of the profits of tithes appointed for maintenance of sick and maimed soldiers and of the poor widows and children of soldiers dying in the Parliament service. And for so doing, this, with the receipt of the said Ann Waighton, shall be to the Treasurer a sufficient Warrant and discharge.

"Dublin, 20th August, 1651."

Warrt., Dublin, 3 Sept., 1651; An Ensign's widow and children seven shillings a week; and a Captain's widow and one child four shillings; being in a "low and distressed" or "destitute" condition.

¹⁷⁴⁴ Lond. Gaz., 9/12 Mar., 1673/4; "These are to give notice to all persons expecting H.M.'s Bounty for the loss of their relations slain in H.M.'s service at sea, whether Mariners or Soldiers," &c., &c., to attend the office of Trinity House.

Guy; Schedule of Secret Service money :—

"16 Feby., 1679/80, To Mary Heathley whose husband blew up Whitby Fort at Tanger, and lost his life there, £60."

Mar., 1685/6; Widow of a Captain £50 per annum.

reign ; but no rule was laid down for the proportioning of this Bounty until 1685,¹⁷⁴⁵ when it was ordained that the widow of any person slain in fight might claim eleven months' pay for herself and one-third of that sum additional for each orphan unmarried at the time of the father's death. If there was no widow, and the mother of the slain was over fifty years of age, a widow, and in indigent circumstances, she might claim the bounty as widow. From the wording of the Warrant with respect to the mother it is evident that the claim of the widow, unlike that of the mother, was independent of her general circumstances.

HALF-PAY was occasionally awarded as a reward for past services ; but it was so far more frequently regarded merely as a retaining fee to supernumerary officers, that it will be better treated of under the head of pay.¹⁷⁴⁶

There had existed, long prior to the erection of Chelsea Hospital, one asylum for Officers alone, although for an exceedingly limited number ; and it is, I believe, the oldest institution of the kind in the world. This was an endowment connected with the College of Saint George at Windsor, and founded by King Edward the Third in 1348, for twenty-four "Milites "pauperes," or poor Knights,¹⁷⁴⁷ "impotent of themselves or "inclining to poverty." In the same reign two more were added to the number of POOR KNIGHTS OF WINDSOR, who were directed to be¹⁷⁴⁸ "such as through adverse fortune were "brought to that extremity that they had not of their own "wherewith to sustain them or live so gently as became a "military condition." Henry the Eighth reduced the number to thirteen.

The Knights had a house provided for them in Windsor Castle, and one shilling a day for an allowance. The allowance was afterwards doubled by King James.

By the Charters of Henry the Fifth and Eighth and of Queen Elizabeth, the Knights were removable upon their falling into a competency by legacy or otherwise. The Charter of Queen Elizabeth recited or re-modelled the whole of the rules

¹⁷⁴⁵ Royal Warrts., 1 Jany., 1685, and 1 May, 1689 ; App. XLI.

¹⁷⁴⁶ See Chap. XXIX on Finance and Pay.

¹⁷⁴⁷ It was not until the reign of William the Fourth that the designation of "Poor Knights" was changed to that of the "Military Knights" of Windsor.

¹⁷⁴⁸ Ashmole. The curious may learn very full particulars from this author. Charters : For that of Queen Elizabeth see App. LXXIII.

of this institution, and it is therefore given in the appendices to this work.

The distinguishing garb of the Knights was at first a red mantle with the scutcheon of St. George, but without the garter. Queen Elizabeth made some change in the dress, which was thus ordered: "To have yearly for their liveries each of them "one gown of four yards of the colour of red, and a mantle of "blue or purple cloth of five yards at six shillings and eight "pence the yard: item, the Cross of St. George in a scutcheon, "embroidered, without the garter, to be set upon the left "shoulder of their mantles."

Besides the substantial rewards to the soldier which have been enumerated there were honorary rewards: and these were of two classes, rewards to individuals, and rewards to whole regiments as a body.

Of the latter class we have an instance in the Eighteenth Regiment, which received for its gallant conduct at Namur in 1695 a commemorative distinction, which it bears on its colours to this day. Thus also the Fourth Foot obtained, in a less glorious manner, the honour of the title of the "King's Own" Regiment, and the privilege of wearing on its colours and accoutrements the Lion of England, because it was the earliest to join William of Orange on his landing in England in 1688.

The most usual form of individual honorary rewards was that of knighthoods, or patents of nobility.

I am aware of but one recorded instance of MEDALS having been conferred at this period upon either Officers or men of the standing army as rewards for their services; although they were struck in commemoration of engagements or campaigns, and although medals¹⁷⁴⁹ had been issued to both Officers and men during the reign of Charles the First and during the Protectorate, and had even been ordered to be worn upon the breasts of the recipients. In 1664 five medals, with chains, were dispatched to Tangier for distribution for gallant services; of these one was assigned to Colonel Sir Tobias Bridges, and one to Colonel Alsop.^{1749a} Possibly the medals struck in commemoration of various actions during this period (and of which illustrations have been given in this volume) were similarly distributed to the most distinguished Officers.

¹⁷⁴⁹ The subject of medals as military rewards, and of personal decorations, is an extensive as well as interesting one, but must be left to be dealt with in a future volume.

^{1749a} Tangier papers; State paper office.

The Turks used at this period to bestow splendid robes upon the soldiers ¹⁷⁵⁰ who specially distinguished themselves in action; and a hint may be taken from their practice of carrying these decorations about with the Army, so that there might be no delay between the meritorious act and its reward. Such promptitude in the recognition of merit contrasts painfully with the story of our own Peninsula and other medals, and affords an example that might be followed with beneficial results.

The last honour paid to an Officer or soldier is in the performance of his FUNERAL OBSEQUIES. The forms observed at military funerals were not, until comparatively recently, laid down in the regulations: they were conducted in accordance with the customs and usages of war, and in the case of funerals the usages are exceedingly ancient and have remained unchanged in a wonderful degree. There is a passage in the *Æneid* describing the funeral procession of a military chief, and it is curious to compare the modern forms with it and to note how little alteration has obtained in so many centuries. The passage runs thus:—¹⁷⁵¹

“Ducitur infelix œvo confectus *Acœtes*,
 “Sternitur et toto projectus corpore terre.
 “Ducunt et Rutulo perfusos sanguine currus.
 “Post bellator œquus positus insignibus *Æthon*
 “It lacrymans, guttisq̃ue humectat grandibus ora.
 “Hastam alii galeamq̃ue ferunt; nam cœtera *Turnus*
 “Victor habet. Tum mœsta phalanx Teucrique sequuntur,
 “Tyrrhenique duces, et versis *Arcadis* armis.”

How striking is the resemblance of the modern ceremonial in all its details to the account written by the Roman poet eighteen centuries ago. The modern forms are as follows:

A firing-party, and a following-party, of a strength proportioned to the rank of the deceased is drawn up with open ranks facing the dead-house, the bayonets of the firing party not being fixed. As the coffin is brought out, the firing party receives it with presented arms. The procession is then formed. In front march the musicians; then the firing-party with arms reversed: ¹⁷⁵² next follows the corpse with pall-bearers beside the coffin of a rank corresponding to that of the deceased.

On the top of the coffin are placed the arms and head-piece of the deceased. ¹⁷⁵³

¹⁷⁵⁰ De Villars, 1685.

¹⁷⁵¹ Virgil; *Æneid*; Book XI.

¹⁷⁵² “Versis armis.”

¹⁷⁵³ “Hastam galeamq̃ue.”

The chief mourners follow immediately after the corpse.¹⁷⁵⁴ Next to them come the following-party of soldiers¹⁷⁵⁵ (usually comrades of the deceased); and the procession is closed by Officers following also as mourners,¹⁷⁵⁶ the junior in front and the senior Officers last. In the case of a cavalry soldier or of a mounted Officer¹⁷⁵⁷ the horse of the deceased is led in the procession fully caparisoned,¹⁷⁵⁸ but with the boots at the sides reversed, that is with the heels to the front. At the entrance to the burial ground, the firing-party forms a lane and rests on the arms reversed while the corpse passes through. The party is afterwards drawn up beside the grave or near to it, and, at the conclusion of the prayers, fires three volleys in the air by word of command. Even for the *three* volleys there is precedent to be found in the ancient usages, allowance being made for the difference of the times; for Virgil says,¹⁷⁵¹

"*Ter circum accensos, cincti fulgentibus armis*

"*Decurrere rogos; ter maestum funeris ignem*

"*Lustravere in equis, ululatusque ore dedere.*"

Few military spectacles are more imposing and affecting than the funeral even of a private soldier. The melancholy music, rendered more impressive by the deadened beat of the muffled drums; the steady and regular slow march; the contrast of the inky trappings of the civilian mourners with the gaudy uniforms and glittering arms surrounding them; the line of following comrades, oftentimes very numerous from spontaneous good-feeling; the horse that he that is dead will never ride again, apparently conscious of the loss of its master;¹⁷⁵⁹ the arms that the dead will never wield more:—all form a touching contrast between the stirring life of the soldier and the dead sleep of the grave, between military ambition and its universal end. Sad and impressive is it also to see the last salute given to the corpse of him to whom no man had presented arms in his life-time.

¹⁷⁵⁴ "Infelix Accetes."

¹⁷⁵⁵ "Tum mœsta phalanx Teucrique sequuntur."

¹⁷⁵⁶ "Tyrrhenique duces."

Of the custom of the juniors leading, and seniors coming last, examples will be found in the descriptions given in the text of a Colonel's and other funerals in the 17th century.

¹⁷⁵⁷ "Bellator equus."

¹⁷⁵⁸ "Positis insignibus," which I translate with its trappings *put on* instead of *put off* as I have heard it read by many who should, however, be better judges than myself.

¹⁷⁵⁹ "It lacrymans, guttisque humectat grandibus ora,"

In some particulars, a departure from the older customs of these ceremonies took place about the close of the seventeenth century.

In Virgil's description we see that the arms and helmet were borne by followers¹⁷⁶⁰ instead of being placed on the coffin or bier; and he gives us to understand that there were other articles of equipment that would have been similarly carried, had they not been lost in battle.¹⁷⁶¹ Now this was precisely the usage in this country, at all events until the accession of William the Third: the weapons, the armour or gorget, the gloves, the spurs, the head-piece, of the deceased were carried by followers, and not upon the coffin. Evelyn, in 1652, describes how he saw the funeral of Ireton the Cromwellian General:¹⁷⁶² "his charging horse led all covered over with embroidery and gold on crimson velvet: then the guidons, ensigns, four heralds carrying the arms of State (as they called it), namely the red cross and Ireland, with the casque, wreath, sword, spurs, &c.; next the chariot canopied of black velvet, and six horses, in which was the corpse; the pall held up by the mourners on foot. Thus in a grave pace, drums covered with cloth, soldiers reversing their arms, they proceeded through the streets in a very solemn manner."

The funeral procession of a Colonel in 1661 was on this wise:¹⁷⁶³

The senior lieutenant with all the Musqueteers.

The second lieutenant with all the Pikemen.

The Ensigns.

The Captains.

("all in their funeral postures.")

An Officer carrying the gilt spurs upon a black staff.

An Officer carrying a gilt sword in a velvet scabbard.

An Officer carrying the Gantlets.

An Officer carrying the Helmet.

An Officer carrying the Breast-piece.

An Officer carrying the Back-piece.

An Officer carrying the Escutcheon.

A led horse covered with mourning.

¹⁷⁶⁰ "Hastam alii galeamque ferunt."

¹⁷⁶¹ "Nam cætera Turnus victor habet."

¹⁷⁶² Evelyn.

¹⁷⁶³ Mercurius Publicus, 6/13 June, 1661; Kingdom's Intelligencer, 10/17 June, 1661; (Funeral of Sir Charles Lucas).

Two trumpets.		
The Chaplain.		
Pall Supporters.	<div style="display: inline-block; vertical-align: middle;"> <div style="text-align: center;">THE COFFIN</div> <div style="font-size: 3em; vertical-align: middle;">{</div> <div style="text-align: left; padding-left: 10px;"> carried upon six pikes tied with match and borne by four Officers in mourning. </div> </div>	Pall supporters.
Three Officers bareheaded.		Three Officers bareheaded.
The Mourners.		

After the service the bearers of the several trophies accompanied the coffin into the vault: the drums beat a march until they came out; and three volleys from the Musqueteers concluded the ceremony.

The following account ¹⁷⁶⁴ of the funeral procession of the first Commander-in-Chief of our Standing Army will not only be interesting in itself, but also additionally serve to exemplify the customs observed on such occasions throughout the period under consideration:—

“London, April 30, 1670. This day, about two in the afternoon, the solemn funerals of George late Duke of Albemarle set forward from Somerset House towards the Abbey of Westminster, in this following order:—

“First marched his Royal Highness's troop of Guards, next his Majesties troop, then his Majesties regiment of Foot Guards, and next them the regiment of Coldstream, as having been the General's own regiment, all of them in excellent funeral order.

“Then followed the conductor, and a train of poor men in mourning gowns; after them a large train of the servants of the gentry.

“Then six classes or companies, each of them led by three trumpets, an Officer of arms, an ensign of the several achievements of the deceased, and a mourning horse.

“The first and second classes, before which were borne a standard and a guidon, consisted of the servants of the nobility.

“The third, before which was borne a banner of the barony of Teyes, consisted of servants to the deceased Duke.

¹⁷⁶⁴ London Gazette, 28 Apr./2 May, 1670.

This form of procession is corroborated by—

A print of Ruiter's funeral in Brandt, 1677.

A print of the funeral of the Duke of Rothes, 1681.

A relation of the true funerals of the great Lord Marquis of Montrose, Capt.-General in Scotland, &c., 1661; Harl. Misc. and Harl. MSS. 6,815.

“ The fourth was a banner of the barony of Beauchamp, followed by forty officers which attended the body lying in state, the most principal servants of the highest nobility, clerks of the Council, Parliament, and Crown, Masters of Chancery, Knights, and Knights of the Bath.

“ The fifth was a banner of the barony of Monk, followed by several eminent officers of his Majesties Court, baronets, sons of the nobility, the four principal officers of the deceased's house, bearing white staves ; Barons, Bishops, and Earls.

“ The sixth class was led by the great banner, the horse caparison'd with black velvet, as the other horses were with cloth and plume ; after which followed several of the heralds, bearing the trophies ; then came an open chariot, covered with black velvet, and a canopy of the same, in which lay the effigies of the Duke in azure armour, a golden truncheon in his hand, having on his ducal robe and coronet, a collar of the order about his neck, and a Garter on his left leg ; drawn by six horses, caparison'd with velvet as the former, with escutcheons, chafferons, and plumes ; in the chariot, at the head and foot of the effigies, sat two gentlemen in close mourning ; the poêle was supported by three Barons and the Treasurer of his Majesty's Household ; and on each side of the chariot were carried five banner-rolls of arms of the Duke's paternal descent. Next after the chariot came Garter principal King of Arms, with a gentleman usher preceding his Grace the present Duke of Albemarle, the chief mourner, his train borne up, himself supported by two Dukes assisted by nine Earls and a Baron, all in close mourning, those of them that were of the order wearing their collars. After them came the horse of state, richly caparison'd with crimson velvet, embroidered and embossed with gold and silver, adorned with plumes of the Duke's colours, led with long reins by the master of his horse ; the whole train closed by the troop of Her Majesties Guards.

“ At the west door of the Abbey of Westminster the effigies were taken out of the chariot, and under a canopy received by the dean, prebends, and the whole choir in their copes and formalities, and conducted into the choir, betwixt which and the altar was erected a magnificent hearse, whereon the effigies being placed, and the service of the Church read, an excellent sermon was preached on the occasion by the Lord Bishop of Salisbury ; which ended, they proceeded to offer the several trophies ; and to conclude the ceremony, the four

" officers of the deceased Duke broke their white staves at
" the head of the hearse, and Garter proclaimed the style of
" his Grace according to custom ; then, the trumpets sounding,
" the regiments and troops which were drawn up near the
" Abbey gave their several vollies.

" This is, in short, an account of this great solemnity, which
" was carried on with extraordinary order, pomp, and magnifi-
" cency, and is by command to be published at large, and the
" whole represented in sculpture, to perpetuate this last honour
" done by his Majesty's command and at his expense, to the
" eternal memory of this glorious person."

The beginning of the fashion of carrying the sword or other insignia on the top of the coffin may be traced in the following note of the funeral of one of the chief officers of the Honourable Artillery Company in 1667 :—¹⁷⁶⁵

" Funeral of the Honourable Sir Robert Peake, Knight, Vice
" President and Leader of the Artillery Company, and solemn-
" nised from Lorrimer Hall by London Wall to the parish church
" of St. Sepulchre's, 1 Aug., 1667.

" First a Company of Pioneers with brooms to sweep the
" way, led by an officer with a leading-staff ; then the rear of
" the company led by Colonel Mew, the muskets first, and then
" the pikes: the front of the Company marching in the rear
" brought up by Sir John Robinson, the leading staff and
" partizans and collars covered with Love (a sort of thin silk
" stuff ; Johnson): ten drummers covered with black baize
" (doubtless the drums, not the drummers), and each an
" escutcheon: the two fifes each an escutcheon. Then the
" servants to the defunct, then the Minister, then the pieces of
" armour (vizt.), Head pieces, Gorget, Breast and Back, Gauntlet,
" and Spurs borne by so many Lieutenants-Colonels ; then the
" Body with a dozen of silk escutcheons on the pall, with the
" leading staff and sword covered with Love, the pall supported
" by six Knights ; and then the executors and other mourners
" attended by Knights, Aldermen, and Gentlemen."

The duties of troops attending a funeral were as follows:—¹⁷⁶⁶
The regiment marched to the place where the corpse lay,

¹⁷⁶⁵ Brit. Mus. MSS. 26,683 ; being notes by a Heraldic Painter of work done by him. This practice had obtained in the Navy as early as 1675 ; see Note ¹⁷⁶⁷.

¹⁷⁶⁶ Elton, 1659.

The black feathers are now replaced by crêpe armlets. The muffled drums are mentioned also in previous pages.

every soldier having in his hat a black feather or ribbon (Ills. CCLXII, CCLXIII), and the drums being *draped in black*: when the coffin was brought out the order was given for the funeral posture, that is for *reversing arms*; at the same time the Ensigns stripped their colours from the staves and tied them about their waists, then tying black ribbons at the ends of the staves they carried them reversed like the pikes. The drums then beat *the funeral march*: the Lieutenant-Colonel headed the regiment while the Colonel brought up the rear, the *order of each company being reversed*, the Lieutenant leading and the Captain taking his place in rear, and even the files being reversed: in like manner the rear division of musqueteers marched first and the pikemen last and immediately before the coffin. On arriving near the church door, "marching in a leisable and *"slow way,"* the musqueteers halted and faced inwards; the pikemen having marched through the lane of musqueteers then did the same, and the coffin passed into the church *through the whole regiment thus standing with ordered arms*. The men were then at liberty to pile their arms and go in "to hear "part of the sermon," taking care to be out in good time before it was finished. Upon the coffin being brought out of the church the regiment drew up near the grave in a circle, with the pikemen outermost, and upon the drum beating notice that the corpse had been deposited in its resting place, *three volleys were fired*. The colours were then remounted on their staves, the regiment was drawn up in its usual order, and the funeral party returned to its quarters in the same way as if returning from any ordinary parade,¹⁷⁶⁷ with *the musicians "sounding merry levitts all the way."*

¹⁷⁶⁷ Teonge's Diary: 5 Decr., 1675. Describing the funeral of a Boatswain of the Navy: "He was nobly buried and *like a soldier*. He had a neat coffin, which was "covered over with one of the *King's jacks*, and his boatswain silver whistle and chain "laid on the top (to shew his office) between two pistols crossed with a hanger drawn. "At his going off the ship, he had nine guns, which were fired at a minute's distance. "And *eight trumpets sounding dolefully*, whereof the four in the first rank began, and "the next four answered; so that there was a continual doleful tone from the ship "to the shore and from thence to the grave. Half the ship's Company with their "musquets in the *right posture*, going after the corpse, with all the officers of all the "ships that were there. I myself (*chaplain*) going immediately before, and the "trumpets before me. When he was buried he had *four peals of musquet shot*. And "as soon as we were out of the church yard the trumpets *sounded merry levitts all the way*. His name was Richard Capps of Dedford."

CHAPTER XXVIII.

THE GENERAL STAFF OF THE ARMY DURING THE PERIOD
FROM 1660 TO 1700.

Introductory.—The Sovereign the Chief of the Army.—The Commander-in-Chief.—Field-m Marshals.—General Officers.—Brigadiers.—The Scout-Master-General.—The Adjutant-General.—The Quarter-Master-General.—Routes.—The Brigade-Major.—Town Majors.—Fort-Adjutants.—Aides-de-camp.—Military Secretaries.—The Inspector-General of the Forces.—Marshals of the Horse.

[*For Illustrations, see Note on p. xiii.*]

WE have now treated of all the main fabric of which an army is composed. We have furnished our Armoury; we have supplied our Clothing and equipments; we have Regimented our men; we have arranged for the Recruiting of vacancies, and for the raising of local Reserves; we have Drilled our troops in the handling of their arms and in field movements; we have arranged a system of Martial Law and of punishments for the negligent or bad soldier; while we have equally devised modes of rewarding the faithful and good soldier; and we shall presently see how Artillery and Engineers came to be instituted.

What more then is wanting to complete the Army? The very crown and centre-piece is still wanting, without which all the rest would be but a cumbrous mob; the means of organisation of all the subordinate parts is still to be treated of.

These means of organisation may be divided under two heads, the Disciplinary and the Administrative. Under the first may be included all that has to do with the direction of discipline and tactical dispositions; under the second may be classed all that has to do with the direction of Field supplies of all sorts and with means of movement.

The first head may be generically termed the "*disciplinary Staff*," the other the "*administrative Staff*" of the Army.

The absolute command of the Forces has in all ages of our history resided in THE SOVEREIGN alone: this was the case in the ancient days of feudalism, and although this principle of our Constitution was disputed by the opponents of the Crown

in Charles the First's reign, it was nevertheless recognised by Act of Parliament¹⁷⁶⁸ in the succeeding reign. In the earlier Mutiny Acts the prerogative of the Sovereign to command the Army is not specifically mentioned, but it is tacitly recognised, and all martial power is by those Acts legally to emanate from the Sovereign alone; and to this day the right of the Sovereign to the sole exercise of the power of making "Articles of War" is annually recited in the Mutiny Acts. This power of making arbitrary laws carrying full judicial effect, not alone in military courts but in all courts of justice, is obviously an enormous power to entrust to any individual or his deputies;—"an unlimited power to create crimes and annex to them any punishments,"¹⁷⁶⁹ within certain wide limits.

The maxim that the Sovereign is the sole head and Commander of the Army is therefore not a mere military tradition, but is in accordance with the Constitutional law of the realm. It is on this ground that the Sovereign is not only the dispenser of military honorary or titular rewards, but is also the source of all military authority: and no military authority not emanating (by the proper channels) from the Sovereign himself is legal or ought to be recognised in the Service.

The Sovereign has usually but not always delegated his military command to some Officer of the Army.

The first COMMANDER-IN-CHIEF (*see* Ill. I) of the Standing Army was George Monck, Duke of Albemarle: by his Commission he was styled "Captain-General and Commander-in-Chief of all forces"¹⁷⁷⁰ in the three kingdoms and the territories thereunto belonging; but he was also sometimes known by the title he bore prior to the Restoration—the "Lord-General."¹⁷⁷¹ When the Duke of Monmouth succeeded to the office in 1678, the title of Commander-in-Chief was dropped

¹⁷⁶⁸ 13 Chas. II, C. 6.

¹⁷⁶⁹ 14 Chas. II, C. 3.

¹⁷⁷⁰ 15 Chas. II, C. 4.

¹⁷⁷¹ Blackstone.

¹⁷⁷² Commission, 3 Aug., 1660, App. I.

¹⁷⁷³ "Lord-General," *e.g.*, Lond. Gaz., 3 Janry., 1669/70.

Heads of the late Lord Genl's. function, 1678; App. XXI.

"Captain-General," *e.g.*, Royal Warrant, June, 1661; App. II.

Royal Warrts., 1678, &c., &c.

"Captain-General and Commander-in-Chief"; *e.g.*—

Monck's Commission, 3 Aug., 1660; App. I.

Lieutenant's Commission, 26 June, 1660; App. XV.

Ensign's Commission, 23 Janry., 1663/4; App. XIX.

and he was denominated Captain-General¹⁷⁷² only, but very frequently also The Lord-General. In the following year the Duke of Monmouth, on suspicion of treason, was deprived of the office.¹⁷⁷³

The Duke of Albemarle died in January, 1670, and the Duke of Monmouth was not appointed Captain-General until 1678. The reason of this interregnum is thus given in the autobiography of James the Second, then Duke of York:—¹⁷⁷⁴ "On the third of January, of the year 1670, died the old General, " the Duke of Albemarle, who was the chief instrument of the " King's wonderful Restoration ; and had received from his " Majesty honours and estate proportionable to his merit. " Some days before his death, his R.H. (*i.e.*, James, Duke of " York) being informed that he could not recover, speaking of " it to the King, he took that occasion to advise his Majesty " not to make anybody General in his room, for that it was too " great a power and trust, as matters stood, to be put in any one " body's hand, not excepting even himself: tho' if his Majesty " would have a General, he hoped he would not think of any " other body for that place but himself ; which, however, he did " not desire for the reason above given, and that in time of " peace there was no need of one ; and in case of a war, his " Majesty might make such General Officers as should be fit " and proper for the occasion : and since the number of his " troops at present was so small, it would look oddly, as an " unusual thing, to have a General over them.

" For these and other reasons his Majesty at that time " resolved to have no new General in the place of the Duke of " Albemarle."

After the removal of the Duke of Monmouth in 1679, there was no renewal of the office of Commander-in-Chief throughout the century ; both James the Second and William taking upon themselves to direct the affairs of the army.

The powers of the Commander-in-Chief were at first much

¹⁷⁷² Commission, Apr., 1678, to Duke of Monmouth "to be Captain-General of " all His Majesty's troops and land forces whatsoever" ; Signet-book, Public Records Office.

There are several instances of "The Lord General" applied to Monmouth, and to Monmouth's Regt. of Foot, in the W.O. Misc. Order Books.

¹⁷⁷³ Royal Warrt., 12 Sept., 1679 ; Signet book ; also W.O. records.

Although the Duke of Albemarle was Captain-General of *all* the forces, the Duke of Lennox is made mention of as "Captain-General of all H.M.'s forces in Scotland." Mercurius Publicus, 18/25 Sept., 1662.

¹⁷⁷⁴ James II, autobiog.

more extensive than they now are, as may be gathered from the documents ¹⁷⁷⁵ given in the Appendix ; in fact the King deputed to him all his own military powers in their full effect, and the Commander-in-Chief exercised the functions which are now divided between the Secretary-at-War and the Commander-in-Chief. He could frame Articles of War ; he could order out Militia ; he granted all Commissions as well of administrative Officers as of others ; he issued Warrants for payments ; and he prepared the estimates for the Establishment.

When a Secretary-at-War was appointed he was made subordinate ¹⁷⁷⁶ to the Commander-in-Chief : in fact the latter was independent of all control but that of the Sovereign, and was the sole head and chief of all military organisation, administrative as well as disciplinary.

Of FIELD-MARSHALS ¹⁷⁷⁷ there were none at this period, although there had been Field-M Marshals or " Marshals of the " Field " at the time of the Parliamentary war. ¹⁷⁷⁸

GENERAL OFFICERS were those to whom the Commander-in-Chief deputed his own powers in a subordinate degree and within certain local limits (III. CCLXIV). The title " General " is originally an abbreviation from Captain-General, Serjeant-Major-General, *et cætera* : and these officers had the addition of " General " made to their titles to distinguish them from others of the same title but particular, that is to say attached to some particular regiment. Thus all Staff Officers (not being subordinates, as aides-de-camp and other assistants) were classed in the Establishment lists as the " General Officers " of the Army, and included the Commissary-General, the Paymaster-General, and others, as well as the Generals and Major-Generals.

In the armies of the Parliamentary war there were three grades of Generals ; first, the Captain-General ; ¹⁷⁷⁸ second, the Lieutenant-General ; and third, the Serjeant-Major-General ; and in James the Second's and William's reigns these posts

¹⁷⁷⁵ Monck's Commission, 3 Aug., 1660 ; App. I. James II tells us that the words " to kill and slay," theretofore usual in such Commissions were purposely omitted from this one.

Functions of the late Lord General, 1678 ; App. XXI.

Clarke MSS. 1690/91.

See, however, R. Warrt., 7 Sept., 1676, shewing how these powers were curtailed after Monck's death ; App. CVIII.

¹⁷⁷⁶ See Chap. XXXII.

¹⁷⁷⁷ Est. lists.

¹⁷⁷⁸ Clarendon.

were all revived, the first under the abbreviation of General, and the last under that of Major-General.

The first appearance of a General on the Establishment¹⁷⁷⁹ (other than the Captain-General or Commander-in-Chief) was in 1689, when there was one at home, and one as local "Com-mander-in-Chief" in Flanders. In 1690 there were with the army in Ireland¹⁷⁸⁰ three Generals, one in command, with one of Foot, and one of Horse.

There were no Lieutenants-General in the Standing Army until 1679.¹⁷⁸¹ It is scarcely necessary to explain that Lieutenant-general means one acting in "lieu" or stead of the General: and in 1679 we have an instance of the appointment of a veritable Lieutenant-General in the original signification of the term, for Lord Gerard of Brandon was commissioned¹⁷⁸² "to be *Lieutenant-General* of all His Majesty's forces" in England and Wales during the absence of the Duke of Monmouth (*Captain-General*), with power to act fully for him; also, when the Duke was dismissed in the same year this lieutenancy was revoked.¹⁷⁸³ To compensate for this abolition or suspension of the office of Captain-General, the Duke of York was then made Lieutenant-General.¹⁷⁸⁴

After the Duke's accession to the throne, and on the great increase of the forces in 1685, he created three Lieutenants-General¹⁷⁸⁵ "over all our Forces, as well Horse as Foot." At the same time three Majors-General¹⁷⁸⁶ were also first created.

¹⁷⁷⁹ Est. list, 1680; Harl. MSS. 6,425.

Nathan Brooks, 1684.

List of the Army, 1686; Harl. MSS. 4,161.

Est. list, 1687/89; Harl. MSS. 7,018.

Do., 1 May, 1689; 31 May, 1690; ditto; in which is the first appearance.

¹⁷⁸⁰ Est. list, Ireland, 1690; Harl. MSS. 7,441.

¹⁷⁸¹ Est. list, 1680.

Except *pro hac vice*: thus the D. of Buckingham was created Lt.-Genl. to the Army for the Low Countries 13 May, 1673; Home Office records.

¹⁷⁸² Royal Warrt., July, 1679; Signet Books; Public Records Office.

¹⁷⁸³ Royal Warrt., Sept., 1679; Signet books.

¹⁷⁸⁴ Chamberlayne, 1679.

¹⁷⁸⁵ Commissions 18-19 June, 1685, to E. of Craven and E. of Feversham; Home office records and W.O. Comn. Bks.

List of the Army, 1686; Harl. MSS. 4,161; Vizt., Craven, Feversham, and Dumbarton.

There were, however, both Lieutenants-General and Majors-General in Ireland in 1662 and 1674; Liber Munerum.

¹⁷⁸⁶ List of the Army, 1686; Vizt., Churchill, Worden and Mackay. Majors-General are mentioned in Monck's Commission 1660, altho' there were none on the establishment.

Commissions 3-4 July, 1685, to Cols. and Brigrs. Churchill and Mackay; W.O. Comn. Bks.

After that, these staff appointments continued to increase in proportion to the increase of the number of troops.

In the same year as these other new appointments there were also appointed four "Colonels of Brigades,"¹⁷⁸⁷ or BRIGADEERS or Brigadeers-General.¹⁷⁸⁸ The Brigadier-General bore the same relation to a Major-General or Lieutenant-General as a Brigade did to a Division. There were Brigadeers of Horse and of Foot, and of the Army.

In 1699 the number of General Officers in pay, being His Majesty's natural-born subjects, had increased greatly, and was as follows :—¹⁷⁸⁹

GENERALS OF THE HORSE.				<i>Pay per diem.</i>		
				£	s.	d.
Duke of Schonberg and Leinster	...	...	...	} all foreigners {	6	0 0
Earl of Portland	...	...	...		6	0 0
M. d'Auverquerque	...	...	...		6	0 0

LIEUTENANTS-GENERAL.

Earl of Oxford...	...	...	...	...	...	4	0 0
Earl of Scarborough	...	...	...	...	...	4	0 0
Duke of Ormond	...	...	...	...	...	4	0 0
Earl of Romney	...	...	...	...	...	4	0 0
Earl of Rochford	...	...	...	...	...	4	0 0
Sir Henry Bellasis	...	...	...	...	...	4	0 0
Earl Rivers	...	...	...	...	...	4	0 0

MAJORS-GENERAL.

Charles Churchill	...	...	...	...	...	2	0 0
George Ramsay	...	...	...	...	...	2	0 0
William Stewart	...	...	...	...	...	2	0 0
Thomas Erle	...	...	...	...	...	2	0 0
Lord Cutts	...	...	...	...	...	2	0 0
Earl of Macclesfield	...	...	...	...	...	2	0 0
Richard Leveson	...	...	...	...	...	2	0 0
Henry Lumley..	...	...	...	...	...	2	0 0

¹⁷⁸⁷ Commissions 3 July, 1685, to Sackville, Churchill, Worden, Lanier, Fenwick, Kirke, as "Brigadiers" "over all our Forces as well Horse as Foot," 11 Novr. and 6 Decr., 1688, to Col. Main, "over all our Horse," and Forbes "over all our Foot"; W.O. Comn. Bks.

List of the Army, 1686; Vizt., Lanier, Col. 1st Dr. Gds., Fenwick Col. of Horse, Kirke Col. 2nd Foot, and Sackville.

¹⁷⁸⁸ Est. lists, 1687/89, "Brigadeers-General."

Do., 1688, "Brigadier of the Forces."

Do., 1690, Ireland, "Brigadeers."

Petition, Apr., 1691, of Colonel E. Maine, "Brigadier of Horse"; Try. state papers. See, however, Chap. XXIII under Corporals of Horse.

¹⁷⁸⁹ House of Commons Proceedings, 6 April, 1699.

	BRIGADEERS.						<i>Pay per diem.</i>		
							£	s.	d.
William Selwyn	1	10	0
Sir Charles O'Hara	1	10	0
Earl of Orkney	1	10	0
Thomas Fairfax	1	10	0
Zacharias Tiffin	1	10	0
Richard Ingoldsby	1	10	0
James Maitland	1	10	0
Henry Trelawny	1	10	0
George Cholmondeley...	1	10	0
Hugh Wyndham	1	10	0
Francis Langston	1	10	0
Annual total	<u>£28,652 10 0</u>		

To each of the General Officers above enumerated there were certain assistants. The eldest of these appointments was that of Scout-Master-General.

The Scout-Master-General was, as his name signifies, the chief reconnoitrer of the army. His duties are thus described in 1518, and in all probability they remained much the same until the abolition of the office.

" The office of the Scout-Master¹⁷⁹⁰ in the field or camp, " with the Duties belonging to the same. First, the office of " the Scout-Master is, that he attend upon the high-mareschal " when he goeth to view the ground, where he intendeth to " camp. Then must the said Scout-Master both view and see " in what sort he may set the scout, that when the trumpet " soundeth to the watch at night, then must the said scout- " master repair to the tent of the general of the horsemen ; " there the said general or his lieutenant shall appoint certain " horsemen that attend on the scout, to be in the scout that " night.

" Furthermore the said General must in any wise give " straight commandment unto the said scout-master after the " relief be sounded, that they shall not, upon pain of death, stir " from their charge before the scurriers be come into the field " to take their places, and then they may depart.

" Also the said scout-master, when the trumpet soundeth the " relief of the watch in the morning, must repair unto the " lieutenant of the horsemen, there to receive at his hands such " horsemen as the said lieutenant shall appoint to be in the " scurrage that day.

¹⁷⁹⁰ The order of a Camp, &c., 1518 ; Harl. MSS. 4,685.

"Item, it is the office of the scout-master, when he cometh into the field to set and appoint the scourage, he must appoint some to the high hills, that are thereabouts, to view and see if they can discover anything.

"Also the said scout-master must appoint one other company of scouragers, to search and view every valley thereabouts, that there be no enemies laid privily for the annoyance of the said camp, and if they do discover any, they are to advertise the scout-master; and he must either bring, or send word, to the high marshal of their advertisement, with speed.

"The said scout-master must also continually, both day and night, be in the field himself, or appoint some discreet honest man, whom he may trust in his absence, to foresee that both the scout in the night season, and scurriers in the day, may do their duties that appertain to their charge; for there lieth a great charge of it as much as the life of the scout-master is worth, if anything happen amiss: and the said scout-master must continually bring advertisement of all things that the scouriers hear or see."

There was a Scout-Master-General on the English establishment as early as 1664,¹⁷⁹¹ and he was retained even after the institution of the office of Quarter-Master-General.

In these days of rapid movements the place of Scout-Master might perhaps be revived with advantage.

The next eldest office was that of ADJUTANT-GENERAL, a post first added to the Standing Army in 1673, but shortly dropped again until 1680, on the establishment list for which year appears¹⁷⁹² one "Adjutant-General assigned to Thomas

¹⁷⁹¹ Commission 14 Mar., 1664, to James Hassall as Scout Master General; W.O. Conn. Bks.

Est. lists; in 1684/86 a Colonel James Halsey held the post.

In Ireland Sir Theophilus Jones, Knt., held the post in 1660, his pay being 6s. 8d. a day, £100 a year besides, and 6 Horsemen at 8s. each: Patent 18 Mar., 1660; Liber Munerum.

¹⁷⁹² Warrt., 23 Decr., 1673, respecting shipping and quartering of troops addressed to "E. Roufosse, Esqre., Adjutant-General to Our Forces," W.O. records.

Est. lists, 1673 and 1680, Add. MSS. 28,082, &c.

It is however most probable that Lieut. Col. Beverley "one of the corporals of the Field to the Army" in Ireland held an office corresponding to that of Adjutant-General; Anglesea's accts., 1665.

There had, however, been Adjutants-General in the Parliamentary Forces, and there was one in Scotland in 1657.—State papers.

Royal Warrt., 3 Mar., 1675/6, determining and ending the office of Adjutant-General (at 20s. per diem) in England; W.O. records.

Commission 13 July, 1686, to R. Ramsay, Esqre., as "Adjutant-General of H.M.'s ~~Land~~ (sic) Foot forces."

"Daniell for resigning his commission of Lieutenant-Colonel of "Our Own Regiment of Foot-Guards." In 1684 there was still but one Adjutant-General,¹⁷⁹³ a Captain Staples, and he was "of the Horse," but in 1686 there was one Adjutant-General of the Horse,¹⁷⁹⁴ and another of the Foot. There were two¹⁷⁹⁵ in Ireland in 1690 during the war, and one was permanently attached to the establishment of that kingdom in 1697.¹⁷⁹⁶ The Adjutant-General's relation to his General corresponded with that of an Adjutant to his Colonel; that is, he was his assistant or "aide," relieving him of the more laborious details of his duties and forming the medium of communication with the troops on any matter of discipline generally or of tactical movements.

The duties of the QUARTER-MASTER-GENERAL¹⁷⁹⁷ appear to have been shared between the Provost-Marshall and the Scout-Master-General until the institution of a Quarter-Master-General in King James's reign.¹⁷⁹⁸

From the year 1686 one or more Quarter-Masters-General have been borne on the establishment.¹⁷⁹⁹ During the first year of the war in Ireland (1689) Marshal Schonberg¹⁸⁰⁰ appointed one to his army, and he made choice of a foreigner, probably finding English Officers too little educated in war, or too inexperienced to fill the post satisfactorily: and later on in the war two "Assistants to the Quarter-Master-General" were added.¹⁸⁰¹ Sometimes the Assistants were styled the Quarter-Master-General's "Adjutants."¹⁸⁰²

¹⁷⁹³ Nathan Brooks.

Chamberlayne.

¹⁷⁹⁴ List of the Army, 1686.

Est. list, 1687/89.

See also previous Note.

¹⁷⁹⁵ Est., Ireland, 1690.

¹⁷⁹⁶ Royal Warrt., 17 May, 1697, for establishment of "an Adjutant-General to our army in Ireland to commence from 1 May," at 20s. per diem; Dublin State papers.

¹⁷⁹⁷ The Order of a Camp, &c., 1518; Harl. MSS. 4,685.

¹⁷⁹⁸ Est. list, 1686.

No mention of a Quarter-Master-General is made in the Establishment for 1680, or in Brooks and Chamberlayne in 1684.

¹⁷⁹⁹ Est. list, 1687/89: one.

Do., 1688; one, &c., &c.

¹⁸⁰⁰ Schonberg's Dispatch, 27 Aug., 1689.

¹⁸⁰¹ Royal Warrt., Whitehall, 2 Janry., 1690/1, for the Establishment of "two assistants to the Quarter-Master-General of Our forces in Ireland at 10s. per diem each"; Harl. MSS. 7,439.

Est. list, Ireland, 1690; Harl. MSS. 7,441.

¹⁸⁰² Clarke MSS.

The ancient title for this office was "the Harbinger." The Dutch word *herberg* corresponds to *auberge* in French, that is, a lodging-house or place where bed and board can be had for payment, and the Dutch and French words *herbergen* and *hberger* are synonymous in signification with our word to harbour, *i.e.*, to afford shelter or lodging. Hence the harbinger¹⁸⁰³ was one who went in front to provide lodging or quarters for those who followed. Our more modern title of Quarter-Master-General is derived from the German *Quartier-Meister* or the Dutch *Kwartiermeester*.

The duties of the office are thus laid down for the Harbinger in the reign of Henry the Eighth.

"The Office of the Harbinger¹⁷⁹⁷ in the field or camp, with the duties thereunto belonging, videlicet :—

"First, the harbinger, after that he is appointed unto his charge, ought to resort to the lord lieutenant-general, to enquire of him the names of all the officers of honour and counsellors, belonging to the army, and also all other mean officers appertaining to the same, that he may appoint lodgings for them accordingly. Also, he must know of the said lord lieutenant-general, the place where the army shall assemble to be mustered; and thither must he repair, calling before him the chief rulers of the town, declaring unto them that he is come to provide lodging for the lord lieutenant-general and the army; and to charge the said rulers, that they send some of their officers, to bring him to every house in the town that is able to make any lodging, that he may take a note what beds they make within the town, or suburbs of the same, and to command them to provide victuals sufficient for such soldiers as they do lodge, upon prices reasonable; and after that he has divided his lodgings, and made his book of them, he must first appoint for the lord general the chief lodgings, and next after him his two lords lieutenants of the fore and rear wards; the master of the ordinance, and all other mean officers to be lodged as near to the council as he conveniently may, that they may be ready to attend upon the lord lieutenant-general, when they shall be called for: and after he hath lodged the lord lieutenant-

¹⁸⁰³ Sidney (temp. Q. Eliz.) has the following passage, to the comprehension of which it only needs to remind the reader that *Maréchal de logis* meant in French the Quarter-Master or Quarter-Master-General. "Her face, when it was fairest, had been but as a *marshal* to lodge the love of her in his mind, which now was so well placed as it needed no help of outward *harbinger*."

"general and the council, he must reserve certain of the best lodgings for the captains and men of worship that serve in the field, delivering to every man's servant that cometh for a lodging for his master, one billet,¹⁸⁰⁴ naming therein the lodging for him, and what number of beds are appointed for him, which billet he must enter into a book for his remembrance.

"The said harbinger ought to have also some under him, and he should deliver to every of them a book, dividing the lodgings in the town in four parts, appointing to every clerk one part of the town to make lodgings in, which clerks must appoint no lodgings but such as the harbinger appointed by billet.

"And their office is to see that no man take any lodging in their quarter, but where they be assigned; and if they do, and will not be avoided, then must they resort to the high marischall, who may remove them; the harbinger must also make straight commandment, that no householder, upon pain of imprisonment, do take into his house any man to lodge without billet from him, upon pain of answering to the same.

"Farther, the said harbinger and his servants must give their attendance upon the high marishall, when he goeth to view the ground where the camp shall be pitched. And after that the high marishall hath appointed the ground for the camp, then the provost marshal maketh division of the quarters of the camp, assigning a place for the market, or place of assembly, and the streets for the same; and the harbinger being made privy thereunto must remain upon the same ground, ready to answer all such as come before, to know where they shall pitch their tents and discharge the carriages.

"Also for that every man shall know where to pitch their tents, and to be lodged in such place as they march in; that is, he that marcheth in the waward to be placed there; and in the battles (*i.e.*, lines of battle or camp) the harbinger ought to have one of his clerks to give attendance, to assign the places appointed, and one other being the fourth clerk shall attend on and upon the ground appointed for the horsemen likewise, to set them in order for their lodgings. And the chief harbinger shall have enough to do, to see all these things done according to his direction: and his office is to amend such

¹⁸⁰⁴ Here we have the origin of the term "billet," meaning originally the note (French, *billet*) of the lodgings.

"faults as he shall find done contrary to his order; and if he be let so to do, then must he complain to the high marshall, which ought to reform the same."

The duties of the Quarter-Master General continued to be much the same as here described;¹⁸⁰⁵ and in addition, it was his duty to observe roads and approaches to camp or quarters and on the line of march;¹⁸⁰⁶ whether at this period he also regulated the routes of marching parties is not certain, because the routes themselves were signed by higher authority.

The following ordinary *routes* in 1699 may prove interesting at a time when the marching powers of troops form so frequent a subject of discussion:—

*Route for the Sixth Foot from Limerick to Dublin, 1699:*¹⁸⁰⁷

1	August, Killaloe	...	...	...	...	11 miles.
2	" Nenagh	...	...	...	...	12 "
3	" Roscrea	...	...	...	...	16 "
4	" Aghabe	}	...	...	...	33 "
5	" Athy					
6	" Rest.					
7	" Killcullenbridge	...	...	...	...	11 "
8	" Naas	...	...	...	...	6 "
9	" Dublin	...	...	...	...	16 "
<hr/>						
9 days (8 of marching)						105 miles.

Route for the Twenty-third Foot from Carlingford to Dublin, 1699:

28	July, Dundalk	...	...	...	...	12 miles.
29	" Garlandstown	}	...	...	...	17 "
30	" Rest.					
31	" Drogheda					
1	August, Balrothery and Ballagh	...	...	...	...	10 "
2	" Dublin	...	...	...	...	18 "
<hr/>						
7 days (6 of marching)						57 miles.

Route for the Fifth Dragoon-Guards from Dublin, 1699:

8	June, Kilcock	...	...	...	...	15 miles.
9	" Rest.					
10	" Kinegad	...	...	...	...	14 "
11	" Mullingar	...	...	...	...	9 "
12	" Edgeworthstown	...	...	...	...	14 "
13	" Longford and Castle Forbes	...	...	...	...	10 "
<hr/>						
6 days (5 of marching)						62 miles.

¹⁸⁰⁵ Secry. at War's Instructions, 19 June, 1690, mentions that the Quarter-Master-General "and his adjutant" had the allotment of quarters; Clarke MSS.

¹⁸⁰⁶ D'Auvergne, campaign in Flanders, 1696.

¹⁸⁰⁷ Marching Orders; Dub. State papers,

Another Troop :

7	June, Naas	...	...	...	...	16 miles.
8	„ Castledermot	...	...	...	...	14 „
9	„ Rest.					
10	„ Tullagh	...	...	...	...	13 „
<hr/>						
4 days (3 of marching)						43 miles.

It is to be observed that these marches took place in a time of profound peace, and that they were necessarily regulated to some extent by the distances of towns capable of billeting the troops. There are instances in this volume of very extraordinary marches in the field.

What the Adjutant-General was to the General commanding the Army, the BRIGADE-MAJOR was to the Brigadier and sometimes to the General commanding a Division. There were no "Majors of Brigade"¹⁸⁰⁸ in our army prior to the Revolution; and in 1690 there were but two in the army in Ireland although there were many brigades; there were however acting Brigade-Majors¹⁸⁰⁹ besides the two on the Establishment, and it was customary at that time for the appointment to be held by the senior major, that is to say the major of the senior regiment.

A post in garrison corresponding to that of the Brigade-Major in the field was that of TOWN-MAJOR; and because ours was a country of garrisons rather than of mobile forces, the latter office is of considerably older standing than the former. There was a Town-Major¹⁸¹⁰ nominated to Berwick-on-Tweed in 1663, and other appointments to Town-major-ships were made during the century.

A sort of lesser Town-Major, or else an assistant to him, was the Town Aide-Major since styled the FORT-ADJUTANT. There was one at Tangier¹⁸¹¹ when that place was evacuated.

¹⁸⁰⁸ Est. lists, 1680 to 1687/90.

Est. list, Ireland, 1690.

¹⁸⁰⁹ Petitions, 15 Mar., 1694/5, and 20 Apr., 1696, by Lt. Col. Billing (2nd Foot), who acted in Ireland as Major of Brigade; Try. State papers.

Certificate, Dublin, 12 May, 1691. "I do hereby certify that Major Billinge was ordered by His Grace the Duke of Schonberg to be Major of the Brigade, he being Major to the eldest regiment, and has done that duty ever since. (Sd.) R. Kirke"; Clarke MSS.

¹⁸¹⁰ Royal Warrt., Whitehall, 7 Novr., 1663; Dom. state papers.

Court-Martial, Tangier, 24 Mar., 1664, Col. Alsop, "Major of the Town," being president.

Royal Warrt. for addition to the Est. from 1 Sept., 1688; a "Fort-Major" added to the garrison of Sheerness; Harl. MSS. 7,436.

Letter, Galway, 29 July, 1691, Bellasyse to Clarke, respecting the "commission for a Town-Major to this place"; Clarke MSS.

¹⁸¹¹ Guy's schedule of Secret-service money, Octr., 1686.

There is perhaps no staff appointment, the duties of which are so little appreciated, and which is therefore so perverted in our Army, as that of Aide-de-camp. Instead of being selected for his promising talents, instead of being an officer of such education, experience, or tact, that he can not only carry a message of importance correctly in the excitement of battle, but also observe as he flies along and report on his arrival every circumstance tending to nullify or to modify the message he bears;—instead of this, he is chosen at the whim of a General usually on account of family connexion or personal friendship. No special acquirements are demanded of him; indeed as often as not he is notoriously unfit for any post of importance. In garrison he is too frequently a sort of upper-butler of his General, to see to his wines, the ordering of his entertainments, and the airings of his wife and daughters; and in the field he is expected to do no more than an intelligent commissionaire or telegraph-boy could do equally well. Yet upon the coolness, the discretion, or the reconnoitring talent, of such officers the lives of thousands and the fate of an empire may often depend!

Whether such a disregard of common-sense prevailed in the earlier days of our Army, or whether a careful selection was made of officers for the position of Aides-de-camp, I cannot say; but in our Service Aides-de-camp are not coeval with Generals, for there were General Officers long before 1689, whereas it is in that year that Aides-de-camp first appear on the Establishment.¹⁸¹² In 1689 the "Commander-in-Chief" in Flanders had two aides,¹⁸¹³ and in Ireland in 1690 the General Commanding had six aides-de-camp,¹⁸¹⁴ the two Generals of Horse and Foot had each three, the Lieutenants-General two, and the Majors-General one.

Another office of equal importance, that of Military Secretary, is in these days treated in the same way. And I have seen no records to render it certain whether this appointment was held in the seventeenth century by military officers or by civilians: but in 1689 there was borne on the Establishment a "Secretary to the Commander-in-Chief"¹⁸¹⁵ in Flanders, and in the following year there appears on the strength of the Irish army a "Secretary to the General"¹⁸¹⁴ with one clerk.¹⁸¹⁵ I am inclined to think that he was a civilian.

¹⁸¹² Est. lists.

¹⁸¹³ Est., 1 May, 1689, to 31 May, 1690.

Est., Flanders, 1 May, 1689.

¹⁸¹⁴ Est., Ireland, 1690; Harl. MSS. 7,441.

¹⁸¹⁵ See Chap. XXXII, on the origin of the appointment of Secretary for War.

There was one Staff-Officer¹⁸¹⁶ instituted by King James, but dropped in the next reign, whose duties were such as are now supposed to be fulfilled by the Adjutant-General, although it is a very debatable point whether it would not be advisable to revive his office in these days of universal armament. He is described in the official lists¹⁸¹⁷ as "a person appointed to "exercise the forces and visit the garrisons," in fact an Inspector-General of the Forces.

There remains but one Staff-Officer (not being an Administrative Staff-Officer such as those spoken of in the succeeding chapters) to be mentioned, namely the Marshal of the Horse. This office was an ancient one, but did not survive the Revolution. There were Marshals of the Horse on the Establishment¹⁸¹⁸ from 1660 to 1687, but after that period they do not appear on the lists. It is especially observable that a Marshal of the *Horse* only is mentioned.

Maréchal in French as well as *mariscal* in Spanish signify a farrier, one who tends horses : and these words are supposed to be derived from the Saxon *mar*¹⁸¹⁹ or *marach*, or else from *mare* old French for a horse, and *scale* a servant. And it would seem as though the ancient Marshal of the Horse in our Army was rather what would now be called a Master of the Horse.

In James the Second's reign promotion on the Staff did not go by seniority,¹⁸²⁰ although whether it went by favouritism or by force of money is not so clearly shewn.

¹⁸¹⁶ Est. lists.

¹⁸¹⁷ Est. list, 1 Janry., 1687, to 30 Apr., 1689.

¹⁸¹⁸ Est. lists.

Nathan Brooks.

¹⁸¹⁹ There are traces of doubts about the confusion between the words Martial and Marshal (which are of quite distinct derivation) to be observed in the Commission of Monck, 3 Aug., 1660 : App. I, as well as in other documents between 1660 and 1700.

¹⁸²⁰ Letter, 1 Aug., 1685, E. of Rochester to E. of Clarendon. "The Duke of Albemarle is dissatisfied that there are so many General Officers put over him, and hath given up his Commission."

CHAPTER XXIX.

THE FIELD ADMINISTRATION OF THE ARMY DURING THE
PERIOD FROM 1660 TO 1700.

Introductory.—The High Treasurer.—Status of Officers of the administrative corps.

I.—FINANCE.

The Army Estimates.—The Paymaster-General.—Origin of Army Agents.—Rates of pay.—Working-pay.—Comparison with modern rates of pay.—Subsistence.—System of stoppages.—Abuses and Mal-practices.—Allowances.—Half-pay.—Special service pay.—Administration of effects of deceased soldiers.—Leaves or Furloughs.

II.—PROVISIONS AND FORAGE.

The introduction of rations.—Cost of baking.—Sutlers.—Fuel and light.—Forage.

III.—TRANSPORT.

Organised trains.—Artillery transport.—Contract transport.—Impressed transport.—Army sea-transport.—Cavalry remounts.

IV.—QUARTERS.

Antiquity of billeting on victualling-houses.—Its illegality.—Legalisation of billeting.—Crying-down credit.—Institution of barracks.—General lack of system.

[*For Illustrations, see Note on p. xiii.*]

IN writing of the Administration of the British Army it has to be recollected that the mass of Englishmen, and even a very large number of English officers, have the most vague and uninstructed notions of the functions of the military administrative corps which represents the Government of the country to the army in the field.

It therefore becomes imperative, at the risk of offending the larger experience or better sense of the few, to offer for the benefit of the many some introductory explanation of the nature and importance of the duties of those military departments which used until lately to be comprised under the names of the Commissariat, and the Ordnance. And the term Ordnance, in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, did not signify that fraction of it now styled the Ordnance Store Department, but had a very much wider significance, as will be seen in the next chapter.

The administration of an army is twofold; that is to say, it consists of two branches, distinct in themselves, and from

their very nature distinct in their organisation as well as in their functions.

The one branch is the Civil or Bureaucratic administration, stationary and centralised, composed of civilians and with us termed the War Office.

The other is the Military or Executive administration, moveable and diffused and always accompanying the rest of the army whether in quarters or in the field.

It is with this military or executive administration alone that we have now to do.

There can be little hesitation in affirming that there is no more important branch or corps of an army than its Commissariat; that is to say, all branches being at a fair average of efficiency, there is no other whose perfection is of as vital importance to the general system.

The functions of the COMMISSARIAT were to *pay, move, feed,* and *forage* the army; to raise, maintain, and issue all supplies of whatever description, whether *money, provisions* or *transport*; and in the field *munitions* as well. The Commissariat had the sole control of military expenditure, and was the only practical and immediate check upon waste in the Service, and the only medium of subsequent account for current expenditure. Those alone who have witnessed the difficulties of a rapid and extended campaign with a large army;—the army here to-day and thirty miles away to-morrow;—the detachment of large bodies of troops at the shortest notice;—the sudden deaths or removals of accounting officers;—the frequently bad state of the roads and internal communications of the country;—the difficulty of collecting supplies in a district already devoured by war;—the obstacles thrown in the way of prompt action by the bureaucracy at home, or possibly sometimes by the inexperience or whims of officers of other branches of the Service on the spot;—and lastly the futility of any expedition not furnished with an efficient Commissariat;—those alone who have experience of all this, and of much more of the same sort too tedious to recapitulate, will be able to form any approximate notion of the supreme importance of the Commissariat, and of the burdensome responsibility entailed upon its officers.

An army may be equipped and armed after the most approved patterns, may be disciplined and drilled to admiration, may be faultless in its regimental organisation; the ablest of tacticians may direct it, the smartest manoeuvrers may command its divisions, the Artillery may be skilful, and the

Engineers may be men of practical knowledge ;—but, if the Commissariat of that army be not powerful, prompt, and incorruptible, that army is nothing.

Of what avail is it for a Napoleon to plan a sudden concentration of forces if his transport train is slow, ill-adapted, or inadequate? Of what use for a Wellington to project such a position as that of Torres Vedras, if it cannot be provisioned and a huge stationary army fed and foraged there for months? What army could maintain its discipline in the face of a dearth of food and money? What nation could stand the drain upon its treasury were there no efficient check upon the license of expenditure in the field, and no methodical account of the millions lavished upon war?

It is owing almost entirely to our national ignorance and neglect of this branch of military organisation, that the opening campaigns of our wars have generally been so wasteful, and so unsuccessful, or even disastrous.

Prior to the accession of Charles the Second, and for some short time subsequently, there was an officer termed the High Treasurer¹⁸²¹ of the army, whose office corresponded to that of the later Commissary-General, only that his control was better defined, and extended more directly to every branch of the military administrative corps, all the officers of these “as the provost-master, muster-master, commissaries, undertakers for victual and apparel, pay-masters, captain of the pioneers, carriage-masters, and such like, being subject to his particular examination, by way of placing and displacing as he seeth just occasion,” besides the Master of the Ordnance with whom the High Treasurer was to confer about the spending of powder and provision of munitions. The power of this High Treasurer even extended to “denying disbursements though the General command the same.” He was the “King’s counsel-martial,”¹⁸²¹ and was “to be a man of great wisdom, expert in martial affairs, for that he is to speak his opinion in all offices as well concerning other offices as his own.”¹⁸²²

¹⁸²¹ Ralph Smith, *Treatise of Military Discipline*.

The Military Art of Training, Lond. 1620.

The name of this office still survived after the institution of our Standing Army, but its powers had become distributed among the Commissary-General, the Paymaster-General, and the Secretary of State: Grant, *Janry.*, 1661, of the office of Treasurer of the English Armies to Adrian Scoop, gent., of the Privy Chamber; Dom. state papers.

¹⁸²² So that modern “Control” (which was instituted after this was penned), was no original scheme, but only a re-vivified one.

The advantage of such a centralisation of all administrative control in one officer is beyond all question: nevertheless after the Restoration there obtained a system, or rather lack of system, which has lasted to the present time. A number of different departments arose, *de facto* independent of each other, and having no acknowledged common chief; but yet for which the Commissary-General¹⁸²³ was held responsible¹⁸²⁴ on active service, and sometimes even in time of peace.

The probable origin of this independence was that it was customary for all appointments lucrative either in their lawful fees, or their unlawful gains, to be sold. It would have been absurd to nominate a financial and disciplinary Controller of posts out of which it was notorious that the holders deemed themselves entitled to make all they could.

It was this sale of appointments and the corrupt way in which the right of disposal of them was obtained from King Charles, that led also to all lucrative military appointments falling into the hands of civilians, while those which were originally held by civilians and offered but small pecuniary advantages fell to officers of the army. Thus it was, for instance, that the at first purely civil appointments of Engineers became gradually more and more military, while the heretofore military appointments of Commissaries-General underwent the reverse process.

Prior to the Restoration Commissaries-General had always held not only titular rank but also substantive rank and command: this was the case in the Parliamentary army as well as in the Royal army. Thus "Commissary-General "Whalie" ¹⁸²⁵ was colonel of a regiment of Horse in Cromwell's

¹⁸²³ Readers must be careful not to confound the Commissaries-General with the modern Commissaries-General-of-Ordnance-Stores, who now alone use this title (since 1880).

¹⁸²⁴ Witness the case of Commissary-General Shales in Ireland in 1689-90; Schonberg's Dispatches, 1689.

Letters, Camp Limerick, 21 Sept., 1690, and Dublin, 13 Decr., 1690, Commissary-General Robinson to Clarke; shew that the Military Chest was under his orders; Clarke MSS.

Official Memo, 9 June, 1692; Harl. MS. 7,018, "Mr. Robinson, Controller of "provisions, Commissary of the provisions, Deputy Treasurer and Paymaster of the "Army, and First Commissioner to take the Accounts in Ireland."

Letter, 1694, of T. Fotherby, "Commissary of the Stores and Paymaster of the "Forces" in the West Indies: Try. State Papers.

Proc. Ho. of Commons, 26 Nov. to 2 Decr., 1689: Commy.-Genl. in Ireland responsible for "monies, provisions, and clothes."

¹⁸²⁵ Public Intelligencer.

Lists of the Army.

army; and at the battle of Dunbar in 1650 this officer commanded the infantry, Colonel Monck being his Brigadier. Whalie, a man "of signal courage" (by the testimony of the great Royalist historian), was wounded and had two horses shot under him.¹⁸²⁶

¹⁸²⁷ In the King's army Commissary-General Wilmot is mentioned as having charged at the battle of Worcester along with others "whose troops were not present or ready" and he was among the wounded. At the battle of Edgehill the Commissary-General of the Horse commanded the left wing; and this same officer having been made Lieutenant-General as well as raised to the Peerage, again led the Horse at the battle of Roundway Down.

In the same war, we are told that commissions were given to one officer to be Lieutenant-General in a certain district, to a second to be Commissary-General and to a third to be Major-General, "*so that there was no dispute of commands*"; and from this, as well as from the instance of promotion above-mentioned, and from other sources, we learn that the Commissary-General ranked between a Major-General and a Lieutenant-General.

It is observable, however, that it is the Commissary-General of the Horse who seems to have invariably held this substantive command,¹⁸²⁸ and indeed to have been to the Horse what the Major-General was to the Foot, and what the *Maréchal des Logis de la cavalerie* was for many years later in the French army. When a Commissary-General of the Musters and a Commissary-General of the Victuals came to be added to the staff of the army, it is by no means certain that they possessed any right of command, although they were assigned due honour

¹⁸²⁶ Dispatch, Dunbar, 4 Sept., 1650, Cromwell to the Speaker.

¹⁸²⁷ Clarendon.

¹⁸²⁸ List of the Establishment, 1639; Rushworth; among the "Officers General of 'the Horse'" appears the "Serjeant-Major or Commissary General" immediately following the Lieut.-General.

Establishment of the Forces 27 Febr., 1659, Harl. MS. 6,844; among the General Officers appear the following:—

"Commander in Chief.

"Lieutenant-General of the Army.

"Lieutenant-General of the Horse.

"Major-General of the Foot.

"Commissary-General of the Horse.

.

"Commissary-Genl. of the Musters."

And yet in Ireland there were both Commissaries-Genl. and Majors-Genl. of the Horse; *Liber Munerum*.

or precedence as military staff officers: in fact the balance of evidence is against the supposition that they exercised any such right, except as regarded the affairs within their proper administrative province.

After the Restoration the fees and emoluments attaching to the military administrative appointments attracted the notice of the crowd of place-seekers, and the consequence was that such posts were no longer conferred upon military officers by way of promotion, but upon avaricious courtiers or upon open-mouthed royalists with grievances, it being a matter of indifference whether they were civilians or not, so long only as they were provided for.

Nevertheless, although their right of military command thus became very doubtful and gradually quite extinct, the Commissaries-General still continued to figure high in the lists of "General Officers of the Army,"¹⁸²⁹ and to hold their precedence in military courts and councils;¹⁸³⁰ and these appointments still continued to be regarded as worthy of the ambition of the most distinguished individuals.¹⁸³¹

Commissariat Officers, whether of supplies or of musters, had always military commissions¹⁸³² issued from the same source as those of other officers of the army, and they were always equally subject to martial law.¹⁸³³ The relative position of the Commissaries does not appear to have been as well defined in our service as in that of France: in the French army¹⁸³⁴ Commissaries were to march on the left of the General and were to exercise privileges of precedence second only to his.

The several branches into which the field administration

¹⁸²⁹ Receiver-General's Accounts, Ireland, 1664/5.

Establishment lists, 1680-1700.

Nathan Brooks.

Chamberlayne.

¹⁸³⁰ Lond. Gazette, 8/12 Mar., 1687/8, &c.

Commission, 9 June, 1697; ditto.

¹⁸³¹ Thus Sir Richard Browne, Bart., and Sir Thomas Clarges were Commissaries-Genl. in 1661; the Hon. Henry Howard and Sir Cecil Howard were in 1678; the Earl of Suffolk in 1693; Lord Walden in 1699; The Earl of Dover was King James's Commissary-General in 1689.

¹⁸³² Commission of General Monck as Commander-in-Chief 1661; App. I.

Order, Dublin, 16 June, 1697; Dub. state papers.

¹⁸³³ Articles of War 1673, Arts. 53, 55, 56.

Ditto 1686, and 1692; App. LIII.

Mutiny Acts.

¹⁸³⁴ Règlement du roi, 25 July, 1665 (Lamont); Les "Commissaries en toutes occasions pourront marcher à la gauche du Commandant, et prendre logement après eux en toutes rencontres."

became gradually divided after the Restoration may be classified as follows; Finance, Transport, Provisions and Forage, and Munitions. In this order, then, some attempt may be made to treat of them severally, although they are necessarily much entangled one with the other.

Prior to the accession of William the Third the permanent forces, except in the case of a war approved by Parliament, were maintained at the cost of the King's privy purse, or out of the votes for the Civil List or for the Militia.¹⁸³⁵ But after the sanction of a Standing Army by Parliament an annual vote was made of the expense of its maintenance,¹⁸³⁶ and at the same time the strength to be kept up was fixed at a stated limit for the year in question.

It is curious to trace the gradual growth of the army estimates up to their present enormous total of from twelve to sixteen millions annually. Owing to the practices of exhibiting separate "establishments" for England, Ireland, and Scotland, and of keeping quite distinct matters of Pay and Supplies of all kinds, it is almost impossible satisfactorily to adjust the figures so as to give accurately that which would correspond to our modern Army Estimates: and as instances of this difficulty, the following examples of estimates or actual expenditure may be given:—

	£		
1661 ¹⁸³⁷	122,244	England	} Prior to the Revolution and the first Mutiny Act.
1663 ¹⁸³⁸	198,180	do.	
1669 ¹⁸³⁹	223,000	do.	
1673 ¹⁸⁴⁰	347,806	do.	
1680 ¹⁸⁴¹	204,474	do.	
1688 ¹⁸⁴²	1,021,271	do. ?	
1 Nov. }			
ditto ¹⁸⁴³	618,628	do.	} Whole force (includes foreign regts. in British pay).
5 Nov. }			
1689/90 ¹⁸⁴⁴	1,580,076		

¹⁸³⁵ Barillon Dispatches, June, July, and August, 1685, state that James applied the funds intended for the Militia to the maintenance of the Regular troops.

There were absolutely no votes for the Standing Army.

¹⁸³⁶ House of Commons Proceedings.

¹⁸³⁷ Royal Warrant, Whitehall, 27 Feby., 1660/1, to pay to Paymaster of the Forces this amount for the yearly support of the troops: Dom. state papers.

¹⁸³⁸ Abstract of H.M.'s Guards, 1660/1663: App. LXXXVII.

¹⁸³⁹ Abstract of Establishments, 1668-9; Add. MSS. 28,082.

¹⁸⁴⁰ Ditto, Septr., 1673; ditto.

¹⁸⁴¹ Est. list, 1680; Harl. MSS. 6,425.

¹⁸⁴² Est. list, 1 Novr., 1688; Harl. MSS. 7,018.

¹⁸⁴³ Do., 5 Novr., 1688; do. 7,436.

¹⁸⁴⁴ Effective pay of the Army, 5 Novr., 1688, to 31 Decr., 1689 (including Dutch and Danish regts.), Add. MSS. 10,123.

		£	
1689/90	¹⁸⁴⁵	390,606	England
do.	¹⁸⁴⁶	252,510	Flanders
do.	¹⁸⁴⁷	639,129	Ireland
			} £782,245.
1691	¹⁸⁴⁹	2,329,000	Whole army (including £418,000 Ordnance).
1692	¹⁸⁴⁸	2,344,004	Whole army. Pay only.
do.	¹⁸⁴⁹	2,447,927	Whole force, and Ordnance.
do.	¹⁸⁵⁰	254,608	Ordnance, Land service only.
1693/4	¹⁸⁵¹	2,881,194	All except Ordnance.
do.		320,075	Ordnance, Land service only.
1695	¹⁸⁵²	2,709,713	Probably includes Ordnance.
do.	¹⁸⁵³	2,705,102	All except Ordnance.
1696	¹⁸⁵⁴	2,709,713	
1697	¹⁸⁵⁵	2,709,713	

In the British Museum there is preserved among a number of official records a manuscript purporting to be a statement of the actual grants for the Forces made by Parliament from 1689 upwards, as follows:—¹⁸⁵⁶

Particulars of Grants to the Army, 1689 to 1697.

Heads.	1689.	1690.	1691.	1692.	1693.	1694.	1695.	1696.	1697.
	£	£	£	£	£	£	£	£	£
Pay, &c. ...	1,580,076	1,913,384	1,880,698	1,453,549	1,448,732	1,990,782	2,003,271	2,024,854	2,007,881
Extra Services ...	500,000	500,000	500,000	500,000	641,831	329,026	353,805	500,000	500,000
For the Train ...	...	...	...	...	...	210,773	142,924	...	...
Totals...	2,080,076	2,413,384	2,380,698	1,953,549	2,090,563	2,530,581	2,500,000	2,524,854	2,507,881

¹⁸⁴⁵ Est. list, 1 May, 1689; Harl. 7,437.

¹⁸⁴⁶ Est. in Flanders, 1 May, 1689; Harl. 7,438.

¹⁸⁴⁷ Do. Ireland, do.; Harl. 7,439.

¹⁸⁴⁸ An exact list of the Forces 1692; See Chap. XXIV for detailed list.

The amount is thus made up:—

	£	s.	d.
Flanders ...	899,994	8	7
England...	517,125	2	1
Ireland ...	304,227	14	0
Scotland...	74,122	7	6
Colonial, &c. ...	23,523	12	2

¹⁸⁴⁹ Abstract of Estimates, 1689-96; Try. State papers.

¹⁸⁵⁰ Proc. Ho. of Commons, 28 Novr., 1691.

¹⁸⁵¹ Abstract of Estimates, 1689-96; Try. State papers.

List of Land Forces, &c., 1694; Add. MSS. 10,123.

Proc. Ho. of Commons, 5 Novr., 1692, and 5 Decr., 1693.

¹⁸⁵² Abstract of Estimates, 1689-96.

¹⁸⁵³ Proc. Ho. of Commons, 26 Novr., 1694.

¹⁸⁵⁴ Abstract of Estimates, 1689-96.

List of the Land Forces in England and beyond seas 1696; Try. State papers, and Home office records.

Proc. Ho. of Commons, 3 Decr., 1695.

¹⁸⁵⁵ Proc. Ho. of Commons, 28 Octr., 1696.

¹⁸⁵⁶ Particulars of grants to the Army and Navy: Brit. Mus., Add. MSS. 17,761.

And the Annual Register gives the following totals of annual supplies on account of war :—¹⁸⁵⁷

					£
1693	...	...	...	...	4,017,079
1694	...	...	...	...	5,539,087
1695	...	...	...	...	5,036,430
1696	...	...	...	...	5,539,853
1697	...	...	...	...	5,395,078

I am unable to reconcile the discrepancies of these various figures; and the figures for those years that have not been quoted are equally full of inconsistencies. It may, perhaps, be presumed that the modern mischievous practice of obtaining votes on faulty estimates, and then applying them to some other purpose as "Savings" was in full swing at this period. The matter has not appeared to me worthy of any recondite investigation; but it may be taken for granted that the figures given by the Annual Register for years of Continental war are much nearer the mark of actual expenditure than the lesser figures.

One or two examples of the distributive allotment of the above totals may be interesting to some readers. In 1680 the allotment was as follows :—¹⁸⁴¹

					£	s.	d.
General Officers (<i>i.e.</i> , Staff excepting Ordnance) and							
Contingencies	...	...	...	...	7,022	10	10
H.M.'s three troops of Horse Guards	...	...	...	...	52,049	0	0
H.M.'s Regt. of Horse (Blues)	...	...	...	...	26,520	5	10
H.M.'s Own Regt. of Foot Guards...	...	...	...	...	32,944	5	10
The Coldstream Regt. of Foot	...	...	...	...	17,002	18	4
H.R.H. the Duke of York's ditto	...	...	...	...	13,185	12	6
H.M.'s Holland Regt. of Foot	...	...	...	...	12,820	12	6
Total	...	...	...	...	£161,545	5	10
Garrisons and Non-Regimented Forces	...	...	...	...	42,929	6	1½
Includes Pensions	...	...	...	...	£127	5	6½
					365	0	0
Allowances on several occasions	£1,127	19	2				
And—							
Added by H.M.'s command	£155	2	6				
Total Est. ...	...	...	...	...	£204,474	11	11½

In 1696,¹⁸⁵⁸ being a year of war, the distribution, for the Land

¹⁸⁵⁷ Annual Register 1763.

¹⁸⁵⁸ List of the Land Forces, &c., 1696; Try. state papers.

Forces "in England and beyond seas" included some additional items:—

	£	s.	d.
Pay ^a of the troops	2,007,881	19	11
The General Officers	31,058	8	6
For the Train (<i>i.e.</i> , Artillery)	210,773	4	5
For Transports, Hospitals, Contingencies, and other extraordinary charges of the war ...	460,000	0	0
Total	<u>£2,709,713</u>	<u>12</u>	<u>10</u>

One more instance, that of 1699, will suffice:—¹⁸⁵⁹

	£	s.	d.
Establishment for England from 26 March, 1699 :			
7,000 men in England (all regimented)... ..	312,020	5	0
	£	s.	d.
Regt. of Fusileers, Jersey and Guernsey	12,242	14	2
Regt. of Foot, W. Indies	12,142	6	8
4 Companies, New York	4,258	6	8
1 Company, Leeward Islands	1,117	2	6
1 do. Newfoundland	1,015	18	4
General Staff Officers and Contingencies... ..	30,776	8	4
Garrisons	12,048	9	2
Do. fire and candle	18,802	4	6
Do.	3,052	12	9
Half-pay to disbanded officers	42,572	13	9
Invalids for whom there is no room in Chelsea Hospital	6,763	18	8
Half-pay to Commissaries of Musters discharged	730	0	0
Total	<u>£426,766</u>	<u>12</u>	<u>2</u>

It is to be borne in mind that these amounts do not include the cost of the Ordnance Establishment and stores. For instance, of the Ordnance charge for the year 1679/80,¹⁸⁶⁰ £40,000 may be estimated to have been for the Army.

The authority for all issues of money from the military chest emanated from the Crown¹⁸⁶¹ or from the General Com-

¹⁸⁵⁹ Est. for England from 26 March, 1699; Brit. Mus., Add. MSS. 10,123.

¹⁸⁶⁰ Ordnance Estimate, 21 Novr., 1679; Harl. MS. 4,251.

¹⁸⁶¹ Captain-General's Commission, 1660; App. I.

Heads of the late Lord-General's function, 1678; App. XXI.

Royal Warrt., Whitehall, 10 Octr., 1690, addressed to the Paymaster-General in Ireland, Baron Ginkell, General and Commander-in-Chief in Ireland, to give warrants for all payments, these warrants to constitute sufficient discharge, and no payments to be made without such warrants; Brit. Mus., Add. MSS. 5,754.

Warrant, 2 Febr., 1690/1, for payments of subsistence, by General Ginkell; the Clarke MSS. contain many other proofs that this power was vested in the General in 1690 to 1692.

Letter, Cork, 12 Novr., 1690, Churchill to Clarke; Clarke MSS.

manding in Chief and all certificates for payment emanated from the Commissariat Officers ; indeed, there is an instance of an order for money by the Secretary for War being returned to him by the General as it could not be honoured without the signature of the Commissary-General.

The distribution of pay through the army was made by the PAYMASTER-GENERAL, the effective strength being checked by the Commissary-General of the Musters, and the regimental accounts being kept by a "clerk" or "agent."

The functions of the Paymaster-General of the Forces were limited to finding the money for the pay of the troops and disbursing it in gross to the different regiments. It does not appear that he or, indeed, any one else audited the regimental accounts after the money was once issued, though there was some sort of audit before : in each regiment there were so many authorised officers and men to be drawn for, and for so many of this number as could be certified to by the Commissary-General of Musters pay was issued subject to certain deductions ; for the rest, it was entirely the affair of the Colonel of the regiment. The Paymaster-General was indeed merely a farmer of a part of the revenue, and a most lucrative affair this farming seems to have been. The actual annual "fee" or pay of the office was not more than £400 a year¹⁸⁶² with a dwelling-house, but the Paymaster-General was allowed besides his salary, one shilling in the pound¹⁸⁶³ out of the whole pay of the army ; and for this consideration he undertook to advance funds on his own private credit, and to issue the pay of the regiments weekly. At the end of every four months¹⁸⁶⁴ he applied to the Treasury for reimbursement, including his own shilling per pound. If the Treasury did not pay promptly, interest accrued to the Paymaster-General at the rate of eight per cent. per annum.¹⁸⁶⁵ Sir Stephen Fox, who was Paymaster-General in Charles the Second's reign, reckoned that for every fifteen or sixteen months

¹⁸⁶² Warrt., May, 1679, Sir Stephen Fox to be Paymaster with a fee of £400 per annum ; Signet books.

Warrt., 20 Decr., 1679, Nics. Johnson and Wm. Fox, Esqrs., to be "Receiver " and Paymaster of H.M.'s Guards, garrisons and forces" *vice* Sir J. Fox, with a fee of 20s. a day and house and offices in the tilt-yard adjoining the Horse-Guards ; Signet books.

¹⁸⁶³ Pepys, 1667 : Pepys had these particulars from Sir Stephen Fox himself.

Agreement, Aug., 1662 ; App. LXXI.

Royal Warrant, 17 Mar., 1683/4 ; App. LXXI.

¹⁸⁶⁴ Report of Commissioners for Auditing the Public Accounts, 1781.

Pepys, 1667.

¹⁸⁶⁵ Pepys.

he gained about twelve per cent. on his advances,¹⁸⁶⁵ which then amounted to about one hundred and thirty thousand pounds a year. Sir Stephen's *lawful* profits on this sum were therefore at eight per cent., over ten thousand a year,¹⁸⁶⁶ which at that period was a very large income indeed.

On the first of January, 1684, these arrangements were altered, and while the shilling per pound continued to be deducted from the troops, the whole of it was not made over to the Paymaster-General as before; but one third was assigned to him¹⁸⁶⁷ and to the payment of Exchequer fees, while the other two thirds went to the Crown for the use of Chelsea Hospital, or "towards the payment of the establishment of the forces,"—a ludicrous instance of the length to which the system of stoppages may be carried; for thus during several days in the year the Army was actually taxed to pay itself. At the same time the Paymaster-General was no longer required to find the funds in advance,¹⁸⁶⁸ but he drew them by imprest from the Treasury at intervals. In Scotland the custom as late as 1699 was to let the Paymaster-Generalship to Contractors, who in that year, for example, undertook to advance certain sums¹⁸⁶⁹ for a poundage of eightpence off the Foot, and twelvepence off the Horse and Dragoons.

We have an example extant of what was signified to the mind of the Secretary at War and the other Authorities by the assignment of the two-thirds "towards the payment of the establishment of the forces." In Warrants of 1690^{1869a} £365 a year is granted out of this stoppage to Mr. L'Etang of the Dutch Guards; and £1,000 a year to Mr. Blathwayt, Secretary at War.

The Paymaster-General ranked highest of all the administrative Staff of the Army, the Commissary-General of the Musters coming next after him.

While the Paymaster-General's duty was to keep and to issue the monies allowed for military purposes, the COMMISSARY-

¹⁸⁶⁶ Reresby (1685); "whose employ was valued at £10,000 per annum."

¹⁸⁶⁷ Royal Warrt., 17 Mar., 1683/4; App. LXXI.

Royal Warrts., 1 Janry., 1685, and 1 May and 25 Aug., 1689; App. XCVI.

¹⁸⁶⁸ Report of Commissioners for auditing the public accounts, 1781.

The numerous documents and authorities connected with the arrears of the troops from 1688 to 1700 shew that the Treasury was then looked to for payment, and that the Paymaster-General only issued as he received from the Treasury. Representation of Comms. of Excise to the Treasury; Brit. Mus., Add. MSS. 28,082.

See also Note ¹⁸⁶⁹.

¹⁸⁶⁹ Letter, 5 Mar., 1699, Earl of Argyll to Mr. Carstairs; Macpherson.

^{1869a} Royal Warrants (two), 2 June, 1690. Home Office records.

GENERAL OF MUSTERS was responsible for the actual strength of the army.¹⁸⁷⁰ To him were issued all Royal warrants authorising increases or decreases of numbers, and upon his certificate the Paymaster-General issued the regimental subsistence to each corps. The officers composing the staff of this Commissary-General were styled Commissaries of Musters,¹⁸⁷¹ their especial duty being to muster the forces.

The term Muster is derived from the Latin word *monstrum barbaricè mustrum*, a shew: and a muster is a shew of soldiers for the purpose of proving that all borne on the rolls are actually forthcoming. Musters naturally date from the earliest times of paid troops, their object being two-fold; first the prevention of fraud through pay being claimed for mere paper men, and second to afford an opportunity to the Commissary for a proper periodical inspection of men, horses, arms, and accoutrements, with a view to satisfy him that the first were thoroughly fit for duty,¹⁸⁷² and that the others were neither made away with nor allowed to fall into an unserviceable state.

The method of a muster in this country has remained unchanged for at least three centuries, and we find in the regulations of Queen Elizabeth an exact counterpart of the muster of a regiment in this year of 1868:¹⁸⁷³ "at every mustering or "assembling the captain's bill shall be called by the clarke, "every man answering to his own name, marching forth as he "is called, that no man unto two names make answer."

Besides being responsible that the ranks were kept up to the establishment, and that the equipment of the troops was perfect, the Commissaries of Musters were also responsible that the regulated period of leave was not exceeded,¹⁸⁷⁴ and that officers were duly commissioned to the rank for which they drew pay.¹⁸⁷⁵

¹⁸⁷⁰ Chamberlayne.
Establishment lists.

¹⁸⁷¹ Est. lists.

Nairne papers, D.N., Vol. I, Fol. 92, Janry., 1692. "Plan of descent to be made "in England."

See also succeeding Notes.

¹⁸⁷² Ralph Smith.

Musters, Regulations 1663; App. XXIV.

Schonberg's Dispatches, 1689.

Regulations for the Musters, Dublin, 29 July, 1697; App. XLVII.

Military Dict. 1702.

¹⁸⁷³ Ralph Smith.

¹⁸⁷⁴ Musters Regulations, 5 May, 1663; App. XXIV.

Proclamation, Kensington, 26 Octr., 1696; Lond. Gazette.

¹⁸⁷⁵ Heads of the late Lord General's function (1660/70), 1678; App. XXI.

Musters Regulations, 1663; App. XXIV.

Articles of War, 1673, Art. 48; App. LIII.

It was also a part of their duty to administer the oaths of allegiance¹⁸⁷⁶ to soldiers at their first muster, and to read to the troops any royal proclamations affecting them.¹⁸⁷⁷

At first every regiment used to be mustered seven times a-year,¹⁸⁷⁸ but from the year 1675¹⁸⁷⁹ only six times a-year, until in 1687 the musters were ordered to be taken monthly.¹⁸⁸⁰ In Ireland, however, in 1697 an order was published¹⁸⁸¹ that musters were to be held at least four times a-year but oftener if directed.

When the Commissary received his orders from the Commissary-General to muster any particular regiment,¹⁸⁸² he gave "convenient notice" of the time and place to the Colonel. The regiment then prepared in triplicate an alphabetical muster-roll,¹⁸⁸³ and after the muster at least two of these were signed by the Commissary and two officers of each troop or company: one was then sent to the Commissary-General, and one (which was always on parchment) to the Paymaster-General, while the third remained in possession of the regiment. If the Paymaster-General received from the Commissary-General no intimation of informality in the muster he proceeded, upon the authority of this certified roll, to reckon the pay due to the regiment on the numbers shewn in it,¹⁸⁸⁴ and submitted certificates of the amount to the Commander-in-Chief, who thereupon granted a warrant for the issue of the money by the Paymaster-General.

In 1673 the "convenient notice" was reduced to the night before the muster:¹⁸⁸⁵ and in 1678 it was ordered¹⁸⁸⁶ that the Colonels should sign the rolls instead of the troop or company officers. In 1690 further regulations¹⁸⁸⁷ were issued with the

¹⁸⁷⁶ Warrant, Dublin, 1 June, 1699; Dublin state papers.

¹⁸⁷⁷ Royal Proclamation, Belfast, 19 June, 1690; Clarke MSS.

¹⁸⁷⁸ Heads of the late Lord General's function; App. XXI.

¹⁸⁷⁹ Royal Warrant, 3 Decr., 1674, ordering six musters instead of seven per annum from 1 Janry., 1675.

¹⁸⁸⁰ Royal Warrt., 12 Mar., 1686/7; App. LXXVI.

¹⁸⁸¹ Regulations for Musters, Dublin, 29 July, 1697; App. XLVII.

¹⁸⁸² Musters Reg., 1663; App. XXIV.

Articles of War, 1673, Art. 51.

¹⁸⁸³ Musters Reg., 1663, and Dublin, 29 July, 1697.

Heads of the late Lord General's function, 1678.

Articles of War, 1673, Arts. 48 and 51.

¹⁸⁸⁴ Late Lord General's function; App. XXI.

¹⁸⁸⁵ Articles of War, 1673, Art. 51.

Regulations for Musters, Dublin, 29 July, 1697; App. XLVII.

¹⁸⁸⁶ Order, 3 June, 1678, on returns of Coldstream Guards; Mackinnon.

¹⁸⁸⁷ Regulations, Whitehall, 30 May, 1690; App. CII.

Musters Regulations, Dublin, 29 July, 1697.

view of checking the increasing frauds at musters: certificates of absence from sickness were to be signed in the Commissary's presence by the Major or Adjutant, by the Surgeon, and by the two senior captains not being of the company to which the soldiers in question belonged; and similarly guarded certificates were to be furnished for soldiers on furlough. The rolls were to be finally closed on the spot, and the parchment copy (which it had become customary to leave with the regimental agent for transmission), was ordered to be dispatched by next post direct to the Commissary-General for transfer by him to the Paymaster-General: a copy was also to be furnished to the General Officer Commanding for his examination.

When the Commissary disallowed any names on the muster-roll on account of unexplained absence or of unfitness, "checks" or "respites" were said to be placed upon those names, and their subsequent allowance upon sufficient explanation was termed "removing the checks."

For purposes of distribution of pay and of keeping accounts, the Colonel of each regiment was allowed to employ a "Colonel's Clerk." For this Clerk's pay no provision was made by Government except in the First and Second Foot Guards;¹⁸⁸⁸ but in other regiments an *unauthorised* deduction of twopence in the pound on the whole pay of the regiment was devoted to this purpose.

The Colonel's clerk was entirely a civilian¹⁸⁸⁹ and was removable at the Colonel's will, in fact the clerk was simply his servant:¹⁸⁹⁰ naturally a post so remunerative as this might be (and indeed was) made, was greatly sought after, and as a consequence the Colonels used to sell it to the highest bidder.¹⁸⁹¹

¹⁸⁸⁸ Abstract of Off-Reckonings of Coldstream Guards, 1695; App. XCVII.

Letter, Dublin castle, 8 May, 1686; Clarendon to Rochester; Clarendon correspondence.

House of Commons, Address, 26 Febry., 1694/5, states this deduction to be "without warrant."

Such a deduction was also forbidden by the Mutiny Acts from 1688.

¹⁸⁸⁹ Chamberlayne, 1679.

In 1694/5 Mr. Tracy Pauncefort, agent to the 13th Foot, was committed to the Tower; had he ranked as an officer he would have been tried by court-martial.

List of Agents; Harl. MSS. 7,018.

¹⁸⁹⁰ Letter, Dublin castle, 26 June, 1686, Clarendon to Blathwayt: "At one time or other the Agents will be the ruin of the army here; who, I perceive, are not to be controlled by any but the colonels, who will support them."

"Concerning the Agents of the Army (1693/4); Harl. MS. 7,018."

Proceedings of House of Commons, 25 Janry., 1694/5.

¹⁸⁹¹ House of Commons Report, 1746; this report was retrospective.

Proceedings of House of Commons, 25 Janry., 1694/5.

Occasionally a soldier would be appointed as clerk.¹⁸⁹² Sometimes the same man was clerk or agent to several regiments at once.¹⁸⁹³

In James the Second's reign the Colonel's clerk had come to be termed the regimental "Agent,"¹⁸⁹⁴ and from these agents sprang in course of time those banking firms now styled "ARMY AGENTS."

The functions of a Colonel's Clerk corresponded somewhat with those of the modern paymaster: he kept the regimental accounts, and in turn accounted to the Colonel for the sums remitted by the Paymaster-General; and, like a Paymaster, he had to give bonds or securities¹⁸⁹⁵ for his honesty. The acquittance of officers commanding companies were to be sufficient vouchers for an agent's accounts.

The following tables exhibit the RATES OF PAY of all regimental ranks in the years 1687/9;¹⁸⁹⁶ and as the same rates were allowed (with only an exception or two, that will be afterwards noticed) in 1659 and in 1700, this table may be taken to represent the rates in force throughout the period here treated of:—

¹⁸⁹² Lond. Gaz., 6/10 Octr., 1698; Advertisement for "Stephen Jope, corporal and clerk of Major Naper's troop" of 5th Dr. Gds.; this man may however have been only a sort of troop clerk, and not a regimental clerk.

¹⁸⁹³ List of Agents; Harl. MSS.

Lond. Gaz., 26/29 Octr., 1685; advertisement for "Richard Thurloe, Agent to Colonel Kirk's and Colonel Trelawney's Regiments, and Clerk to Colonel Cornwall's troop in my Lord of Oxford's regiment"; absconded with money.

Proceedings of House of Commons, 25 Janry., 1694/5: "Some of them have two, three or even up to seven regts."

¹⁸⁹⁴ See Previous notes.

¹⁸⁹⁵ 1 Wm. & Mary, Sess. 2, C. 4.

Royal Warrt., Beccalaer, 17 June, 1695; Tyrawley papers; Brit. Mus., Add. MSS. 23,642.

¹⁸⁹⁶ Establishment list, 1 Janry., 1687, to 30 Apr., 1689; Harl. MS. 7,018.

Est. of the Forces in England and Wales, 27 Febr., 1659; Harl. MS. 6,844.

Also,

House of Commons Journals, 1688.

Nathan Brooks, 1684.

Est. list, 1680; Harl. MS. 6,425.

Est. list, 1689/90, &c., Harl. MS. 7,018, and subsequent Est. Lists already quoted.

Report, 2 Decr., 1690, of Paymaster General on claim for pay by Warrington's Horse, for 1689; Try. State Papers.

Statement of Accounts of Quarter-Master de Trepetit 7th Dr. Gds. from 1 Janry., 1691/2, to 19 Aug., 1694; Harl. MS. 7,018.

Statement, 4 Decr., 1697, of pay of chaplain Jephson, 17th Foot; Dub. state papers.

State of arrears of Ensign Hanna, 9th Ft., 1691/93; Dublin State papers.

Ditto Corpl. Mc Meara, 1693/94; ditto, &c., &c., &c.

Table of Rates of Regimental Pay and Allowances, 1689.

Rank.	Horse.					Dragoons.					Foot.			
	Pay of Rank.	Additional as Captain.	Servants at 2/6 each.	Forage at 2/- per Horse.	Total per diem.	Pay of Rank.	Additional as Captain.	Servants at 1/6 each.	Forage at 1/- per Horse.	Total per diem.	Pay of Rank.	Additional as Captain.	Servants at 1/8.	Total per diem.
Colonel	12 0	10 0	15 0	4 0	3 0	15 0	8 0	9 0	3 0	15 0	12 0	8 0	4 0	3 0
Lieut.-Col.	8 0	10 0	10 0	4 0	2 0	10 0	8 0	9 0	3 0	10 0	10 0	8 0	4 0	1 4 0
Major	20 0	10 0	10 0	4 0	1 0	20 0	8 0	4 0	3 0	1 4 0	10 0	8 0	2 0	17 0
Captain	10 0	10 0	10 0	4 0	1 0	10 0	8 0	4 0	3 0	1 4 0	10 0	8 0	2 0	15 0
Lieutenant	6 0	10 0	10 0	4 0	1 0	6 0	8 0	4 0	3 0	1 4 0	6 0	8 0	2 0	10 0
Cornet	5 0	10 0	10 0	4 0	1 0	5 0	8 0	4 0	3 0	1 4 0	5 0	8 0	2 0	10 0
Ensign	5 0	10 0	10 0	4 0	1 0	5 0	8 0	4 0	3 0	1 4 0	5 0	8 0	2 0	10 0
Serjeant	3 0	10 0	10 0	4 0	1 0	3 0	8 0	4 0	3 0	1 4 0	3 0	8 0	2 0	10 0
Corporal	2 0	10 0	10 0	4 0	1 0	2 0	8 0	4 0	3 0	1 4 0	2 0	8 0	2 0	10 0
Trumpeter	3 0	10 0	10 0	4 0	1 0	3 0	8 0	4 0	3 0	1 4 0	3 0	8 0	2 0	10 0
Hautbois	2 6	10 0	10 0	4 0	1 0	2 6	8 0	4 0	3 0	1 4 0	2 6	8 0	2 0	10 0
Private	2 6	10 0	10 0	4 0	1 0	2 6	8 0	4 0	3 0	1 4 0	2 6	8 0	2 0	10 0
Piper	2 6	10 0	10 0	4 0	1 0	2 6	8 0	4 0	3 0	1 4 0	2 6	8 0	2 0	10 0
REGIMENTAL STAFF.														
Adjutant	5 0	10 0	10 0	4 0	1 0	5 0	8 0	4 0	3 0	1 4 0	5 0	8 0	2 0	10 0
Quarter-Master	4 0	10 0	10 0	4 0	1 0	4 0	8 0	4 0	3 0	1 4 0	4 0	8 0	2 0	10 0
Surgeon	6 0	10 0	10 0	4 0	1 0	6 0	8 0	4 0	3 0	1 4 0	6 0	8 0	2 0	10 0
Surgeon's Mate	6 0	10 0	10 0	4 0	1 0	6 0	8 0	4 0	3 0	1 4 0	6 0	8 0	2 0	10 0
Chaplain	6 0	10 0	10 0	4 0	1 0	6 0	8 0	4 0	3 0	1 4 0	6 0	8 0	2 0	10 0
Drum-Major	6 0	10 0	10 0	4 0	1 0	6 0	8 0	4 0	3 0	1 4 0	6 0	8 0	2 0	10 0
Gunsmit	6 0	10 0	10 0	4 0	1 0	6 0	8 0	4 0	3 0	1 4 0	6 0	8 0	2 0	10 0

-To Col's Company of
First Royal Regt.
only.

-In Foot to Royal
Fusiliers only.

The Life-Guards had superior pay to that of the Horse regiments including the Blues : their rates of daily pay were as follows,¹⁸⁰⁶ to which the allowances of the different grades have to be added :—

Life Guards.

Captain	...	...	20/-	per diem as Colonel and 10/- as Captain.
Lieutenant	...	...	15/-	"
Cornet	...	...	14/-	"
Guidon	...	...	12/-	"
Quarter-Master	...	...	9/-	"
Chaplain	..	...	6/8	"
Surgeon	...	...	6/-	" and 2/- for a horse.
Brigadeer	...	...	7/-	" } ¹⁸⁹⁷ above their pay as
Sub-Brigr.	...	...	1/-	" } private gentlemen.
Trumpeter	...	...	5/-	"
Kettledrum	...	...	5/-	"
Pte. Gentleman	...	...	4/-	"

Horse Granadeers of the Life Guards.

Lieutenant	...	...	...	8/-
Serjeant	...	...	...	4/-
Corporal	...	...	...	3/-
Drummer	...	...	...	2/6
Hautboy	..	...	...	2/6
Granadeer	...	...	..	2/6

In the Blues the Major had a troop and received therefore only five and sixpence a day besides ;¹⁸⁹⁶ and the Captains in this regiment drew fifteen shillings instead of ten shillings, this increase of their pay taking place at some period between 1680 and 1688. When the Blues were quartered in Southwark the pay of the private troopers was raised eightpence a-day,¹⁸⁹⁸ and that of the privates of the Foot-Guards was raised twopence a day¹⁸⁹⁹

¹⁸⁹⁷ These rates appear to have been reduced afterwards :

Letter, Dublin, 2 June, 1691, Robinson to Clarke, "5s. a day as a Brigadeer in "the Guards who was no more than a Sub-Brigadeer at 2s. 6d. per diem"; or perhaps the pay of these grades was lower in Ireland than in England as was the case with the rank and file of other regiments.

¹⁸⁹⁸ Est. list, 1680.

Memo. E. of Ranelagh to the King, 1696 ; Brit. Mus., Add. MSS. 10,123.

¹⁸⁹⁹ Royal Warrt., 12 May, 1671, and 23 Novr., ordering the pay of soldiers of

whenever quartered in London. In Ireland a similar allowance of twopence a day for Foot¹⁹⁰⁰ and sixpence a day for Horse was made to all troops doing duty in Dublin.

In 1691 the following additional allowances of pay were granted to the First and Second Foot-Guards :—¹⁹⁰¹

Colonel	...	8/-	Captain	...	6/-
Lieut.-Col.	...	5/-	Ensign	...	2/-
Major	...	3/-			

WORKING-PAY had been instituted at least as early as 1680, the rate varying from sixpence a-day at home to eighteenpence abroad ; ¹⁹⁰² and in 1691 we have a record of the intention to form an artillery working corps¹⁹⁰³ of soldiers who were to receive working-pay when employed in artillery duties.

The rates of pay of the Staff¹⁹⁰⁴ are exhibited in the following

the Foot Guards on duty at Rochester to be reduced to 8*s.* a day until their return to London ; also various Warrants for payments ; W.O. records.

Est. List, 1687/89 ; 10*s.* per diem for privates of the Foot-Guards, but " if quartered out of London the soldiers to be reduced to 8*s.* a day."

Abstract of Est., Septr., 1673 ; Brit. Mus., Add. MSS. 28,082.

¹⁹⁰⁰ Warrants, 19 June, 6 Aug., 22 Septr., 1697, and 4 Apr., 1698, &c., to pay such amounts to the 11th Ft., Wolsley's Horse, and 2nd Dr. Gds., &c.

Proclamation, Dublin, 26 July, 1697 ; Dub. state papers.

¹⁹⁰¹ Royal Warrt., Whitehall, 10 Janry., 1690/91, for 1st Ft. Gds. ; Harl. MS. 7,437.

Royal Warrt., Whitehall, 15 Apr., 1691, for Coldstream Regt., ditto.

¹⁹⁰² Thacker (Account of Tangier), 1680 : " And when the private soldiers do not mount the guard they may either employ themselves on the mole and receive the King's pay which is eighteen pence a-day or," &c.

Royal Warrt., 18 Mar., 1685/6 ; For payment to soldiers of the Foot-Guards and the Royal Regiment of Fusiliers of the sum of £116 11*s.* 6*d.* " which we are graciously pleased to allow for the work done in Hyde Park, after the rate of sixpence per diem to every Non-Commissioned Officer and soldier employed therein " ; " to be paid without deduction."

¹⁹⁰³ Letter, London, 29 Janry., 1690/1 ; J. Richards to Clarke ; Clarke MSS.

See next Chapter under Artillery.

¹⁹⁰⁴ Est. lists to 1700 ; Harl. MSS. 6,425 ; 4,161 ; 7,018 ; 7,436 ; 7,437 ; 7,438 ; and 7,441, &c., &c. ; and Brit. Mus., Add. MSS. 10,123, &c.

Royal Warrt., 28 Novr., 1686 ; Dy. Judge Adv. for Jersey at 2*s.* 6*d.* ; Harl. MS. 7,436.

Royal Warrt., 10 Mar., 1686/7 ; 20*s.* additional to Secretary at War ; App. LXXV.

R. Warrt., Whitehall, 12 Mar., 1686/7 ; increase of pay of Dy. Commissies. of Musters ; App. LXXVI.

R. Warrt., 1 Janry., 1689/90, Appointing a " Physician to the garrison of Portsmouth," at 7*s.* 6*d.* a day ; Harl. MSS. 7,437.

R. Warrts., 1 Mar., 1689/90, for est. of fixed and marching hospitals in Ireland ; App. XCVIII.

R. Warrt., Whitehall, 2 Janry., 1690/1, Establishing two " Assistants to the Qr. Mast. Genl. of Our Forces in Ireland at 10*s.* per diem each." Harl. MSS. 7,439.

Royal Warrt., Whitehall, 12 Apr., 1690, appointing Wm. Robinson and

table, but as the allowances cannot be accurately stated they are omitted altogether :—

Table of Staff Pay to A.D. 1700.

Grade.	Rates per diem.			Remarks.
	1680.	1687.	1690.	
General Commanding-in-Chief...	...	£10	£6 to £10	
General ... ..	...	£6	£6	
Lieut.-General ... ..	...	£4	£4	
Major-General ... ..	...	40/-	40/-	
Brigadeer-General ... ..	...	30/-	30/-	
Paymaster-General	20/-	60/-	60/-	— Besides fees, pay for self and clerks.
Commissary of the Pay-Office ..	...	...	12/-	
Commissary-General of Musters	11/6	17/6	25/8 $\frac{1}{2}$	— Besides fees.
Chief Deputy Commissary do....	...	13/-	23/-	
Deputy do. do....	5/-	5/-	10/-	
Clerk to do. do....	2/6	2/6	2/6	
Commissary-General of Provisions ... ..	...	30/-	20/- to 30/-	
Secretary to the Forces...	20/-	40/-	60/-	— For self and expenses of clerks and offices.
Quarter-Master-General ... ..	...	20/-	20/-	
Assistant to do. ... ..	...	...	10/-	
Adjutant-General	15/-	20/-	20/-	
Scout-Master-General	15/-	20/-	20/-	
Judge-Advocate	7/6	12/6	} 20/-	
Clerk to do.	2/6	2/6		
Deputy Judge-Advocate ... ..	...	2/6 to 10/-	2/6 to 10/-	
Provost-Marshal-General ... ..	...	8/-	8/-	
Inspector-General of Garrisons...	...	16/5 $\frac{1}{2}$...	
Marshal of the Horse	7/-	7/-	7/-	
Wagon-Master-General ... ..	...	...	10/-	
Aide-de-Camp ... ..	...	10/-	10/-	
Secretary to a Commander-in-Chief (<i>i.e.</i> Military Secretary)	...	...	10/-	

Bartholomew Van Homrigh Esquires to be jointly or separately Commissaries-General of the Provisions in Ireland at 20s. a day each; Harl. MS. 7,439.

R. Warrt., Whitehall, 29 Decr., 1690, Establishing a Wagon-Master-General to the Army at 10s. a day; Harl. MS. 7,439.

Royal Warrt., 28 Sept., 1689, Appointing two "Controllers or Commissaries-General of all provisions and necessaries for the forces" in Ireland at 20s. each a day "as salary for themselves and clerks" besides incidental expenses as stationery, &c.; Harl. MS. 7,439.

Petition, Apr., 1691, of Col. Edw. Maine, Brigadeer of Horse, for pay 1688/91, reckoned at 30s. a day; Try. State Papers.

Report, 21 July, 1697, on Major-General Leveson's petition for £732 10s. 0d. for 1696; Try. State Papers.

Warrant, Dublin, 10 June, 1697, placing Earl of Galway on establishment as Lieutenant-General at £4 a day; Dub. state papers.

Royal Warrant, 17 May, 1697, establishing an Adjutant-General to the Army in Ireland at 20s. a day; Dub. state papers.

Regulations and Est. of the Ordnance, 1683; Harl. MS. 6,334.

Ordnance.

Grade.	1683. Per annum.	Remarks.
	£	
Master-General	1,500	
Lieut.-General	800	
Surveyor-General	400	
Clerk of Ordnance	400	
Storekeeper-General	400	
Clerk of Deliveries	300	
Treasurer	500	
Secretary	200	
Office Clerks	40 to 75	
Armoury-keeper	60	
Armourer	20 to 25	
Keeper of small guns	80	
Furbisher do.	30 to 40	
Storekeeper	20 to 120	
Principal Engineer	300	{ Of Principal Engineer in 1662, £243 6s. 8d. ; of 2nd Engineer in 1660, £173 ; of an Engineer in 1680, 10/- per diem ; one Engineer in Ireland, 1691, received 20/- per diem.
2nd do.	250	
3rd do.	150	
Young men to be bred up as Engineers	100	
Master-Gunner	190	
Do. Mate	£45 10/-	
Gunner	1/- per diem	
Firemaster... ..	150	In 1687 and 1690, a Fire master at 3/- per diem.
Do. Mate	80	
Fireworkers or Petardiers	40	
Proof-Master	20	
Wagon-Master	100	
Clerk of Cheque	60	
Purveyor (of Transport)	40	

Royal Warrt., Whitehall, 25 July, 1683, for est. of ditto ; ditto.

Patent, 1 Apr., 1662, appointing Sir Bernard de Gomme Chief or Principal Engineer of all garrisons and forts with a fee of 13s. 4d. a day.

Grant, Octr., 1660, to Thos. Loup of office of Engineer to the Master of Ordnance and Artillery at a pension of £100 a year and a fee of 4s. a day ; Dom. state papers.

R. Warrt., 13 Aug., 1689, to pay "D. Moliboy one of the Engineers employed " in Our service in Ireland " 10s. a day ; Harl. MS., 7,439.

Report, 6 Mar., 1693/4, on petition of W. Romer, late an Engineer in Ireland at 20s. a day ; Try. State papers.

Statement of arrears of J. Watson Gunner at 1s. a day, Dublin, 21 Apr., 1698 ; Dub. state papers.

Medical.

Grade.	Rates per diem.			Remarks.
	1680.	1688.	1690.	
Physician-General	10/-	20/-	
Chirurgeon-General	6/8	10/-	20/-	
Apothecary-General	10/-	
Governor of a Hospital	10/11½	
Master-Surgeon (Staff)	10/-	
Garrison-Surgeon do.	7/-	
Surgeon's Mate do.	3/-	
Master-Apothecary do.	8/-	
Apothecary's Mate do.	3/-	
Purveyor do.	6/-	
Clerk of Hospital Accounts	5/-	
Clerk of Hospital Furniture	4/-	
Hospital Steward	3/-	
Hospital Cook	3/-	
Nurse-Tender	2/6	

One of the oldest regulations under the head of pay was to the effect that no Officer could draw pay in a double capacity,¹⁹⁰⁵ except a General Officer, or an Officer of a regiment as captain and field-officer.

It will readily be perceived, from what has been said and from what is to follow, that the soldier of to-day is far better off in point of remuneration than the soldier of the seventeenth century, even after making allowance for the decreased value of money. For it is to be recollected that while the soldier of William's reign pocketed only what trifling surplus he could make for himself out of his subsistence money, the soldier of Queen Victoria's reign receives a liberal grant of clothing, his lodging, his fuel and light, besides being provided with a good ration at a stoppage generally much below its cost price.¹⁹⁰⁶

But the pay of the Officers has not improved equally with that of the men, for it appears to be forgotten by the Authorities that the Allowances which they are so constantly and arbitrarily cutting down as excrescences are a part and parcel of an Officer's pay and have been so from time immemorial.

An explanation of the term "subsistence," of which use has just been made, opens up the view to the whole dreadful system of STOPPAGES; a system of bare-faced peculation in the seven-

¹⁹⁰⁵ Musters Regns., 5 May, 1663; App. XXIV.

¹⁹⁰⁶ The ration is given free of all stoppage since this was penned (1890).

teenth century, and whose abuses have even now not entirely ceased.

The pay of the soldier was divided under three heads,¹⁹⁰⁷ namely; first, "Subsistence-money" at the regulated rates of two shillings out of his pay of two and sixpence for a Trooper, one and twopence out of one and sixpence for a Dragoon, and sixpence out of eight pence for a Foot soldier: second, the "Gross Off-Reckonings," which were the difference between the total pay and the subsistence: and, third, the "net off-reckonings," which were the balance of the Gross off-reckonings after all lawful deductions. These net off-reckonings formed the clothing fund and went into the hands of the Colonel of the regiment for that purpose. The only portion of the soldier's pay supposed to be paid directly to himself was his subsistence, and out of it he had to pay the charges of his billet for himself and horse, such charges being limited by Act of Parliament to the amount of the subsistence-money. The subsistence was liable to no stoppages whatever,¹⁹⁰⁸ as it was indeed, as the name implies, all that the soldier had to live on; for rations were not issued except (on payment) when it was

¹⁹⁰⁷ Royal Warrt., 1 Febr., 1677/8, divides pay into subsistence and off-reckonings, the latter to be applied to clothing; App. IX.

Other authorities will be quoted as the subject proceeds.

¹⁹⁰⁸ Letter, Dublin Castle, 4 Decr., 1686, Clarendon to Rochester; "the Major-General said all the deductions were to be made out of the warrants for full pay "and that the soldiers ought to have all their subsistence money," &c. Clarendon Correspondence.

Order, Whitehall, 27 Novr., 1687; Lond. Gaz., 28 Novr., 1 Decr., 1687; Captains of Foot to pay subsistence money of three shillings a week in two equal payments "without deduction": also to account with each soldier every two months for sixpence a week more "allowed by us for the providing such necessaries for each soldier "to which the off-reckonings or residue of their pay hath not formerly been liable." The said off-reckonings to be employed by Colonels "for the clothing and poundage "and satisfying all other remaining expenses, for which account to be made to each "soldier at the time of every clothing."

Proclamation, Dublin, 26 July, 1697, concerning the pay and clothing of the Army; Dub. State papers; Foot-soldiers out of Dublin "shall constantly receive "two shillings every week without stoppages or deductions on any pretence what-ever"; and Captains to account with each soldier every four months "for the "fourpence per week stopped out of his subsistence" (it is to be observed that the subsistence in Ireland was fourpence a day). No deduction to be made from subsistence of one shilling a day for Horse and ninepence halfpenny for Dragoons; App. XC.

Statement of accounts of Wolseley's Horse, 1694/97; Dublin state papers.

Decision, 14 July, 1697, by the General Court Martial upon case of privates in 11th Foot, "that a mistake has been committed by the Officers in making deductions "out of the weekly groats (*i.e.*, fourpences) of the said private men for Poundage, "Pells, and Hospital fees, which should have been discounted for in their off-reckonings";—ordered to be repaid them; ditto.

found absolutely necessary in the field. In 1687 the subsistence was practically reduced by one-seventh by making one day's pay per week liable to purchase of necessities.¹⁹⁰⁹

The pay of the troops up to the year 1684 was subject to no stoppages whatever except the one shilling in the pound already mentioned, which had always been deducted, originally "in consideration of the weekly payment by way of advance for "their subsistence,"¹⁹¹⁰ but which was continued when no such convenience was any longer afforded in return.

In 1684 a further stoppage of one day's pay¹⁹¹¹ per annum (and two days in leap years) was ordered for the support of Chelsea Hospital.

These then were the only authorised regular stoppages from the soldier's pay; and these were not to be levied on his subsistence,¹⁹⁰⁸ which was to remain intact, but on the off-reckonings. The rates of subsistence¹⁹¹² were as follows:—

¹⁹⁰⁹ Order, Whitehall, 27 Novr., 1687, quoted in last note.

¹⁹¹⁰ Royal Warrts., 1 Janry., 1685; 1 May and 27 Aug., 1689; App. XCVI.

Est. list, 1687/89.

Statement of arrears of Qr. Master de Trepetit, 7th Dr. Gds., 1692/94; Harl. MS. 7,018.

A similar deduction, but of sixpence instead of a shilling, was made on the Irish establishment; Royal Warrt., 27 Octr., 1679; App. LXIX.

Royal Charter, 19 Febr., 1684; App. LXX.

Letter, Dublin castle, 8 May, 1686; Clarendon to Rochester.

Statements of arrears of Chaplain Jephson, 1697; of Ensign Hanna, 9th Foot, 1692/3; of Captain Parsons, 1691/3; and of Ensign Martin of Drogheda's regiment, 1692/8; Dub. state papers.

Mutiny Acts, 1688 to 1700.

¹⁹¹¹ Royal Warrt., 17 June, 1684, App. LXXII.

Mutiny Acts, 1688 to 1700.

¹⁹¹² Order, Whitehall, 27 Novr., 1687, Lond. Gazette.

Est. lists, 1687/9; 1689; Harl. MSS., 7,018, 7,437, &c.

Acct., Mayor of Chester, Vr., 3 June, 1689; Try. state papers.

Statements of arrears of Officers' pay; Dub. state papers.

Order, Dublin, 23 Aug., 1697, promulgating order from England being "Regulation of subsistence for the forces in Ireland to commence 1 July, 1697"; Dub. state papers.

Proclamation, Dublin, 26 July, 1697; App. XC.

	1687.—England.			1697.—Ireland.		
	Horse.	Dragoons.	Foot.	Horse.	Dragoons.	Foot.
Colonel, as such...				5/-	5/-	5/-
Lt.-Col. do. ...				3/-	3/-	2/6
Major ...				6/8	6/8	1/8
Captain ...				7/-	5/-	4/-
Lieut. ...			2/-	5/-	3/-	2/-
Ensign ...			1/6	...	...	1/6
Cornet ...				4/6	2/6	...
Adjutant...				2/6	2/6	2/-
Surgeon ...				3/-	3/-	3/3 and Assistant
Qr.-Master ...	5/-	£35	...	3/-	2/-	...
Chaplain...				3/4	3/4	3/4
Serjeant ...			-10 ^s	...	1/6	-9
Corporal...			-7 ^s	1/6	1/3	-6
Trumpet...				1/6	...	...
Drummer ...			-7 ^s	1/6	1/-	-6
Private ...	2/-	{ 1/2 ... -6 when dismo	unted.	1/-	-9 ¹ / ₂	-4

So that the pay of the soldier was theoretically disposed of thus :—

Privates.	Gross Pay.		Vizt.				Deductions.		Net Off-reckonings, being gross Off-reckonings less the deductions.	
			Subsistence.		Gross Off-reckonings.		12d. per £.	One day's pay for Chelsea.		
	Per diem.	Per ann.	Per diem.	Per ann.	Per diem.	Per ann.	Per ann.	Per ann.	Per diem.	Per ann.
Horse ...	s. d. 2 6	£ s. d. 45 12 6	s. d. 2 0	£ s. d. 36 10 0	s. d. 0 6	£ s. d. 9 2 6	£ s. d. 2 5 7 ¹ / ₂	£ s. d. 0 2 6	d. 4'42	£ s. d. 6 14 4 ¹ / ₂
Dragoons ...	1 6	27 7 6	1 2	21 5 10	0 4	6 1 8	1 7 4 ¹ / ₂	0 1. 6	3'05	4 12 9 ¹ / ₂
Foot ...	0 8	12 3 4	0 6	9 2 6	0 2	3 0 10	0 12 2	0 0 8	1'58	2 8 0

And had this disposition of the soldier's pay been adhered to, there would have been little ground for complaint, indeed none at all except that the continuance of the deduction of the poundage might have been objected to after the *quid pro quo* had been withdrawn. But unfortunately the practice differed widely from the theory; and the soldier was subjected to so many wholly illegal as well as semi-authorised stoppages, that he may without exaggeration be said to have been robbed wholesale both by the Government and by his own officers. The soldier was eventually the sufferer, for as the officers looked

upon the off-reckonings as their peculiar prey it was to their interest to have all the irregular stoppages taken out of the subsistence instead of out of the off-reckonings, and thus deprive not themselves but the soldier. The stoppage of twopence per pound for agency has already been noticed, and it was not discontinued ¹⁹¹³ even after the declaration of the House of Commons that it was illegal.

In Ireland one day's pay per annum was deducted for the Commissary-General of Musters, as late as 1686: ¹⁹¹⁴ in England however this obnoxious stoppage was knocked off in 1679: ¹⁹¹⁵ in 1680 this fee was restored to the Commissary-General of the Musters, but its renewal created so much discontent that the Commissary-General "to avoid any dispute with the officers" ¹⁹¹⁶ expressed his willingness by Royal Warrant to receive only one-third of a day's pay per annum. The First Foot-Guards were alone exempted from this stoppage. ¹⁹¹⁷

Another deduction made in Ireland, and from English regiments, was for the Clerk of the Pells, ¹⁹¹⁸ or the book-keeper of the Exchequer Office: ¹⁹¹⁹ this was a grievance less felt in

¹⁹¹³ Statements of arrears of Officers; Dub. State papers.

¹⁹¹⁴ Letter, Dublin Castle, 8 May, 1686; Clarendon to Rochester; "As for what the Muster-master-general claims which is a day's pay per annum, which, from the common foot soldier is sixpence in the year; I find by all the enquiry I can make, that that demand has been allowed to him ever since Sir — King, grandfather to the present Lord Kingston, was Commissary-General, which was before the rebellion in 1641. The King allows the Commissary-General upon the establishment £336 per annum, and, as you will find it there mentioned (for the establishment is entered in the council book at Whitehall), to continue his taking one whole day's pay in the year from the army. What the deductions are in England I know not, but have written to Mr. Blathwait to be informed." "The King very well knows the Muster-Master-General's office is a place of great trust, and he is obliged to keep several clerks and deputies. If he be allowed nothing but his salary, it will be very narrow; and the King cannot have a better Officer, in his station, than Mr. Varner the present Muster-Master-General, who is a very honest gentleman, and the most exact man in all his affairs that I have ever known."

Petition, Apr., 1692, of Abraham Varner Esqre., Muster-Master-General of the forces in Ireland, "stating that his salary *and profits* for the last three years had not been half so much as formerly"; Try. state Papers.

¹⁹¹⁵ Royal Warrant, Whitehall, 10 Sept., 1680; Restoring the "one day's pay per annum from every Officer and soldier in the army," stated in preamble to have been previously knocked off by Establishment of January, 1679; Brit. Mus., Add. MSS. 27,277.

¹⁹¹⁶ Royal Warrant, Whitehall, 11 Mar., 1680/81; Add. MSS. 27,277, Brit. Mus.

¹⁹¹⁷ Royal Warrant, Whitehall, 25 Febr., 1681/2.

¹⁹¹⁸ Pells is a word for parchment derived from the Latin pellis a skin; the Exchequer rolls were kept on parchment.

¹⁹¹⁹ Letter, Dublin Castle, 8 May, 1686, Clarendon to Rochester.

Letter, Dublin Castle, 20 Febr., 1685/6, do. to do.; "the Pells you see is 100. in the £100."

England because the Exchequer fees were defrayed out of the poundage: it was however paid by English troops serving in Ireland, the rate being one-half per cent. on the whole pay.

When the great wars broke out and hospitals became an accessory of our armies, HOSPITAL STOPPAGES were established. At first this stoppage was fixed at the full subsistence of the patient.¹⁹²⁰ In King James's Irish army the rate was threepence

Statement of arrears of officers, 9th Ft., 17th Ft., and Drogheda's Ft., &c.; Dub. state papers. 3 Wm. & Mary.

Report of the Commissioners for the Public Accounts of the Kingdom (Lond. 1783) relative to salaries, fees, and gratuities received by the officers and clerks in the Pay Offices of the Navy and Army and in the receipt of H.M.'s Exchequer. "By an Act passed in third year of Wm. & Mary, the officers of the Exchequer were prohibited from taking any other fees for the receiving or issuing supplies granted by Parliament, except such ancient and legal fees as should be allowed to be so by the Barons of the Court of Exchequer" (App. No. 34).

(App. No. 34) Table or Schedule of the ancient and legal fees allowed by the Lord Chief Baron and Barons of the Coife of the Court of Exchequer, &c., 1692.

FOR ISSUING OF MONEY.

For all monies arising by these aids and supplies which have been appropriated or issued to the land forces according to an agreement made in the year 1667 by the then Lord Treasurer, Lord General and Chancellor of the Exchequer, attested by the Right Honble. Sir Stephen Fox, Knt., one of the Lords Commissioners of Their M.'s Treasury; by which agreement the Auditor's fees are lessened from twopence in the pound which amounts to 16s. 8d. per cent. and were the ancient legal fees for services of this nature, to one farthing + $\frac{6\frac{8}{10}}{1000}$ (of a $\frac{1}{4}$ d.) per pound, which is his share of one penny halfpenny per pound settled by the aforesaid agreement for all the officers of the Exchequer so that his and his clerk's share amount to 3s. 6d. per cent.

Memorandum: "That these fees are deducted from the soldiers out of their pay and are not placed upon the King's account."

THE CLERK OF THE PELLs.

For all monies arising by these aids and supplies, which have been appropriated or issued to the Land forces $\frac{7\frac{8}{10}}{1000}$ of a farthing per pound, which is 1s. 7d. per cent.

THE FOUR TELLERS.

For all monies appropriated or issued to the Land Forces according to an agreement (1667), &c., as in first quotation above in Treasury; by which agreement the Tellers' fees are lessened from 16s. 6d. per cent. to $\frac{3}{4}$ d. + $\frac{6\frac{8}{10}}{1000}$ (of a farthing) per pound, which is 7s. 4d. $\frac{8}{10}$ per cent. which is their share of the 1 $\frac{1}{2}$ d. per pound settled by the aforesaid agreement for all the officers of the Exchequer so that the four Tellers and their clerks share amounts to:—

	Per cent.
To the four Tellers	5s. 7 $\frac{2}{10}$ d.
To their Clerks	1s. 9 $\frac{8}{10}$ d.

Memorandum, as before.

¹⁹²⁰ Royal Warrant, Hampton Court, 29 July, 1689, authorising deductions of "full subsistence" of Privates and Non-Commissioned officers of Foot, and "the full pay" of Privates and Non-Commissioned Officers of Horse and Dragoons, during their stay in Hospital "towards the support of the Hospital," whereof threepence a day per man for the one and twopence a day for the other to be paid to the hospital apothecary for providing medicines external and internal, and the remainder to go towards the general expenses; Harl. MS. 7,439.

per pound ¹⁹²¹ on the full pay of all officers and soldiers: and this system was adopted in our army in 1690 when the stoppage was ordered to be one farthing a day from every private on the rolls, while officers paid sometimes sixpence per pound and sometimes one day's pay per annum: ¹⁹²² these rates, however, varied according to the country in which the soldier happened to be serving; thus the hospital rates in Flanders differed from those in Ireland. ¹⁹²³

After the peace of Ryswick a deduction for medicines continued to be made at the rate of twenty pounds a year ¹⁹²⁴ from each regiment of Horse or Dragoons, and twenty-five pounds from Foot-regiments; and this stoppage was beyond all doubt taken out of the subsistence; such stoppages had obtained from prior to 1672.

When rations were issued in the field a stoppage was with reason exacted on this account; but the mode of assessment, at first just, became afterwards utterly unreasonable. The earliest instance of STOPPAGES FOR RATIONS ¹⁹²⁵ occurs in 1678 when a stuyver per diem was ordered to be stopped from the troops in the Low Countries for bread, and any surplus of cost was to be

Charge of the Army in Ireland; Harl. MS. 7,194; *e.g.*, "To money said regiment (8th Foot) is to allow for diet of sick and wounded in Hospital at 4d. per diem each to 1st Janry., 1690/1" (fourpence was the subsistence in Ireland).

"To the charge of the Hospital according to a new establishment of $\frac{1}{2}$ d. per diem upon each private soldier," per number on the muster-rolls, from 1 Janry., 1690/1.

Letter, Dublin, 8 Sept., 1691, P. Goodwin (Hospital Purveyor) to Clarke; Has "saved considerably of the allowance of fourpence each man a day"; Clarke MSS.

¹⁹²¹ Proceedings of the Parliament in Ireland with the establishment of their forces there; Lond. 1689.

¹⁹²² Statements of arrears Walseley's Horse, 1694/7; Ensign of Drogheda's Foot, 1692/8; 17th Foot, 1693/7; Ensign 9th Foot, 1692/3; a Captain, 1691/3; all at 6d. per pound of gross pay; Dub. state papers.

Statement of arrears Chaplain of Mitchelburne's Foot, 1691/7; Dub. state papers.

Statement Quarter-Master 7th Dr. Gds., 1692/4, Harl. MS. 7,018; these are one day's pay per annum.

¹⁹²³ R. Warrt., Breda, 12 May, 1692; W.O. records; Infy. and Dragoons one penny per man per week, and Horse twopence "to be applied towards the maintenance of the Hospitals which we have ordered to be erected"; applicable to troops in "the Low Countries" only.

Hospital Accounts for the year 1692 in the Low countries; Harl. MS. 7,434; "Received from the Army in eight weeks, 1 May to 24 June, it being for the stoppages for the Horse at 2s. a week and from the Foot at 1s. a week."

"Received from the Army for the sick and wounded soldiers that are in the Hospitals at 3d. per diem each man a day."

In Ireland in 1686 one day's pay per annum was stopped from all soldiers for Hospitals; Account of the several deductions, &c., Brit. Mus., Add. MSS. 15,897.

¹⁹²⁴ Orders, Dublin, 20 Oct., 1698, and 10 July, 1699; Dub. state papers.

See Chap. XXXI, Notes ²²⁴⁷ to ²²⁵⁴.

¹⁹²⁵ Letter, Sept., 1678, Earl of Monmouth to Earl of Feversham; App. XLV.

repaid "by easy deductions from the soldiers when they are out of the field, and have no bread furnished them"; at the same time any surplus of stoppage was to be placed to the credit of the troops.

At this time the decision of such matters was in the hands of the Commander-in-Chief advised by his Commissary-General; but we shall see how the soldier fared when the Secretary at War got the upper hand of the Commissary-General. In 1689, when the war broke out in Ireland, a regulated stoppage was again paid; but it was decided by the Commissary-General¹⁹²⁶ that "whatever the soldiers paid less for provisions than they cost the King, which was not much, yet, be it more or less, it is His Majesty's loss." In July, 1689, a Royal order appeared¹⁹²⁷ desiring the Commissary-General to furnish the Paymaster-General with a statement of the value of all supplies of provisions to the troops in Ireland, and the Paymaster-General was to withhold the subsistence-money until that value had been recovered; but it was added in the true spirit of bureaucratic irony that the sum recovered was not to exceed the rates of subsistence-money; which is as much as to say that, when the soldier had been stripped of his uttermost farthing, His Majesty was graciously pleased to order that he should not be forced to pay what he did not possess.

Throughout the wars in Ireland and Flanders,¹⁹²⁸ regiments were charged the full value of provisions issued to them. But not alone of provisions: the troops were actually made to pay for the arms they carried, nay even for the powder and ball expended against the enemy: against this last charge¹⁹²⁹ in particular the troops remonstrated strongly, but for a long time in vain.¹⁹³⁰

A similar charge¹⁹³¹ for all arms issued out of store had been

¹⁹²⁶ Mr. Shales's answers to the two inquiries of the Committee of Parliament for accounts, &c., respecting the provisioning the Army in Ireland when he was Commissary-General, 25 Novr., 1690; Try. state papers.

¹⁹²⁷ Royal Warrt., Hampton Court, 29 July, 1689; App. XXVIII.

¹⁹²⁸ The charge of the army in Ireland, 1689/92; Harl. MS. 7, 194.

What accounts are wanting in relation to the Army, 1694; Harl. MS. 7, 018.

¹⁹²⁹ Charge of Army in Ireland, 1689/92.

¹⁹³⁰ Order, Dublin, 3 Febr., 1697/8, to officers of Ordnance to make "account of what is chargeable upon the several regiments now or lately of the army in this kingdom, for arms ammunition and other things delivered out of the stores of war for their use from 1 Janry., 1691/2, to 30 June, 1697"; Dub. state papers.

¹⁹³¹ Royal Letter, 1664, to the Lieut. of the Ordnance; Dom. state papers.

See, however, next chapter, Note ²¹⁴⁵.

made as early as 1664; but before that date the charge for munitions (which, however, had obtained as early as the reign of Henry the Eighth) had been dropped, to be revived later.

The stoppages for subsistence¹⁹³² on board ship were equivalent to the amount of daily subsistence-money. The following are examples of the War Office statements of regimental accounts (completed years after the period to which they refer), and exhibit the disposal of the men's pay for stoppages¹⁹³³ of various kinds when on active service in the Field, and when complaints were rife that the troops were actually starving, *e.g.* :—

Regiments.	N.B.—The sums are given in round numbers.											
	Full pay to 31 Decr., 1691.	Cash paid.	Provisions delivered by the Comms. of Transports.	Bread by Mr. Pereira.	Hospital charge.	Horses delivered.	Clothes and carriages.	Cheques on Muster-rolls.	Debts due in Ireland.	Ordnance charge.	Overpayments.	Balances due.
Second Foot from 1 May, 1689 ... }	£ 47,300	£ 32,822	£ 2 291	£ 1,680	£ 545	£ ...	£ 518	£ 2,287	£ 4,712	£ 1,527	£ ...	£ 914
First Dragoon Gds. from 1 Sept., 1689 ... }	£ 71,029	£ 40,499	£ 1,380	£ 759	£ 571	£ 2,265	£ ...	£ 8,608	£ 16,389	£ 1,840	£ 1,284	£ ...

So that, reckoning in proportion to the table of distribution of pay given a few pages back we may assume the gross off-reckonings for the Foot regiment to have been in round figures £11,500, the whole of which we may be perfectly certain was appropriated by the Colonel without any deductions whatever. The remaining £35,800 represents the subsistence. The total payments to the regiment amounted to £32,800. Deducting from this the £11,500 we have the residue of subsistence actually paid to the regiment, namely £21,300, instead of the £35,800 which it represented. Thus the soldier was paid only

¹⁹³² Report, 25 June, 1698, signed Coningsby, Chas. Fox and Wm. Blathwayt; 12d. a day for troopers, 9d. for dragoons, and 4d. for Foot; Try. State Papers.

Orders (several) Dublin, Janry., 1697/8, ordering transport of soldiers to England "to have the usual daily allowance of victuals at sea, the charge whereof shall be repaid to you at the return of the boat."

Two Warrts., and Accts., Dublin, 24 May, 1698, soldiers victualled on board ship at a stoppage of 6d. a day; Dub. state papers.

¹⁹³³ Abstract of Accts. of the Army that served in Ireland up to 31 Decr., 1691; Brit. Mus., Add. MSS. 10,123.

£5 8s. 7d.^{1933a} instead of the £9 2s. 6d. which he theoretically received. It will not fail to be observed that the case is even considerably worse than this, because the usual deductions had obviously been made prior to crediting the "Total Pay" of £47,300.

In the same way the proportion for subsistence in the Horse regiment would be £56,800, and the Off-reckonings £14,200.

The payments towards subsistence would be only £26,300: so that the Trooper received £17 in place of the £36 10s. to which he was entitled; and he had to keep his horse and himself out of this pittance.

A kind of voluntary offering rather than an arbitrary stoppage (although it was sometimes a regulated stoppage), was the portion of their pay surrendered by the troops to the clergy:¹⁹³⁴ this tithing was still given in 1669, but it is not mentioned after that date, except as an occasional stoppage.

Besides all these stoppages there were many deductions under the name of FEES; and a remnant of these cruel taxes yet survives in the duty on progressive Commissions. Besides the fees on commissions, there were fees to the Treasury, fees for removal of checks once imposed, fees to the Commissary-General and Commissaries of Musters, exchequer fees, fees for audit of regimental accounts, and even fees upon the warrants for the issue of pay.

The fees on commissions were double,¹⁹³⁵ one fee going to the Secretary at War, and another to the King's or Commander-

^{1933a} Lord Clarendon, who went carefully into the whole question of these abuses, writes that the deductions were largely taken out of the subsistence. "My Lord "Granard tells me the soldiers cannot bear the deduction of 2d. per diem for their "clothing; that by means of other deductions to the Hospital, &c., the poor soldier "will not have above 2½d. a day to live on." Clarendon to Rochester, 12 Jan., 1686. He also states that the subsistence itself was withheld and was irregularly issued in many letters. Clarendon correspce.

¹⁹³⁴ Chamberlayne, 1669.

Royal Warrt., Whitehall, 27 Apr., 1681; Continuing as "reasonable and laudable "for the encouragement of the said Chaplain in a constant attendance on the discharge of his duty," the "ancient deduction" of one penny a week from every private soldier quartered in the I. of Wight for the pay of the "Chaplain-General" of the Island. Brit. Mus., Add. MS. 27,277.

¹⁹³⁵ Letter, Dublin, 1 Novr., 1690; R. Cox to Clarke (Secry. at War); "What "you have received from commission fees"; Clarke MSS.

Letter, Dublin, 20 Decr., 1690; Commry. Genl. Robinson to Clarke; that all fees "till you come" go to the Acting Secry. at War; ditto.

Letter, Dublin Castle, 18 Decr., 1686; Clarendon to Rochester; Clarendon correspce.

See also notes next quoted below.

Act 7 & 8 Wm. III, C. 23, S. 5. (Mutiny Act, 1695/6).

in-Chief's Secretary: the first appears to have been recognised, and the second not so until 1695: the regimental rates in 1684 were as follows:—¹⁶⁸⁶

—					Horse.			Foot.		
					£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
Colonel	...	...	...	...	2	10	0	...	...	...
Captain	...	...	...	...	2	10	0	1	10	0
Lieutenant	...	...	...	...	1	10	0	1	5	0
Cornet	...	...	...	...	1	5	0	...	...	...
Ensign	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	0	10
Quarter Master	...	...	...	...	1	5	0	...	...	...

One very good authority¹⁶⁸⁷ attributes to the heavy fees on commissions, among other causes, the robberies practised on the soldiers by their officers; the rates above given probably represent only a tithe of the exactions really levied upon officers: a Commission passed through many hands, and each one who had the manipulation of it expected his fee, or more plainly his bribe not to cast obstacles in the way:¹⁶⁸⁸ moreover commissions were formerly only troop or company commissions, and each removal to another troop or company involved fresh fees.

The fees to the auditors for passing the accounts of the Paymaster-General were thirty shillings¹⁶⁸⁹ per troop or company in Charles the Second's time, and twenty shillings in James's

¹⁶⁸⁶ "Account of deductions for Commissions out of Sepr. pay, 1684"; Dub. state papers.

¹⁶⁸⁷ Letter, Dublin Castle, 18 Decr., 1686; Clarendon to Rochester; "Now I am upon this subject of fees, I cannot help giving this hint, that the great fees which are demanded for the commissions to the officers, are made use of as one reason why some officers are so poor they cannot afford to give their men the subsistence money which is assigned them. What those fees are, I suppose is known and allowed of; but I am sure, they have been three times as much as was paid in England, and many of the men in a few months after were disbanded; which, perhaps, may by some be thought hard. What fees my Secretary had upon those commissions, my Lord Tyrconnell can best tell, for they were just what he thought fit to allot, tho' the pains in the office is not less than before: and how much of them Sir Paul Rycaut hath remitted, and what other relief he hath given to them, because the 'poor devils' as my Lord Tyrconnell was pleased to call them, were in want, can be proved when requisite."

¹⁶⁸⁸ Commissions to same officers in different compies. of Monmouth's regt.; Sloane MSS., also Clarke MSS.

¹⁶⁸⁹ Report, 10 May, 1690, by Wm. Blathwayt Secy. at War as to the allowance made to the auditors of the imprest for auditing the accounts, stating that 30s. was allowed for each troop and Company in King Charles the Second's time, and 20s. in the reign of King James, and that the Allowance craved by Mr. Auditor Done for passing the accounts of the Rt. Honble. Mr. Harbord, for the army of Ireland, was not more than had been already allowed, &c. (Minuted). "Granted 13 May, 1690"; Treasury State papers.

reign: and this notwithstanding that in 1667, by a special and formal agreement, the rate had been fixed at 3s. 6d. per cent. for himself and his clerks:¹⁹⁴⁰ a rate which was reaffirmed in 1692 by Act of Parliament.

The fee to the Commissary-General of Musters has been already stated to have been one day's pay per annum, and the fees to the Commissaries of Musters were up to two guineas per troop or company¹⁹⁴¹ at each muster, *i.e.*, twenty guineas a year, or over six days' full pay per private of a Foot company. Notwithstanding that this practice was ordered to be discontinued in 1687 and that the pay of the Commissaries was increased by way of compensation, fees still continued to be given after that date.

Although Lord Clarendon, the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland, writes as though King James did not sufficiently set his face against the many exactions from the troops, that king assuredly made some, though perhaps abortive, attempts to curb them; not only did he exhibit a resolve to discountenance the purchase of Commissions, and to make the muster-fees illegal, but he also abolished the fees on pay warrants.¹⁹⁴² What the rates of these and some other fees were is uncertain,¹⁹⁴³ but it is certain that pay-warrant fees, exchequer fees, and removal of checks fees were all imposed upon the troops: twelve shillings and sixpence appears to have been the invariable fee charged for removal of checks.¹⁹⁴⁴

¹⁹⁴⁰ See Note 1919.

¹⁹⁴¹ Letter, Dublin Castle, 8 May, 1686; Clarendon to Rochester; "I have been assured by some who have commands in the army in England, that there is always money paid to the Muster-Master, when he musters a company or regiment: who allows it, or whence it is deducted, I had no occasion to enquire."

Royal Warrt., 12 Mar., 1686/7; App. LXXVI.

Letter, 30 Apr., 1691; Sir Thomas Clarges to Clarke; Clarke MSS.; "I have been told that his (the Commissary-General's) deputies receive two guineas of every captain as a fee when they muster a troop or company."

Letters, Capt. Lt. Sheldon (1st Dragoons) to Col. Lord Raby, in 1699:—Strafford MSS., Brit. Mus., 22,231; 10s. per troop.

¹⁹⁴² Royal Warrt., 10 Mar., 1686/7; App. LXXV.

¹⁹⁴³ Letter, Dublin Castle, 20 Feby., 1685/6; Clarendon to Rochester; "That the soldier may have his pay come clear to him free from all deductions other than those allowed . . . whatever officer for himself or men wants any money upon the least application to me, I will impress to them, out of the King's money, what sum they have occasion for, without any charge or fee, either to the Receiver-General, or to my Secretary, for the order."

See also last note.

Royal Warrt., 1 Janry., 1685; App. XCVI.

See also Note 1919.

¹⁹⁴⁴ Letter, Dublin Castle, 11 Feby., 1685/6; Clarendon to Sunderland: "Col. Macarty has spoken to me concerning the checks which are put upon Officers and

Before a gunner could draw his pay as a soldier he had to pay the following fees to the Master Gunner of the Ordnance:—¹⁹⁴⁵

	<i>s.</i>	<i>d.</i>
Fees for examination and certificate of proficiency	10	0
Fee for taking the gunner's oath	5	0
Fee for admitting him on the muster-roll	2	6
	<hr/>	<hr/>
	17	6

Provost-marshals were paid by fees,¹⁹⁴⁶ the rates of which

"soldiers at their musters: that method has been always practised in the army here; but it is an imposition not laid upon the army in England. It does not become me to meddle with anything I find, which is pretended to be for the King's service, without first representing it to his Majesty; but, I confess, I know no reason why it should be otherwise here than in England. I know if they are taken away, it will take away a great part of my Secretary's perquisites: but I would not have any such consideration hinder what shall be thought for the King's service; and I think the poor soldier ought to have as much of the King's pay come into his pocket as is possible."

Letter, Dublin Castle, 18 Decr., 1686; Clarendon to Rochester; contains "Sir Paul Rycaut to Earl Clarendon, Certificate respecting the checks and the fees taken upon them. Decber. 17th, 1686;

"May it please your Excellency.

"In obedience to your Excellency's command, I have examined the books in which, upon petitions made to your Excellency, by officers and soldiers, the checks are taken off which are imposed by the Muster-Master-General. And I find, that by an order from your Excellency, dated 13th Febry., 1685-6, a check for three months' pay ending the last of Decr., 1685, imposed on Col. Laurence Dempsey, Capt. of the troop of Grenadiers, was removed. The which check for three months, at £19 12s. per month, imported the sum of £58 16s. And I certify, that the fees required in my office for the above said order, are no more than 12s. 6d. and I do aver that no more was taken for the same. I further find, that at the request of the said Colonel Laurence Dempsey, an order from your Excellency, dated 26th March, 1686, was granted to remove a check from four of the said Colonel Dempsey's men, for three months' pay ending the last of June, 1686, which at 42s. a man per month, makes for three months £6 6s. per man.

"For all which four men, no more was taken in this office than 12s. 6d., according to the usual rate of our fees.

"I further find, that at the request of Colonel James Dempsey, an order was granted by your Excellency, dated 26th July last, to remove a check of £12 2s. 8d. imposed on his troop for three months' pay ending the last of June, 1686; and I aver that 12s. 6d. were taken for the same and no more.

"Besides which checks above mentioned, I find none imposed, either on Colonel Laurence Dempsey, or on any of their officers or soldiers under their or either of their commands. To the truth of which, I have hereunto set my hand, this 17th day of December, 1686.

"Paul Rycaut."

Clarendon Correspee.

¹⁹⁴⁵ Ordnance Regulations, Whitehall, 25 July, 1683; Harl. MS. 6,334; App. CIII.

¹⁹⁴⁶ Articles of War, 1673, Art. 59.

St. Helena official records, 15 Janry., 1687/8; "W. Wells, soldier to be Marshal

by the Articles of War of 1673 were to be settled by the regimental courts-martial: in 1679¹⁹⁴⁷ the rates were the whole pay of every prisoner for the first day of his detention and three-quarters of his pay afterwards.

In the cavalry there were stoppages for the purchase of horses, but of this mention will be made elsewhere.

The whole system of military finance in the seventeenth century was one vast entanglement of fraud. Not only did the officers defraud the soldiers, but they defrauded the government also, while the government in turn defrauded both officers and soldiers.

That which a man sees he believes, and one would think that nothing could constitute a more effectual check upon fraud than the actual view of a whole regiment at once and individually as at a muster. Yet there never was a system more abused than was the system of musters; for there was an oversight on its very threshold, inasmuch as care was not taken that the checking officers should be such, in point of personal character, pay, and rank, as to be above suspicion of dishonesty or of connivance at dishonesty.

Charles the Second opened the door to evasion and fraud by diverting the pay of privates to swell the emoluments of officers. To accomplish this, so many privates became by Royal Warrant men of straw. Thus, for instance, in 1663 seven companies in garrison at Berwick were reduced from seventy-nine men to seventy-seven each, in order that the pay of the two "vacant" men per company¹⁹⁴⁸ might be added to the emolument of the newly-appointed Town Major. Thus also the Colonel of the Blues, shortly after the Restoration, was authorised to appropriate as an extra allowance the pay of two privates in each of his

"and Prison Keeper, and that he have the pay and salary of a private soldier, and such fees from all prisoners as formerly have been appointed."

¹⁹⁴⁷ Chamberlayne, 1679.

¹⁹⁴⁸ Royal Letter, Whitehall, 7 Novr., 1663, to Commry. Genl. Sir Thos. Clarges; Dom. state papers.

Also Royal Warrt., 19 Mar., 1674-5, W.O. records; one man per Company of garrison of Portsmouth to be mustered under a "fictitious name" for pay of Town Major.

Accts. 1696, Edinburgh record office; Payments to—

				<i>s.</i>	<i>d.</i>
Colonel John Hill as Colonel	...	...	...	16	4
Ditto as Captain	...	...	...	11	4
One man of a Company	...	...	...	8	2
The Marischall's pay	...	...	...	2	6

eight troops:¹⁹⁴⁹ and in like manner, in 1670, the Colonels of the First and the Coldstream Foot-Guards were allowed the pay of one vacant man¹⁹⁵⁰ in each of their twenty-four or twelve Companies. Again in 1684, when adjutants¹⁹⁵¹ were first appointed to the different regiments, one paper man per troop or company was authorised in order to cover the pay of the new office. That is to say, every regiment being of a fixed strength, a Warrant was issued to the Commissary-General of the Musters to allow a certain number of men under "fictitious names" to pass on the roll without being bodily produced, and pay was still issued to the regiment for its gross strength. Another source, and a very troublesome source, of deception was found in the system of officers' servants. At first these servants were soldiers and had to be mustered as such;¹⁹⁵² but within a short time after the Restoration the habit crept in of making these servants vacant men¹⁹⁵³ and not producing them at muster at all. In 1677 this practice was declared to be irregular and servants were ordered to be shewn at muster; and two years later it was further directed that they were to appear properly armed and accoutred.¹⁹⁵⁴ In 1690 the appearance of servants at

¹⁹⁴⁹ Cosmo's travels, 1669. This allowance was discontinued in 1678; Royal Warrt., 13 Febr., 1677/8; App. XXIII.

¹⁹⁵⁰ Royal Warrts., 13 May and 19 Aug., 1670, &c.; App. LXXVII.

¹⁹⁵¹ Royal Warrt., 1 Sept., 1684, &c.; App. LXXVIII.

See also Note ¹⁹⁴⁹.

¹⁹⁵² Instructions, Whitehall, 4 Decr., 1660, to the Commissary General of the Musters; Art. 4. "That no captain shall muster above two servants, a Lieutenant "but one, and an Ensign but one, and those serviceable, and none else any."

¹⁹⁵³ Articles of War, 1673, Art. 40; Penalty for mustering servants or any but proper persons; App. LIII.

Royal Warrt., Whitehall, 10 Novr., 1677; ordering the pay of officers' servants to be no longer issued under fictitious names: servants to be mustered: Colonels six soldiers as servants, Captains three, Lieutenants and Ensigns one, Quarter-Masters one, this last to be in any company appointed by the Colonel.

¹⁹⁵⁴ Letter, Whitehall, 23 Febr., 1679, ordering that all servants should attend muster properly armed and equipped.

Acct. of Officers and men "respited" from the Muster rolls, Monmouth's Foot, Janry. and Febr., 1690; Try. state papers.

Regulations for Musters, Dublin, 29 July, 1697; Art. 14, the allowed number of servants not to be in the ranks but at the head of each troop or company, and such as fail so to appear to be checked; App. XLVII.

Royal Warrt., 1 Decr., 1697, promulgated in Order, Dublin, 18 Decr., 1697; reducing Foot companies arriving from Flanders to "42 private soldiers, servants "included"; Dublin State papers.

Royal Warrt., 1 Janry., 1697/8, promulgated in Order, Dublin, 11 Janry., 1697/8; reducing troops of Horse and Dragoons "to 46 private soldiers per troop, the servants "included"; ditto.

Proc. Ho. of Commons, 1691 to 1699, quoted under the head of Army Estimates above.

muster¹⁹⁵⁵ was prohibited, but the renewed abuses afterwards rendered it necessary to order their parade at the head of their companies; and they continued to be soldiers and to be reckoned as part of the fixed strength throughout the seventeenth century.

As the number of servants was considerable,¹⁹⁵⁶ averaging about six or seven men per troop or company, a deception which deprived the army of so large a proportion of efficient soldiers was no light matter: but at the same time the custom of giving the pay for his servants to the officer as if it were an integral portion of his own pay was sufficiently open to misconstruction to be the cause of continual trouble,¹⁹⁵⁷ especially as it was frequently left doubtful whether the servants really formed a portion of the establishment or not.

Officers would even bring their servants into the ranks,¹⁹⁵⁸ at the period when that was forbidden, to render them complete for muster; for the sole idea of most officers seemed to be to make a good thing out of their regiments.¹⁹⁵⁹

Sometimes also good service pensions¹⁹⁶⁰ were awarded by

¹⁹⁵⁵ 1 Wm. & Mary, Sess. 2, C. 4 (1688).

Royal Warrt., Grammene, 14 Sept., 1692, forbidding servants to appear in the ranks, "or to wear the colours" of their regiments; W.O. records.

¹⁹⁵⁶ Accounts of the Coldstream Guards, 1695; App. XCVII.

Royal Warrt., 16 Mar., 1697/8; see Grose.

State of arrears of Ensign Hanna, 9th Foot, June, 1698; Dub. state papers, &c.

Of 93,635 Men on the Establishment for 1694, 6,848 were "servants allowed";

List of Land Forces, &c., 1694: Brit. Mus. MS. 10,123.

Of 87,702 in 1695; 5,747 were servants; Proc. Ho. of Commons, 26 Novr., 1694.

¹⁹⁵⁷ Accounts of Coldstream Guards, 1695; App. XCVII.

¹⁹⁵⁸ See previous notes ¹⁹⁵² to ¹⁹⁵⁵.

The same nefarious practice was carried on by the Officers in the French Army; Ordonnances, 20 Sept., 1668; 1 June, 1676; 14 Febr., 1692, &c. Briquet.

¹⁹⁵⁹ Pepys, Octr., 1663.

Hutchinson, 1663.

Schonberg's Dispatches, 1689.

De Feuquiere says the same of the French Officers.

Farquhar, in his "Recruiting Officer," has the following dialogue as illustrative of this well-known abuse:—

Capt. Plume: "Kite (the Serjt.); Is the child (Plume's illegitimate child) a boy or a girl?"

Kite: "A chopping boy."

Plume: "Then enter him a granadeer by the name of Francis Kite, absent on 'furlough,—I allow a man's pay for his subsistence.'"

Such practices were nothing new; 18 Henry VI, C. 18.

Shakspeare, Henry IV, Part II, Act III, Scene 2. "Shadow will serve for 'summer; prick him, for we have a number of shadows to fill up the Muster-book.'"

¹⁹⁶⁰ e.g., Royal Warrant, 1662, to muster Captain Fleming (for service and wounds) as private in two companies at Hull so as to give him two privates' pay without exceeding the establishment; Dom. state papers.

means of vacant men. This complicated system of vacant men was especially conducive to false musters. In 1695 there were 5,747 men of straw^{1960a} authorised to pass muster, representing £107,500 divided among the Officers over and above their pay.

But it was not alone by verbal misrepresentations that frauds were perpetrated; the most bare-faced overt roguery was practised.

The musters were taken every two months; and if the establishment of a regiment was complete at a muster the pay for its full strength was issued, deductions being made for such vacancies as might from day to day be noted on the muster-roll. A system so entirely regimental offered every facility for fraud. Thus, if a man died or was discharged immediately after a muster his captain could keep his place vacant and pocket his pay, only taking care to fill up the ranks before the next muster; and while in most corps a few conscientious officers were doubtless to be found, the majority were yet not proof against a temptation to sin in a crowd, while in too many instances the colonels either participated in the profits or tacitly connived at the deceits.¹⁹⁶¹ The fact is that the colonels had also their peculations¹⁹⁶² and gains from the clothing and their own troops or companies; and thus mutual forbearance was agreed upon between them and their captains, whose special profit was derived from the vacant men.

The Musters were at the best but an inefficient check: amidst so many warrant men (that is, men not forthcoming by Royal Warrant), vacant men, servants, men on furlough or sick, and men on duty, the Commissary must have exercised very minute care at the musters if he suspected, or wished to prevent, deception. Probably, too, then as now, much private obloquy and little public gratitude or reward would have resulted to any officer who set his face singly against abuses thus generally

^{1960a} Harl. MSS. 1,308.

¹⁹⁶¹ Letter, 1702, Capt. Lt. Sheldon (1st Drs.) to Col. Lord Raby; "When the Commissary comes, I will do the best I can to pass the three men that are wanting" (in his troop).

Letter, Hull, 8 Sept., 1701. Same to same; "I think it very hard that every muster-day I run the hazard of being broke to make your Lordship mōney."

Letter, Wakefield, 18 Aug., 1700. Same to same; the account shews "£100 and odd gain by your troop besides your own pay and your servant's in six months' time.—You cannot expect the profits of a troop before you came to it"; it is evident from this letter that the Colonel expected a gain of £300 in the six months: Brit. Mus., Strafford MSS. 22,231.

A multitude of similar authorities could be quoted.

¹⁹⁶² See Chapter XXII on Clothing.

countenanced ; and, if any Commissary of Musters did do so, little notice seems to have been taken of his representations beyond issuing a warrant (such as would correspond with the modern War Office Circular, and was about as valuable), or inserting a fresh clause in the Mutiny Act, to which not the slightest attention was paid.

That the Commissaries of Musters were not more clean-handed ¹⁹⁶³ than the officers of all other branches of the Service, there is unhappily too much reason to believe.

Even if the Commissary of Musters chanced to be above corruption, much was still to be made by filling up vacancies only just before the time of muster. A clause was inserted in the Mutiny Act in 1689¹⁹⁶⁴ to punish, by casheering and a fine of fifty pounds, Officers abetting false musters ; but such a clause was of little avail when there was not an officer in the Service who could dare (for his own sake) to put it in action.

The whole of the Public Service at this time was regarded by the public servants as a medium for extortion, and the military service offered no exception to the general practices. Fees, stoppages, sales of appointments and commissions, worthless clothing and accoutrements, false musters, detention of pay,—such were some of the means by which money was made out of the country, and by which the soldier and the public were defrauded ; the one by its own paid servants, the other by his

¹⁹⁶³ Letter, Dublin Castle, 8 May, 1686, Clarendon to Rochester.

Letter, 30 Apr., 1691, Sir Thos. Clarges to Clarke ; Clarke MSS. ; “ I have been told that the Commissary-General’s Deputies received two guineas of every captain “ as a fee when they muster a troop or company, and that should there be but a third “ part of a regiment in being at a muster, they have an art to make them complete.”

Regulations for Musters, Dublin, 29 July, 1697 ; Dub. state papers ; Art. 2. No Commissary to go the same circuit twice successively, or to omit mustering when passing through a place ; App. XLVII.

Letter, Lincoln, 15 Octr., 1699, Capt. Lt. Sheldon (1st Drs.) to Colonel Lord Raby ; “ Though I had your Lordship’s order not to treat the Commissary at the “ closing of the rolls, to let him club with us for a little meat and drink would be a “ great discredit to us : so your Cornet and I paid it between us : we hope your “ Lordship will allow 10s. a muster, and the Cornet and myself will pay the rest.”

Letter, 3 Decr., 1699. Same to same ; “ He (*i.e.*, the Commissary) took my word “ for this muster : it was very bad weather : so to come hither was ten miles out of “ his way : and he believed his gutt would not be filled so well here as at other “ places.”

State of Accounts Royal Dragoons, Lord Raby’s Troop, 23 July/29 Sept., 1703. Same to same ; “ To Commissary for Sept. and Oct. muster, 9s. 9d.” Brit. Mus., Strafford MSS. 22,231.

Accounts of Captain Coult’s Company in garrison at Edinburgh Castle, 1695-6, “ To the Muster-Master and servants for the two last Musters, £2 15s. 0d. ; Ditto in “ Janry., 1696, £2 0s. 0d.” ; Edinburgh record office.

¹⁹⁶⁴ 1 Wm. and Mary, Sess. 2, C. 4.

own officers. The members of the Government and the highest officers of state¹⁹⁶⁵ were among those who participated in these atrocious and organised, nay almost authorised, robberies. The Commissaries seem at all events to have insisted upon the maintenance of appearances, even if they did not conceive themselves bound to look beneath the surface of things; for every means was adopted to parade the proper number of men at muster, and checks are frequently mentioned as having been imposed by the Commissaries. To deceive or else to satisfy the inspecting Commissary, arms and horses were borrowed,¹⁹⁶⁶ civilian servants were dressed up and placed in the ranks,¹⁹⁶⁷ and men were even hired in bodies¹⁹⁶⁸ for the occasion; these hirelings were termed "*passe-volans*"¹⁹⁶⁹ in the French service and "faggots" in ours. With a view to the prevention of this last mode of fraud, it was ordered that the muster-roll should exhibit the age, place of birth, complexion, and date of enlistment of each soldier.¹⁹⁷⁰ To such an extreme did matters run, that while Captains kept the vacancies in the ranks unfilled in order to pocket the pay, their Colonel actually kept back the reports of the deaths of officers with a view to similar profit.¹⁹⁷¹

The Corporation of Wicklow lodged with the Duke of Ormond, Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, a series of charges against

¹⁹⁶⁵ See farther on in this Chapter.

¹⁹⁶⁶ Venn.

Articles of War, 1673; Arts. 37, 40, 41; App. LIII.

Regulations for Musters, Dublin, 29 July, 1697. App. XLVII.

¹⁹⁶⁷ See previous notes 1952 to 1955, and 1958 and 1971a.

¹⁹⁶⁸ Musters Regulations, 5 May, 1663, App. XXIV.

See also Note 1971a, &c.

Hutchinson, 1663.

Venn.

Articles of War, 1673, Art. 40.

Regulations for Musters, Dublin, 29 July, 1697.

Order, Dublin, 5 Octr., 1697; Captain Hamilton to be casheered and broke for false musters, especially for "hiring" 15 men for the last muster; Dublin State papers.

Military Dictry., 1702.

This practice was no new one; Proclamation, Dublin Castle, 18 Novr., 1642; Thorpe.

¹⁹⁶⁹ Règlement du roi, 25 July, 1665. "Passe-volans seront flétris et fustigés par "le bourreau"; Lamont.

Military Dictry., 1702: "Faggots, men hired to muster by officers whose companies are not full, to cheat the King of so many men's pay: the French call them *Passe-volans*."

¹⁹⁷⁰ Regulations for Musters, Dublin, 29 July, 1697; ordering this to be done "according to the method observed here before the late wars"; App. XLVII.

¹⁹⁷¹ Letter, Galway, 4 Aug., 1691, Col. Purcell 23rd Foot to Clarke; Clarke MSS.

Captain Hammond ^{1971a} who commanded the garrison of Wicklow Castle. They alleged, as notorious facts, that he constantly withheld from the soldiers the pay he had drawn for them: that he forced men to compound for "under-rates, commonly called "half-pay, being less than H.M.'s allowance": that he turned out any one that refused to compound: that he made false musters, "bringing men to appear to answer to other men's "names": that he turned out men who refused to do this: that he was in the habit of enlisting persons residing far away, and "who appear only on muster-days": and of enlisting men who receive no pay, only enlisting "as a protection against their "debts": that the duty of guard was performed by four or five files only, and at night by only a file of men: and that he refused to punish men who left their guard at night to commit robberies or other violences on the inhabitants.

There is extant also a report by the Judge-Advocate upon suspected abuses in a certain troop of the Royal Dragoons in 1686: he reported that two porters and a tobacco-spinner had been hired to appear at three shillings each, and to answer to false names: that two men were mustered as efficients who had taken their discharge two months before: that a Serjeant was falsely mustered as Private Thomas Butler: that Pike, a shoemaker, had five shillings to answer to another name: that two men had been borrowed from another troop to appear and answer to certain names: and that last winter there had not been above 25 effective men (that is, men actually in existence) in the troop.

A Court-Martial in 1684 reported that a Captain in the Coldstream Guards had colluded with his Lieutenant, being his son-in-law, to make false musters: and a similar Court-Martial or Court of inquiry in the same year reported that the Governor of the Isle of Wight had (in addition to his regulated number of servants) one soldier employed on his yacht, another as his coachman, and another as his groom; that he had lent to different private persons one soldier as a gardener, another as a gamekeeper, and another as a steward, and that these men had not been mustered for seven years: another gardener had not been mustered for a year and a half, and both he, and another who was apprenticed to a carpenter, had never done a day's

^{1971a} Representations, Wicklow; Ormonde MSS.

Judge-Advocate's report, 10 Decr., 1686; Home Office records.

Court-Martial, 22 Febr., 1683/4; W.O. records.

Court-Martial, 20 April, 1684; ditto.

duty, nor drawn their pay: that a labourer and a shepherd appeared at musters and received a consideration: that one soldier, whose name appeared on the muster rolls, had been at sea for four years; that another man duly answered a name at the muster, but that his pay was "allowed to the Rector of Yarmouth, as the said Rector's servant, and the said man has another pay allowed him, for which he musters in his own name"; that one man had run away, but his name was continued on the rolls; and that another was a brickmaker and had been altogether excused duty.

The deceptions at musters were frauds upon the public purse: but those practised upon the soldier were not less common, while they were, if possible, more inexcusable and more full of turpitude.

The most glaring of the impositions upon the soldiers in respect of their pay was the withholding from them their subsistence-money upon various pretexts. Even so early as 1664 these shabby thefts from their men by the officers were notorious; and in the autobiography¹⁹⁷² of one who had been himself a Colonel we have a sad description of the British soldier under such a *régime*; this gentleman was sent in 1664 as a political prisoner to Sandown Castle, and he says:¹⁹⁷³ "A company of Foot was sent from Dover to help guard the place, pitiful weak fellows, half starved and eaten up with vermin, whom the Governor of Dover *cheated of half their pay, and the other half they spent in drink.*"

Sometimes the Company Officers misappropriated the subsistence,¹⁹⁷⁴ sometimes the colonels themselves: in the first

¹⁹⁷² Hutchinson; among the charges brought by Col. Hutchinson against the Lieutenant of the Tower was this one: "7th that he made many false musters in his own Company belonging to the Tower, and tho' he had received the Soldiers' money, was run in arrears to them five or six pounds a man; at which they cruelly murmured, because by this means their maintenance was straitened and their duty brought more frequently upon them. . . . All those things put him into a great rage and within ten days he paid his soldiers fifteen months' pay of twenty-two due to them when the letter was written: He having all that while kept back eighteen-pence a week out of every soldier's pay."

¹⁹⁷³ Hutchinson.

¹⁹⁷⁴ The authorities on this subject are so much entangled and so numerous that they cannot be well separated to meet each distinct fact in the text. Although some of the quotations are very lengthy it would be a pity to omit them.

Letter, Dublin Castle, 30 May, 1686, Clarendon to Blathwayt; Clarendon Correspe.; "I shall be very glad to receive the account of the deductions from the army in England; for indeed they are very necessary to me. Many of our officers of the army here are much dissatisfied with the deductions which are made; though they are the same which have been made before the Rebellion in 1641:

instance a pretence was usually set up of extraordinary stoppages or expenses; in the second instance the colonel

"and at the same time they think they may make what deductions they please upon the account of clothes, accoutrements, agency, &c., &c. In truth (if I may say so) some of them are so great, that the poor soldier, to whom the King intends well, (for he allows very good pay), has not enough to live upon."

Letter, Dublin Castle, 4 Decr., 1686, Clarendon to Rochester; "On Wednesday last, Sir Thos. Newcomen being with me upon some affairs relating to his regiment, when he had done what he came about, (the Major-Genl. was present), I told him I heard there were complaints that his men wanted subsistence. He answered that he was sure no officer of his had made any complaint. I said I did not tell him who had made the complaint, but I was satisfied his men wanted, that I knew what money was issued for subsistence, and I would know how it was disposed of, and why the men had it not. Upon which he seemed much confused, and looking about said, 'There is the Receiver-General, (for he was appointed to be there) all the deductions are made by him.' To which Mr. Price replied, 'You know, Sir, there have not been any deductions made by me out of any money which has been advanced for subsistence; and the assignments I gave into your own hands, and you took them away yourself; and you know they were for the full money ordered by my Lord Lieutenant.' To which said Sir Thomas, 'How then shall the deductions be made for clothing out of every muster.' 'Why,' said I, 'have you stopped anything upon that account from the men out of their subsistence?' 'I have only,' replied he, 'detained £30 a company.' Upon which the Major-General said, all deductions were to be made out of the warrants for full pay, and that the soldiers ought to have all their subsistence money. To which Sir Thomas answered that he did not know that. I confess, I was almost provoked to be angry: I directed him immediately to send down the £30 to each company, which he had stopped; which he promised to do. I knew this particularly, but he confessed it thus to me, as I have told you, without my charging him directly: this would have been counted a great fault in another man. The very next morning, this Sir Thos. came to me again, and without saying one word of what had passed yesterday, he said, 'he could not but tell me how sensible all the officers of the army were, that I had done more for them than any Chief Governor had done before me, in giving them subsistence for their men.' I think nothing so loathsome as flattery; and this was so very gross, that I made him no other answer, but asked him if he had sent down the £30 a company to his regiment? He said he had taken order in it; but I have taken care to be otherwise informed of the truth of it than by his saying. This gentleman does shark most abominably upon his men; the particulars whereof shall speedily be laid before you. Some officers seem much disappointed to find their commands of no more advantage, and say, they were assured a company should be worth £400 a year. I tell them, a company can be honestly worth but very little more than the King allows: to which the answer is, 'It is not so in France.'

Letter, Dublin Castle, 7 Decr., 1686, Clarendon to Sunderland; "My very good Lord, Yesterday I received your Lordship's of the 30th past, and you will believe I could not let much time pass before I answer it. I will begin with the latter part, concerning the compensations which I have thought fit to allow for the clothes of the disbanded men: your Lordship does understand me right; by making those deductions at five gales, I mean in five three months, so that the whole will be paid in fifteen months. And thus, by the King's approbation of that proposal, I look upon this matter as settled. I have given orders for preparing the warrants for taking off the checks which were imposed the last Sept. muster, and I have remitted them ever since my being here, upon application, except where it has visibly appeared that the taking them off would have been to the prejudice of

simply took the money from the Agent and put it into his own pocket, trusting to the men wanting either the courage or the

"the King's service, as where by evident neglect there have wanted ten or fifteen
"men in a troop, and more in some companies. What the checks will amount to
"this present muster, shall speedily be laid before you, as soon as the Commissaries
"return. I am sure the officers need not have the same plea now they had the last
"time. Many of them are much dissatisfied that I sent the commissaries out sooner
"than ordinary, but I am sure it is most for the King's service the musters should be
"never at stated times. And I beg leave to say again, with all submission, if the
"practice of imposing checks for not returning due certificates be not preserved, the
"King will run a great hazard of being much abused in his army here. My only
"aim is, that the King should have as many men as he pays, and that those men
"should have as much of the money the King allows them as possible; and if I fail
"of either of these ends, by the grace of God it shall not lie at my door. I come
"now to the first part of your Lordship's letter; and if anything in this world were
"strange, I should be surprised at what you tell me the Major-General has written
"to Col. Hamilton. I must certainly be the greatest fool, as well as worse, to be
"found in an untruth in matter of fact, which, I thank God! I shall not appear to
"be, in anything I have written upon the account of the deductions. And I think
"it will be a little clearer that I have told truth when you read my letter which I
"most luckily wrote on the 4th inst.; wherein I told you a story of Sir Thos.
"Newcomen's having deducted £30 a company from his men's subsistence money;
"which I do earnestly beg may be read to the King; and then it will appear by
"what means that regiment, at least, is ruined, if it be ruined, for want of subsistence.
"I shall therefore beg leave to aver positively again, that there have been no
"deductions whatsoever made from the Major-General's or Sir Thos. Newcomen's
"regiments, but what have been done by themselves or officers, or their agents;
"I mention those two regiments because your Lordship instances them in your letter,
"though I can say the same thing of the rest. And now I am upon those regiments
"I shall acquaint your Lordship that the subsistence money to a regiment, according
"to the proportions mentioned in my former letter, amounts to £822 18s. for three
"months, and each of those regiments has received upon the account of September
"pay, the sum of £1,040, which is £217 2s. more than their subsistence. But to
"come closer to the business, I sent this morning for Major-General Macarty to
"come to me. When he came, both my Secretaries and the Receiver-General were
"with me. I asked him whether any of his regiment had made any complaint
"for want of subsistence; to which he very readily answered 'No.' I desired him
"to recollect himself, for it was necessary to examine into those complaints, if there
"were any, that the grounds of them might be discovered, and the faults redressed,
"in which I must make use of his help. He then said he did now remember Sir
"John Fitzgerald and Capt. Nugent, two officers in his own regiment, had complained
"to him some time since of the very little money they had received. I told him if
"he had acquainted me with those complaints (which I am sure he never mentioned
"to me till this morning), they should have been inquired into, or it should have
"been his own fault. I then told him the reason of my sending for him at this
"time was upon the account of some letters I had received in the yesterday's packet
"from England. I first acquainted him that upon Col. Hamilton's complaint in
"England, how little subsistence money the army here had, by reason of the great
"deductions made for clothes (which was by His Majesty's command transmitted to
"me), I had sent over a true state of that whole matter, with a positive assurance
"that no deductions whatsoever had been made out of any money issued for
"subsistence; that I had yesterday received a letter from your Lordship of the 30th
"past upon that subject, which I read to him. He then said, that he had written
"a letter to Col. Hamilton, which he believed followed him into England, or might
"overtake him here just upon his going; but if he were to be crucified, he could

opportunity to complain. The captain of a company thought it hard if he did not "shark" £400 a year out of it: and we

"not tell the time exactly, nor what he had written, for he had no copy of his letter; that he did confess that expression, 'by the living God,' had been better left out, which was a certain sign his letter was not intended to have been shown: that it was strange he should write the army would be ruined for want of subsistence, for he knew they had subsistence; that he was not a good writer, and did not know how he might place his words; but he believes he wrote, that if there were not some care taken, that the deductions for clothes might not be made at two gales, according to my order, the troops would be reduced to so great straits, that it would be very hard upon them; and this, he repeated, he was confident he had written upon a supposition that the deductions would be so made. I asked him why he would not speak to me in the matter, if he had those apprehensions. He said he did speak to me before he went into the country, and told me that if those deductions were made as I had at first directed, it would be very hard upon the men. I asked him what answer I made him? He says I told him that I would make the deductions as easy as was possible. And, indeed, it is true I did tell him so; but I added farther, that I could not then well come to a resolution in how many payments the deductions should be made, because I could not see clearly what had been advanced upon the account of clothes; but that in the meantime subsistence money should be constantly paid and no deductions made from thence, upon any account whatsoever; as he had found by experience to be true: which he owned. 'Why, then,' said I, 'what cause could you have to apprehend that the deductions would be made according to the first order, since you had received subsistence money even to this day, and no deductions yet made?' To which he only answered he apprehended it, because I had said nothing to him of it since. I told him if he feared what I did imagine, certainly he might have spoken to me before he had written; for if he would consider, as I had no occasion to speak to him on this matter, I could not do it, in regard he came not to town till the 3rd of Novr. I then asked the Major-General if he knew what the subsistence money for a company came to, to which he answered he could not tell until he spoke with the Agent. I then told him that it came to £58 10s. for three months, that every company in his regiment had received £50 upon September pay for subsistence before he went to Cork, which was the very beginning of September, so that they could not be in danger of ruin for want of subsistence. To all which he said, that he could not imagine why this business could be so much discoursed of in England, or here, since he only wrote upon a supposition, in case my first order was observed. I told him it was of the greatest importance to me that the King should know there were no deductions made, when I had averred it so positively to him; and therefore I had appointed the Receiver-General to be there, to give an account of his part, that there were no deductions made by him: in which the Major-General said he was very well satisfied. 'Then, Sir,' said I, 'I do require you (and pray that it may be done with all speed), that you direct your agent to give an account in writing, of all the money he has received for your regiment upon the account of subsistence since June; and likewise, that you send to every Captain of your regiment by this night's post, to give an account in writing of what they have received since that time, and how they have disposed of it.' This he has promised to do, and I will take care it shall be done with all speed, and sent to your Lordship. By this means the whole mystery will come out; and in God's name let those suffer who are faulty. And here I leave the matter for the present. As we were parting, the Major-General told me I need not be concerned about the petition from him and the Officers of the army (mentioned in your letter to be written by him to Colonel Hamilton), for that matter was at an end, and if it had gone on I should have seen it. I assured him he was extremely mistaken if he thought I was in the

have one instance of a Colonel detaining for himself thirty pounds per company of the *subsistence* money for one muster

“least concerned about it, for I was most confident of the King’s goodness and justice, upon which, and upon nothing else, I would ever depend for all things in this world: that he would hear what I could say to it, before he condemned me, which was the greatest security an honest man could have. I then desired the Major-General to remember that the army in this Kingdom had been most commonly six months in arrear; that when I arrived here (which was the 9th of Janry.) they were six months in arrear the last of December before; that those six months were cleared by the middle of March following; and since that time the army has never been two months in arrear. I desired him likewise to take notice that subsistence money was never advanced to this army till my time, and that I have done it since the beginning of June last, which will prove no ill piece of service, when all circumstances are thoroughly considered. And I do assure your Lordship this is most certainly true. Before I conclude, I must tell your Lordship one particular more. About three weeks since, I ordered £100 a troop, and £50 a company, to the army for subsistence (for it will now go currently every month); this day Mr. Price came to me, and told me he could scarce prevail with two of the Agents to receive it, they saying they wanted it not, &c. I bade Mr. Price give it me under his hand, or the hands of those to whom the Agents said it, with the circumstances; which he has done in two certificates; and I here send them both to your Lordship. I have directed, notwithstanding, that the money shall go down to the several troops, and your Lordship shall speedily have an account of this new whimsey. By the grace of God, I will examine the whole affair to the bottom, and the King shall know the whole truth, and then His Majesty may direct what, in his great wisdom, he thinks best.”

Letter, Dublin Castle, 7 Decr., 1686, Clarendon to Rochester, “I do assure you, I was not in the least passion nor heat during the time the Major-General was with me as can be proved by those who were present: he was sometimes a little warm, when I pressed him in saying, he had no reason to fear the deductions would be made according to the first order, because he owned that I told him I would make them as easy as was possible, and because that order was made in July, and that he had received all his subsistence money ever since, entire without any deductions whatsoever. He then fell a swearing that he intended no ill to me, nor anybody else; and then made professions of respect and service to me:—to which I answered, I knew not what he meant, and that I was sure he had no reason to intend me ill; that I must confess, considering how he and I had lived, if I had had any apprehension of his doing anything which I did not like, I would have acquainted him before I had made a complaint into England: to which he had nothing to say. Good God! what shall I think of men? The Major General was present the last week at the conference between Sir Thos. Newcomen and me, seemed to blame his proceedings, and said he would dine with me: being a private day (for it is necessary sometimes to have those days), he did so. I told him he was as welcome to me at all times as any man in the kingdom. He told me, that he saw I minded the King’s business, and would not suffer his men to be abused; that he was resolved to show me the accounts of his regiment, and what every rag of their clothes had cost, that I might justify him the money had been well laid out. I answered, that he and I knew one another, and understood each other so well that it was impossible there could ever be any dispute between us. He then fell a railing at Sir Thos. Newcomen, called him a thousand idle fellows; that everybody knew him, and knew how he came to be in this employment. In a word, I have used him, setting his station aside, as a person for whom I had a particular esteem upon the account of his family; for which many of his friends knew I had great honour and respect, and who, I am sure, loved me very well. I cannot but reflect upon Colonel R. Hamilton; when he was here, and mentioned

alone, while in another case the Major-General commanding the District also accepted a large share of plunder. When the

“to me the great want of subsistence, by reason of the next deductions for clothes, I told him, as positively as I have since written, that none had been made upon any account whatever out of any money which had been issued for subsistence; which he seemed a little to startle at, in regard of my being so positive. I told him, whatever was of that kind must be between the Officers and Agents; and therefore I desired him, if he were not perfectly satisfied in what I said, that he should stay and see it examined. But he had extraordinary business, such as, it seems, the Chief Governor was not to know of, and if he had stayed, he would have found what I said to be too true, and then he would have had no occasion to have complained, nor to have insinuated in England the causes of the complaints; which he would not mention here, for fear of being confuted.

“Decr. 8th in the morning: The packet not being yet gone I think fit to acquaint you that last night the Major-General came again to me: we were then alone together. He desired me to read that part of your letter again which concerned him: I did so. ‘Lord’ said he, ‘if Dick Hamilton has showed all my letter, he has made brave work; for I wrote a great deal of stuff in that letter concerning Madam Mazarine, and other people: besides, my Lord, if I had written anything as a complaint, I would have done it to my superior, and not to an inferior, as Hamilton is; and not with such an expression as “by the living God” in my letter.’ And so he begged me not to think that he meant anything ill towards me, for whom he had all the respect, &c. He then told me, he was sure he had set all right in England by what he wrote the last week; and he would write now by this post that he had been mistaken in what he wrote before, and that I had appointed him to take the accounts of his agent and his several captains, of what money hath been received for subsistence, and how it had been disposed. I told him, that he must give me leave to say (whatever his intentions were) that it did not look so kind as I did expect to have been used by him, and as he should have been used by me. ‘By G—, my Lord,’ said he, ‘there is something in this business that I do not understand, there being so much stir about it’: to which I answered, that I knew nothing, and that my business was only to find out truly who had made deductions when none ought to be made, and what was become of the King’s and soldiers’ money that His Majesty might know all, which I was resolved he should do; and so we parted, he being to my thinking much concerned. He said I should see him again to-morrow, that is, this day. I have sent to the several colonels of the army to send me an account of all the money they have received for subsistence, and how it has been disposed of: by this means the whole mystery will be laid open, and the King will see who has abused him. I am sure I shall be very tender of misrepresenting any man.”

Letter, Dublin Castle, 9 Decr., 1686, Clarendon to Rochester, “Wednesday 8th Sir Thomas Newcomen came to me, I asked him if he had sent the £30 a company to his regiment, which he had so long detained from them. He answered “Yes.” I then told him it was a wonderful thing how he could detain £30 a company for his men, and write into England that they wanted subsistence by reason of the great deductions for clothes. ‘Who? I write into England,’ said he, ‘that we wanted subsistence! by G—, my Lord, your Excellency has done that which was never done before: you have given us subsistence, and we have been so well paid, that there is scarce anything due to us; therefore I must be very much wronged, if anybody informs you that I have written so into England; and I will give it under my hand.’ I told him, I hoped I did not need a certificate; but I must tell him, that upon complaint made in England of the want of subsistence, I had given an account of that whole matter; and that in my last letter from court I was told, that notwithstanding I had written so positively that no deductions had been made for clothing, yet my Lord Tyrconnel had said, he had

subsistence got into the hands of the company officers, such were their exactions that frequently barely half his subsistence

"letters from Sir Thos. Newcomen, averring the direct contrary. 'My Lord
" 'Tyrconnel letters from me,' said he : ' before God I never wrote so to him in my
" 'life' ; and upon that, he steps to the table, sits him down, and writes a declara-
" tion, which he leaves there, and says ' This is not well to say I have written ' &c.
" My Secretary was present all the time ; and another person of worth came into the
" room whilst we were together, and heard most of what passed. The declaration
" I here send you ;* and I do earnestly beg you to show it and this letter to the King.
" I do desire nothing in this world more, than that His Majesty should know every-
" thing I do. By the grace of God, if I live till the first week in Feby. I will send
" you over, with the state of the revenue, a true account of what has been paid to the
" army, under the hands of every colonel or officer commanding the regiment in
" chief ; and then let the King see what is due to his Army here. I believe he will
" not find them a month in arrear. And before Xmas yet, I shall make you some
" very plain discoveries, who has made the deductions : and in God's name let the
" faulty suffer. I have no more to say at present upon this subject."

Letter, Dublin Castle, 30 Novr., 1686, Clarendon to Rochester ; " Several
" officers come to me, almost every day, to beg me to take off the checks which
" were put upon their companies : my answer is, that I am very willing for the
" September muster to take off the checks which were put upon any particular
" officers ; for though they ought to have been at their quarters at the muster, yet
" many of them, being newly come into the service, might have business to equip
" themselves, &c., and therefore upon that consideration, I tell them, I have
" remitted several, and am willing to gratify any officer who shall give me any
" reasonable excuse for his having been absent. But as to the removing the checks
" imposed upon the private men, I am very stiff, and have not taken off one, only
" told them I would consider of it ; whereupon some of the officers have been so
" ingenuous as to tell me they shall be then undone, for they have borrowed money,
" and have no hopes of paying it but by those little advantages, which was pretty
" plain dealing, and you may be sure did not work much upon me. Though I have
" taken off several checks imposed upon officers, and shall do more for the reasons I
" have mentioned, yet the checks upon the companies and troops (which is the
" principal thing) will remain, as I told you in mine of the 13th present, to be
" £3,505 8s. 5d. ; for the checks upon the whole army, the officers included, amount
" to £4,711 10s. 1d. This puts me in mind to tell your Lordship, that if the King
" be prevailed upon to put down this method of checking absent men (which I find
" all the officers aim at), without being much of a prophet, I will venture to say His
" Majesty will have a very ill account of his army here. I shall lay before you an
" account of the deductions made by some officers from the companies, which are
" wonderful ; and if that matter be once well looked into, what the settled deductions
" are for clothing, and everything else which can be thought of as necessary ; and
" after all that, to see what deductions some officers make, is a most abominable
" thing, and must make it impossible for poor men to live without committing
" outrages." Clarendon Correspondence.

Letter, Galway, 20 June, 1691, Lt.-Col. Purcell (23rd Ft.) to Ginckell ; " The
" fault of wanting bread three days before they came here must be the officers', to
" whom likewise must be attributed the complaints made by the men for want of
" their subsistence. For my part I am sensible I have incurred the displeasure of a
" great many for declaring that the subsistence paid by the King, if punctually and

* DECLARATION OF SIR THOMAS NEWCOMEN.

" I do declare I never wrote to my Lord Tyrconnel that the army was in want for want of
" subsistence money in my life.

" Dated the 8th of December, 1686.

" Thomas Newcomen."

reached the soldier. When it is recollected that his subsistence money was actually all that the soldier had wherewith to find himself food and lodging as well as extra clothing, in fact the barest necessities of existence, the hardship as well as the injustice become patent to the most prejudiced vision.

Theft, rapine and violence resulted from a state of affairs which left the soldier little or nothing¹⁹⁷⁵ with which to buy

"justly paid to the soldiers by their officers, was sufficient together with . . . (*lorn*)
 "to maintain the soldiers very well, without oppressing the country; so that under a
 "pretence of want of pay we have wronged and plundered the country, and cheated
 "the soldiers, which is easily demonstrated whenever the accounts are made between
 "the King and the army. It will then appear that the soldier will have but little
 "due, when the subsistence, shoes, stockings, bread, cheese, &c., are all accounted
 "for"; endorsed "If the officers did not give them what was their due upon the
 "last division, upon notice they shall be ordered to do it"; Clarke MSS.

Concerning the Agents of the Army (1693/4); Harl. MSS. 7,018; that the Colonels and other Commanding Officers often appropriate the money, drawing it from the Agents, the subaltern officers and the men being often deprived of their share thereof; and that the Colonels refuse to account, and even make frequent changes of the Agents so as purposely to confuse the accounts.

Report, Dublin, 14 July, 1697, upon wrongful deductions out of subsistence of 11th Foot; Dub. State papers.

Report on petition of Colonel Selwyn and Officers (2nd Ft.) that General Kirke (Selwyn's predecessor) had received the pay of the Regt. and applied £1,965 to his own use; Try. State Papers (30 June, 1696).

Proclamation, Dublin, 26 July, 1697; App. XC.

Royal Letter, Decr., 1697, desiring measures to be taken, &c.; "that the
 "amounts between the Colonels of Regiments and their officers, and between the
 "officers and their soldiers, have not been duly made up nor payments made of such
 "monies as have been issued from our Exchequer"; Dublin State papers.

Proc. Ho. of Commons, 15 Mar., 1698; Petition from soldiers of 5th Dragoons against the Major and his Lieutenant; that they had taken from the men their own good horses to sell, giving them bad ones in lieu; that they had compounded their accounts; that they had deprived them of their pay on various false prettexts; that they had imposed unjustifiable stoppages (some of these are evidently trumped up in the most openly iniquitous manner); all the allegations were considered proven by the House.

Letter, 27 Octr., 1699, Capt. Lt. Sheldon (1st Drs.) to Col. Lord Raby; P.S.
 "If I had kept Short and Oakley (two men just discharged) till the next muster,
 "which will be on Friday next, they would have asked two months' pay." Thus the Colonel and his Lieutenant "sharked" the two poor soldiers out of two months' pay; they had also to deceive the Commissary at the Muster in order to do this shabby trick. Strafford MSS.

See also following Note; also Note ¹⁹⁸².

¹⁹⁷⁵ Letter, Dublin Castle, 10 April, 1686, Clarendon to Rochester. "Another
 "thing that I have done is this: quickly after my arrival, complaint was made to me
 "by several officers of the foot, that the deductions for clothes and accoutrements
 "were so great, that the soldiers could not live, they having, in some regiments, but
 "twopence a day to live upon."

"I confess I thought it very hard that the King should allow sixpence a day, and
 "the poor soldier have but twopence of it. I called a council of war, where were
 "present all the field officers in town, both horse and foot, and they agreed to a rule,
 "and upon every particular that should be furnished to the soldiers, and that each
 "man should have fourpence a day in money for every day in the year. I know

even a meal. Owing to the rapacity of civilian officials and place-holders and the utter incompetence of the bureaucratic administration, the officers were left so badly off through the irregularities and delays in the issue of pay, that they were glad to wink at the illegalities committed by their men; nay, they sometimes went so far as to share the proceeds.

“some of the officers are dissatisfied at this order, though by far the major part agreed to it. I am sure the soldiers are pleased, and I hope the King will not be offended. It would certainly have been of ill consequence to have had some of the army been paid fourpence a day, others twopence three farthings, and others but twopence, which was the case: it is nothing to me.”

Letter, Dublin Castle, 20 Febr., 1685/6, Clarendon to Rochester.

Dublin News-Letter, 10 Oct., 1685; Many disorders in Lancashire by Clifton's Regt., encouraged by the Major, who is now ordered to be tried.

Letter, Galway, 20 June, 1691, Purcell (23rd Ft.) to Ginkell; *see* previous note.

Letter, Clonmell, 12 Febr., 1690/1, Dan Butts, Commry. of Musters, to Clarke; has mustered the two regiments, and the officers came after muster about the delays of pay, “wishing they may be damned if they had twopence to buy a quart of ale with.”

Letter, Westmeath, 10 June, 1691, Col. Peyton to Clarke; asking for additional provisions, “it being very hard for poor men that have no pay nor means of their own to live upon bread alone and do duty”; Clarke MSS.

Letter, Dublin Castle, 18 Decr., 1686, Clarendon to Rochester.

Letter, Roscrea, 15 Sept., 1690, Clarke MSS., Sir Albert Conyngham (6th Drs.) to Clarke, acknowledging that a Lieutenant of his regiment (6th Dragoons) had taken “some stuffs” out of a shop, and soldiers other things; that he would have put him in arrest only he was for detachment duty (!); with assurances that he himself, Sir A. Conyngham, had not the “value of sixpence” out of any “prey or plunder since he left Belturbet in June last.”

Proc. House of Commons; vizt.,

12 Janry., 1694, Petition from Royston; extortion of subsistence-monies.

12 Apr., 1695, and 25 Febr., 1695/6, Petition, Kingston-on-Hull; extortion of subsistence-money, and that the Mayor had contracted with some man “to except the town from quartering soldiers for £100 for a twelvemonth.”

9 Apr., 1696, Petition, Hexham; that Captain J. Crow of the Third Dragoons marched out greatly indebted for quarters, clothing, and necessities to the sum of £250. The Captain promised payment, and ordered the clerk of the troop to pay the petitioners (the night before he marched) what he allowed them. White, the clerk, paid some one half, some one third, and some nothing. The petitioners went to Capt. Crow and complained of White's conduct, and also that he took for himself sixpence per pound off what he did pay; but the Captain would not listen. The Dragoons had behaved very disorderly while at Hexham, “and scarce could have been worse in an enemy's country.”

4 Febr., 1696/7, Petition from Innkeepers of County of Bucks; troops quartered upon them “without one penny satisfaction.”

30 Novr., 1696, Petition from Innkeepers of Cirencester; 24th Foot quartered upon them since April without one penny satisfaction, and soldiers demand a weekly payment above their maintenance, which petitioners have paid “for fear of them.”

2 Febr., 1697/8, and 20 Mar., 1698, Petition from Licensed Victuallers of the Tower Hamlets; compelled to give pay to soldiers of 14th Foot from £1 a week to the Colonel, to 3s. to privates, on threats by the troops, and also on indirect threats by Justices of the Peace to suppress their licenses.

And others from Coventry, Old Sarum, &c.

Indeed almost every military abuse could be then, as too frequently since, traced to the civil mal-administration¹⁹⁷⁶ and lack of punctilious honour in the pecuniary transactions between the Government and the army. The Government robbed the officer, and the officer repaid himself by robbing the soldier. Even when some regulation was procured ostensibly for the relief of the soldier it was the officers alone who benefited,¹⁹⁷⁷ and the boon to the privates was arrested on its way to them.

To relate in detail all the petty practices by which officers bled both their own men and the Government would be too tedious; but besides those already mentioned there were others, such as making agreement with recruits for less than their rightful pay;¹⁹⁷⁸ suspending subordinates in order to pocket their pay;¹⁹⁷⁹ discharging soldiers just before the period of muster without pay; rendering false accounts of contingents¹⁹⁸⁰ such as for movements, spies, and so forth. Even on active service the dominant idea of the majority of the colonels of regiments and the captains of companies was still to make money¹⁹⁸¹ out of the men under their command. The Secretary

¹⁹⁷⁶ See also Chap. XXXII, on the Bureaucratic administration.

¹⁹⁷⁷ Letter, Dublin Castle, 18 Decr., 1686, Clarendon to Rochester; "but believe me, if everything else which is a charge were taken off, so that the money were paid without any fee whatever, the poor soldiers would not have one farthing more than they now have; which I shall demonstrably make appear to you very speedily."

Letter, Dublin Castle, 20 Feby., 1685/6, Clarendon to Rochester.

¹⁹⁷⁸ Schonberg's Dispatch, 8 Octr., 1689, "ce qu'il y a de plus fâcheux est que les colonels qui ont nouvellement levé des régiments, et particulièrement les Milords Irlandais, n'ont regardé qu'avoir des garçons à bon marché."

Regulations for Musters, Dublin, 29 July, 1697, Cl. 11; App. XLVII.

Ordnance Regulations, 1683; App. CIII.

Proc. Ho. of Commons, 20 May, 1698, contains an allegation that the Governor of New York had brought out money for paying the 23rd Fusileers, but had detained one third of the pay on pretext of a stoppage for "repair of forts."

¹⁹⁷⁹ Letter, 15 Aug., 1691, Dr. Dun to Clarke; Clarke MSS.

Letters, 1699-1703, Capt. Lt. Sheldon (1st Dragoons) to Col. Lord Raby; Strafford MSS.

¹⁹⁸⁰ Letter, Cork, 11 May, 1691, Col. Hastings (13th Foot) to Clarke, Secy. at War, asks Clarke to obtain the General's approval of his Contingent account, that "his predecessors gleaned things so close here, that except I have your consideration in this, the profit that is left for the Commander-in-Chief will not bear it, for I have not made sixpence."

Hutchinson, 1664.

See also previous Notes.

¹⁹⁸¹ Schonberg's Dispatches, 20 Sept., 1689. "Je n'en ai jamais vu de plus méchants (officiers) et de plus intéressés; tout le soin des colonels n'est que de vivre de leurs régiments, sans aucun autre application."

12 Octr., 1689. "J'ai travaillé toute cette semaine à régler ce que les capitaines doivent donner à leurs soldats, pour tâcher d'empêcher les chicanes qu'ils leur font."

at War and General Officers were not ashamed to participate in the profits of such nefarious dealings.

One very glaring instance of the base dealings of the Civil department with the troops ought to be recorded, were it merely to exhibit the fallacy of a blind confidence in those in authority. The pay of a private soldier in Ireland was sixpence a day :¹⁶⁸² in the *official* calculation in 1686 this amounts to £8 8s. a year, the result being obtained by calculating the pay at so much per month of *twenty eight* days in the month. Comments upon this would be superfluous.

Had the regimental agents been anything but the tools of their Colonels some check would possibly have been imposed upon the misappropriation of regimental monies, but the widespread corruption which tainted all who had the handling of public monies was nowhere more manifest than among these agents. Some of them would detain in their own hands monies due to the soldiers,¹⁶⁸³ and would make use of them for their own

¹⁶⁸² In Brit. Mus., Add. MSS. 15,897, is an "Acct. of the several deductions "made out of the pay of the Army," &c., but undated; this paper I have not the remotest doubt (from internal evidence) is the one sent by Lord Clarendon when Lord Lieutenant of Ireland to the Secretary-at-War in 1686. See Note ¹⁶⁷⁴ and Note ¹⁶⁹².

¹⁶⁸³ Lond. Gaz., 24/27 June, 1667. "Whitehall, 25 June, 1667, Whereas it is "generally reported that many seamen and soldiers who have served His Majesty "at sea, are frequently constrained to give money or lose some part of their wages "to recover the rest," &c., "proceeds to appoint a Board of Inquiry, the Duke of "York being president."

Proceedings House of Commons, 25 Janry., 1694-5.

Address of House of Commons, 26 Febry., 1694-5 (see Note ¹⁵⁰).

Petition of the N.C.O. and troopers late of Wolsley's Inniskilling Horse (disbanded 1698) against Sir Wm. Fownes, M.P.; Thorpe Tracts; "We the sub- scribing persons late N.C.O. and Troopers in the regiment lately commanded by "Brigadeer Wolsley, commonly called the Inniskilling Horse, do hereby certify "and are ready to prove before Parliament that Sir Wm. Fownes was intrusted "and employed by said regiment to receive for them the balance of their accounts "or debentures for the same, and agreed so to do for the allowance of 1s. 6d. per "pound and no more; which amounted to the said Sir William's clear profit to "£1,275, besides eight shillings per pound he exacted from every person in said "regiment to which he advanced money on the credit of their pay. That not being "content with those allowances he deducted out of the pay of the regiment £850 "more, as a further gratuity for his extraordinary trouble: and refused to let the "N.C.O. and troopers in said regiment (after he got their Debentures into his "hands) to have the benefit of selling the same to the best advantage; but sold the "same himself and discounted with the men of said regiment at £3 per cent. less "than the price current at which he sold them; by which one article he gained £550 "more. That several of the troopers of the regiment lodged a petition before the "last Parliament, complaining of the above and many other exactions of the said "Sir Wm. Fownes, which was referred to a select Committee: where Sir Wm. "Fownes by the advantage of being a member of the House and his dexterous "management in delaying and putting off the said Committee the poor Petitioners

advantage. Some would charge an extortionate interest for paying the officers and men under pretence that it was in advance, or would charge more for the discount of "tallies" than they had actually paid.

Notwithstanding the liberal votes of Parliament for the military expenses of the country, the greatest difficulty was experienced by the troops in obtaining their pay at all. The Members of the House of Commons had to be bribed to exercise their influence before monies long overdue could be touched: Government officials not only pocketed the interest of the large sums they retained in their hands, but even then accepted *douceurs*¹⁹⁸⁴ for handing a regiment its arrears at all. The Speaker¹⁹⁸⁵ of the House of Commons, Members of the Privy Council, and the Secretary to the Treasury, were among those proved to have benefited by these frauds on the troops. Thousands, nay tens of thousands, of pounds, were shewn to have been thus absorbed out of the pay of the army.¹⁹⁸⁵

Such a state of things was fraught with danger to the country. In 1666 the soldiers quartered at Carrickfergus mutinied¹⁹⁸⁶ because they were suspicious of bad faith being intended concerning their pay. In 1694 one regiment, the Inniskilling Dragoons, having for a long time been without pay, and having failed to procure their arrears by official representations, at length mobbed the Lord Lieutenant¹⁹⁸⁷ in the streets of Dublin declaring that they would use force if fair means did not avail. The Lord Lieutenant promised to see to the matter, and threw his purse containing thirty guineas to the soldiers who were nearest him, but the man that caught the purse threw it contemptuously back through the glass window of His Excellency's coach. On the complaint of the regiment being represented to Queen Mary (the King being in Flanders) she sent a thousand pounds to the regiment out of her own privy purse, and *eight years later* two thousand more was paid: these three thousand pounds was all that the Inniskillingers received for five

"were tired with expensive attendance," &c., &c., proceeds to state that he did the same with "the West India regiments."

¹⁹⁸⁴ Burnet.

Commons Journ., 1702 (Retrospective).

Proceedings of House of Commons, Feby., 1695.

¹⁹⁸⁵ Similar malversations of monies destined for the pay of the troops by high personages seem to have taken place in former reigns. Shakspeare, Richard II, Act I, Scene I.

¹⁹⁸⁶ Lond. Gaz., 4/7 June, 1666.

¹⁹⁸⁷ Grose, who says "This anecdote was communicated to me by an old officer "who had it from his grandfather."

years' arrears from 1689 to 1694, the pay of the regiment being not less than sixteen or eighteen thousand pounds a year.

The Thirteenth Foot, partly through the corruption of the financial Officers of State, partly through the mal-practices of the Colonel and of the regimental agent Mr. Tracy Pauncefort, was for a long time altogether without pay. The consequence was that in 1694 both Officers and men exacted from the inhabitants on whom they were billeted, subsistence money on a regular scale ; and this scale framed by the troops themselves contrasts in its liberality, as might be anticipated, with that framed by the Government. A Lieutenant was to receive seventeen shillings and sixpence, an Ensign fourteen shillings, a Serjeant six shillings, a Corporal four and sixpence, and a Private three and sixpence a day.

The forcible extortion of these rates drew forth a Petition in 1694 from the inhabitants of Royston in Hertfordshire to the House of Commons.¹⁹⁸⁸

The inquiry consequent on this Petition brought to light many iniquitous practices on the part of the regimental Agents,¹⁹⁸⁹ as well as of the Colonels of regiments. That these

¹⁹⁸⁸ Proceedings of House of Commons, 12 Janry., 1694-5.

Also Proc., 6 Mar., 1695, 29 Janry., 1697, and other petitions from various places on the same subjects.

¹⁹⁸⁹ Address of House of Commons, 26 Febr., 1694-5.

Cl. I. " That some of the Agents had detained the money due to the soldiers in their hands and made use of it for their own advantage, instead of immediately applying it to the subsistence of the officers and soldiers, for whom they were entrusted.

Cl. II. " That by their intolerable exactions and great extortions upon the officers and soldiers, for paying by way of advance and by their charging more for the discount of tallies than they actually paid, it appeared that those who served in his majesty's armies, notwithstanding they had a greater pay than is given in any other part of the world, they were yet reduced to inconveniences and extremities, which ought not to be put upon those who venture their lives for the honour and safety of the nation.

Cl. IV. " That Colonel Hastings's agent had presumed fraudulently to detain five hundred guineas out of a bounty given by his majesty to the officers of the regiment, under pretence of giving them as a bribe to obtain the same, to the dishonour of His Majesty and injury to the officers ; and had taken twopence per pound out of the money due to the officers and soldiers, for which deduction there being no warrant, the colonel, whose servant the agent is, was answerable.

Cl. V. " That Colonel Hastings's agent had refused or neglected to give an account of the pay due to the Captains of his regiment and their companies, which tended apparently to the defrauding the officers and soldiers.

Cl. VI. " That some of the Agents assumed to themselves the liberty of making great deductions, which since they knew not how to justify, they endeavoured to cover by putting them under the shelter of the uncertain head of 'contingencies,' which gave them the better opportunity of hiding the frauds and abuses, that would otherwise be more liable to be detected."

practices were not confined to one regiment is evident from the wording of the Address or Representation made by the House to the King on this occasion ; but it is easily seen that the root of the whole evil lay in the pernicious example and the shocking mismanagement of the civil government. The pay of the troops was supposed to be issued by the Paymaster-General after each muster :¹⁹⁹⁰ but the fact is that delays of years took place before the troops received their pay ;¹⁹⁹¹ and even then it was generally issued in tallies which were worth twenty per cent. less than their nominal value, or in debentures which were worth still less. The value of the expensive machinery of Paymaster-General, Treasury, Auditors, Exchequer, and all the other official paraphernalia for depriving the servants of the Crown of their justly earned pay cannot be better illustrated than by the fact that regiments were willing to compound an undisputed Crown debt to them of £17,000 for £5,000. When it is recollected that Officers were responsible for the soldiers' subsistence and for the bills for clothing, is it to be wondered at that, under such circumstances, they resorted to tricks whose shabbiness was only surpassed by that of the government whose servants they were ?

Also Proc. Ho. of Commons, 25 Jany., 1694.

Also Proc. Ho. of Com., 14 Apr., 1696 ; Petition from 4th Dragoon Gds. that during the Irish War their Colonel had only paid them sevenpence a day, and that they could obtain no redress from the " Court-Martial at the Horse-Guards."

¹⁹⁹⁰ Functions of the late Lord General, 1678 ; App. XXI.

¹⁹⁹¹ Petition, Mar., 1691, of Col. Maine for pay, 1688/9 ; Try. State papers.

Petition, 6 May, 1693, of Surgeon Noakes, 1st Ft. Gds., for pay, 1690 ; ditto.

Petition, May, 1693, of Offrs. of Marine regts. for arrears, 3 years due ; ditto.

Petition, 2 Sept., 1696, of soldiers late of 2nd Dr. Gds. for arrears 4 years due ; ditto.

Report, 26 Feby., 1692, by Paymr.-Genl. on petition of Colonel Cunningham and officers of his regiment (now Buchan's), in which they offered to discount the £17,000 due to them for thirteen months pay at £5,000, stating that the regiment is in same circumstances as the Earl of Argyle's was, the arrears of which were compounded for £4,000 ; ditto.

Petition, Apr., 1695, of Col. Selwyn and officers of 2nd Foot that they were obliged to sell the tallies in payment of their services in Ireland, 1689/91, at a loss of 20 and 22 per cent. Try. State Papers.

Scotch Minutes of Parliament, 5 Aug., 1698 ; Petition of several officers for arrears prior to 1691.

Various statements of arrears of officers, N.C.O., and Privates ; Try. State Papers ; Dublin State Papers ; Harl. MSS.

Some being seven years in arrears.

Orders for payments of arrears ; ditto.

An account how the several regiments have been subsisted, Dublin, 1699, shews the *subsistence* of regiments to be some one year and some two years in arrear ; Dub. State papers.

Abstract of arrears of pay to 25 Mar., 1699 ; Brit. Mus., Add. MSS. 10,123.

Even when it was found absolutely necessary to issue some ready money for fear of an outbreak of discontent, there were civilian officials ready to spoil the ship for the sake of the ha'porth of tar, to transform the favour into a hardly-wrung right, and to convert what might have satisfied the soldier into a source of fresh discontent. Of this we have one notable instance left recorded:¹⁹⁹² in 1691 two months' *subsistence* (not pay) were ordered to be issued to the army in Ireland then on active service, and the hearts of all were gladdened by the news: the order was given by the General, but the civilian officials determined with their usual fatuous lack of tact to construe a month to mean only twenty-eight days: thereupon what would have been a boon became a bone of contention, and Colonel Kirke and his "Lambs" swore that they would simply knock on the head any man who offered them twenty-eight days' pay for a month. The Officers of the Commissariat intervened, and their representations probably prevented an open mutiny.

One very harsh regulation, apparently issued solely because it was thought that claims were more likely to expire or become lost in the hands of soldiers than in the hands of speculators, was to the effect that debentures for arrears of military pay were not to be sold.¹⁹⁹³ One consequence of this prohibition was to throw the discount of pay entirely into the hands of the regimental Agents. There were actually instances of regiments being unable to start for the seat of war because of the difficulty of discounting the tallies for their pay;¹⁹⁹⁴ and the only remark of the Secretary-at-War upon such a state of things was that "Victories will make our tallies go off at a much better rate than now they do." In the Royal Warrants appointing

¹⁹⁹² Letter, Dublin, 14 Mar., 1690/1, Commry.-Genl. Robinson to Clarke, Secry. at War; Quotes the General's direction to pay the Officers a month's pay, and to complete two months' subsistence to Officers and soldiers according to numbers on Muster Roll. "This method we intended to proceed upon, but when we came to "view the rolls there was so many cheques and Respites that the officers refuse to "receive any especially the two Majors-General; they are wholly disgusted at the "muster, and if some salve be not speedily found mischief will ensue."

Desires Clarke to remember the Warrant for payment of "subsistence and also "for the month's pay to the officers; but, in the latter, pray consider the wording, "for Kirke swears that it shall be death for any man to name twenty-eight days "which was invented and introduced by damn'd Ranelagh (the Paymaster-General) "to cheat the army, so it must either be called four weeks or else reduced to hours"; Clarke MSS.

See also Note ¹⁹⁸⁹.

¹⁹⁹³ Proclamation, 7 May, 1698; Dub. state papers.

¹⁹⁹⁴ Letter, Whitehall, 2 June, 1691, Blathwayt to Clarke; Clarke MSS. Memorial of Lt.-Col. Peirce, 22nd Foot, Aug., 1691; Try. State papers.

Officers, their pay was always directed to be issued "at the usual terms";¹⁰⁹⁵ and these terms appear to have been one-third cash and two-thirds debentures.¹⁰⁹⁶

The abuses of the Paymaster-General's department reached a climax just after the death of William the Third, when the Commissioners for taking the Public Accounts (a body that ought to be most independent, but which has recently been rendered more subservient to the Treasury and the Exchequer than ever) presented a report to the House of Commons¹⁰⁹⁷ respecting the accounts of the Paymaster-General from 1688 to 1700.

The Commissioners represented that in the first place they had experienced the greatest difficulties and annoyances in procuring any accounts at all, the Paymaster General apparently deeming himself accountable to no one: and that at length only general abstracts had been furnished instead of detailed accounts.

Secondly, that they had demanded accounts of the balance in hands on 5th November, 1688, and the receipts, payments, and regimental deductions, from that date up to the end of 1701: that they had only been enabled to examine the accounts up to March, 1692, though a cursory glance had been thrown over the subsequent accounts.

Thirdly, they proceeded to charge Lord Ranelagh, the Paymaster-General, with appropriating part of the interest on tallies to the amount of £4,344; with obtaining Royal Warrants on false pretences; with possessing among his accounts forged signatures to receipts; with appropriating sums by Secret Service warrants; with omitting altogether large receipts from his accounts; with omitting to carry forward a balance against himself of £20,000; and with carrying forward another balance in his own favour as £98,429 instead of £58,886; and with such a general looseness in his accounts, and touching such large sums, as to give an impression of intentional concealment: the only account in some cases being for instance thus, and unsupported by vouchers:—

	£	s.	d.
" Paid to several persons for especial services, &c.,			
" relating to the forces 	27,150	16	3"
" Paid to several persons for contingencies 	50,929	17	3"
" To M. Schuylenberg for several sums advanced by			
" him for several services relating to the forces ...	76,477	8	0"

¹⁰⁹⁵ Royal Warrts., 28 Novr., 1686; 10 Mar. & 12 Mar., 1686/7, &c., &c. Harl. MSS. 7,436; App. LXXV, LXXVI.

¹⁰⁹⁶ Warrts., Dublin, 5 May, 1698, &c., respecting disbanding of regiments; Dub. state papers.

¹⁰⁹⁷ Report, 11 Novr., 1703; Commons Journals; Cobbett.

The Paymaster General's replies to these accusations were exceedingly plausible, but most certainly did not exonerate him (or his subordinates) from at least some of them; and after an investigation he was expelled the Parliament for misapplication of public monies.¹⁹⁹⁸

The pay of both officers and men is in the present day largely made up of ALLOWANCES of various kinds, but in the seventeenth century these allowances were very few. Officers were allowed servants according to their rank,¹⁹⁹⁹ six for a Colonel, three for Lieutenant-Colonel, Major, or Captain, and for subalterns two in the cavalry and one in the infantry; the Quarter-Masters of cavalry were allowed one servant, but those of infantry do not appear for any at all, neither do the Chaplains or Surgeons. In 1698 three servants per company of Foot were cut off.²⁰⁰⁰ The allowance to troops quartered in the capital has been already mentioned; and besides this there was but one other allowance to the privates, namely "sea-pay and short-allowance money,"²⁰⁰¹ which was some sort of extra pay while on board ship.

Travelling claims did not carry any extra allowance;²⁰⁰²

¹⁹⁹⁸ Commons Journals, 7/11 Decr., 1703, and 1 Febr., 1703/4.

Representation of the Commissioners of Excise to the Lord High Treasurer, representing that Sir Stephen Fox, Paymaster-General, seems to demand what money he pleases on his running account; and had demanded £20,000 advance, which he lent to a banker who lent it to revenue-farmers; Brit. Mus., Add. MSS. 28,082.

This shews that the malpractices were not confined to Lord Ranelagh.

¹⁹⁹⁹ See Notes ¹⁵⁵⁶, &c.

²⁰⁰⁰ Royal Warrt., 19 July, 1698; Dub. state papers; Aug., 1698.

²⁰⁰¹ Royal Warrant, Whitehall, 14 Febr., 1697/8; Lond. Gaz., 10/14 Febr., 1697/8.

²⁰⁰² W.O. records "The Account of Ensign Peryn's Charges of the Right Honble. "the Earl of Craven's Coldstream regiment of His Majesty's Foot Guards, being "commanded to conduct near three hundred men from the fleet, and afterwards by "post to Portsmouth to conduct thirty soldiers, by orders from His Majesty.

	£	s.	d.
" Imprimis, for a boat to Gravesend	0	10	0
" My expenses at Gravesend till commanded to London ...	1	11	0
" For a boat to London... ..	0	10	0
" For a boat to Gravesend a 2nd time... ..	0	10	0
" My expenses there till commanded to the fleet	1	5	0
" For post horses to Rochester	0	4	0
" For a boat to the fleet... ..	1	7	0
" For a boat to attend me to get the soldiers from aboard " the fleet and carry them aboard several Ketches ...	1	15	6
" For a boat from fleet to Queenborough	0	7	0
" For post horses to Gravesend and my expenses on the road	1	11	0
" For a boat to London... ..	0	10	0
" For post horses to Portsmouth and my expenses on the " road	2	11	6

they were signed by the officer making the claim, certified by his commanding officer, and paid by the Paymaster-General on a Royal Warrant out of the Contingent estimate.²⁰⁰³

HALF-PAY,²⁰⁰⁴ which may be considered an allowance, was granted at least as early as 1678 and was originally calculated, as the term implies, at an exact half of the full pay: in the reign of William the Third the half of the servant's allowance²⁰⁰⁵ was also allowed in the calculation, which was not always the case before that time.²⁰⁰⁶ The rates of half pay are shewn in the authorities quoted below, and are to be found in the appendix. Even Non-Commissioned Officers were sometimes included in the half pay list.

It has on several occasions been a matter of debate whether half-pay is to be regarded as a reward for services already rendered, and therefore a due of which the recipient cannot be justly deprived; or whether it is to be viewed as a retaining fee of which the recipient can be deprived either by way of punishment or because his services are permanently dispensed with.

	£	s.	d.
" My expenses in getting the soldiers ashore at Portsmouth,			
"and on my march from thence to London	2	13	6
" For a horse from Portsmouth... ..	0	12	0
	£15	17	6

" Dated the 21st June, 1672.

" Jo. Peryn.

" I have perused this bill of disbursements, and do think the same reasonable to be allowed and paid off to Ensign John Peryn, who by order lately conducted the parties of soldiers above mentioned, from his Majesty's fleet to the Coldstream regiment of his Majesty's Guards.

" John Miller."

(Major of the Coldstream Regt.)

Charles R.—Warrant dated 3rd July, 1672, directing payment of £15 17s. 6d. to Ensign Peryn, for conducting from the fleet three hundred soldiers of the Coldstream regiment of the Foot Guards, as appears by the annexed account attested by the Major of the said regiment.

By his Majesty's command,

Clifford.

To Sir Stephen Fox, Kt.,

Paym. Genl. of our Forces.

Several similar claims and warrants, 1670-1700; W.O. records.

²⁰⁰³ Several Warrts., 1697/8, for travelling expenses; Dublin state Papers.

²⁰⁰⁴ Royal Warrt., 26 Novr., 1678; App. LIV.

Royal Warrant, 17 July, 1689; App. LXXIX.

²⁰⁰⁵ Royal Warrt., 16 Mar., 1697/8; quoted in full by Grose.

Royal Warrt., 23 Febry., 1697/8, orders to be paid to the officers therein placed upon half-pay "the respective allowances mentioned, &c., being the half-pay of themselves and servants respectively"; W.O. records.

²⁰⁰⁶ See previous Notes.

This question, as justly observed by Grose, involves very weighty consequences; thus in 1715 the capital sentences on several officers depended upon the solution of this point; and even at the time Grose wrote (1786) it had not been satisfactorily resolved. This is exactly one of those instances which exhibit the want of some properly vouched history of our Army (such as this work designs to be); for, had such existed, the doubt could never have arisen.

Beyond all question half-pay was originated as a retaining fee solely, and not as a permanent reward or pension; and thus it continued throughout the seventeenth century. It is quite possible that half-pay may have been allotted in some cases by way of provision for officers who would never be expected to serve again, but such were the exceptions to the rule. The condition on which half-pay was held may be very simply stated; it was, that the half-pay was to cease upon the officer's receipt of any other Government pay²⁰⁰⁷ or tenancy of any other Crown appointment. The expression used in one Royal Warrant exactly expresses the principle of the retaining fee which had been maintained from the first: it is that officers about to be disbanded were "*to be continued in half-pay.*"²⁰⁰⁸ There are indeed instances of officers actually being attached to a regiment as supernumeraries and *doing duty*²⁰⁰⁹ while on half-pay and awaiting vacancies.

Of course the inconsistency of young officers drawing half-pay for years while grey-headed veterans' past service received nothing, could not pass unnoticed; and the result was that half-pay even so early as 1690 was apparently assigned as the only mode of providing for the latter:²⁰¹⁰ it was thus that the original intention of half-pay was lost sight of, and the term still continues to be misapplied to grants that are in reality pensions

²⁰⁰⁷ Royal Warrants, 26 Novr., 1678; 17 July, 1689; 16 Mar., 1697/8; Apps. LIV, LXXIX.

Commons Proceedings, 18 Janry., 1697.

Commons Proceedings, 6 Mar., 27 Apr., and 31 Decr., 1699; where it was resolved that no person should be entitled to half pay, who held any other employment *civil or military*.

²⁰⁰⁸ Royal Warrt., Whitehall, 14 Febr., 1697/8; App. C.

²⁰⁰⁹ Royal Warrt., 26 Apr., 1695; App. LV.

²⁰¹⁰ Report, 7 Aug., 1689, of Paymaster-General on petition of Mr. Dobinson Quarter-Master and Ensign of Prince George's Regt. of Foot lately disbanded, praying on account of his 24 years' service, the loss of an arm and other wounds, to be admitted to half-pay;—recommending him as a proper object of charity and bounty: Endorsed, "13 Apr., 1692, to be laid before the Queen"; Try. State Papers.

for past services. The principle that all officers becoming supernumerary upon disbandment or reductions in consequence of the termination of war are entitled to half-pay until absorbed or otherwise provided for, was distinctly affirmed by the House of Commons²⁰¹¹ after the peace of Ryswick (1697) at the close of our first great war.

The doubt whether half-pay officers were amenable to martial law, and therefore available for duty when ordered,²⁰¹² existed in the War Office as early as 1701, although the records of that Office ought to have conclusively demonstrated that they were so. Thus does ignorance create difficulties that grow with time until they become beyond control.

It was customary to give Non-Commissioned Officers and soldiers a gratuity on discharge in consequence of reduction. Thus on the reduction in 1698,²⁰¹³ they received "fourteen days' full subsistence from the day of their discharge over and above what shall be due to them." But there was another instance in 1698 of the issue of a sort of half-pay to Non-Commissioned Officers and privates on disbandment; they were to have their ordinary subsistence-money until absorbed by the regiments of the establishment.²⁰¹⁴

SPECIAL SERVICE PAY²⁰¹⁵ was occasionally issued, and seems sometimes to have been given by way of unattached pay.²⁰¹⁶

In the financial disposition of the effects of a deceased soldier the arrangements used always to be much the same as they were until recently, and were open to great abuses. The effects of either officer or soldier deceased were ordered to be sold,²⁰¹⁷ and after satisfaction of debts for quarters and so forth,

²⁰¹¹ Commons Proceedings, 18 Janry., 1697.

²⁰¹² Letter, Whitehall, 3 Octr., 1701, Mr. Secy. Vernon to Blathwayt; "He (Major General Erle) was in doubt how the Officers that refused to go would be supplied. The Major-General had writ nothing of them, so he did not know the number and if he had, he was under some restraint by directions he had received from you that no half-pay officers should be obliged to go to the West Indies but only such as were willing": Vernon letters.

²⁰¹³ Royal Warrant, 14 Febry., 1697/8; App. C.

²⁰¹⁴ W.O. records, Misc. Bks.

²⁰¹⁵ Royal Warrt., 14 July, 1689, Theodore Russell, Esqre., to attend Our Service in Ireland and to draw out of the Contingent estimate £100 "without account," and afterwards 20s. a day "until further orders"; Harl. MSS. 7,439.

²⁰¹⁶ Royal Warrt., 23 July, 1689, Similar Warrt. (see previous note) to pay Captain Charles Ross 10s. per diem for similar service, "until he shall be otherwise employed by us": do.

²⁰¹⁷ Articles of War, 1673, Art. 70; App. LIII.

Ditto, 1686, Art. 59; App. LIII.

Ditto, 1692, Art. 63; App. LIII.

the balance was to be retained for three months to be claimed by his heirs. It may be imagined that officers who found means to keep back the soldier's pay from him when alive and on the spot to claim it, were not likely to take much pains to discover a dead man's heirs.

As the leave of officers and soldiers came within the cognisance of the Commissary-General of Musters, the rules that governed this privilege may be given a place in this chapter. LEAVE OF ABSENCE or furloughs could only be granted by the Sovereign,²⁰¹⁸ except to General Officers or Members of Parliament who were permitted to absent themselves at discretion. Prior to 1678 the Commander-in-Chief sometimes exercised the right of granting leave:²⁰¹⁹ by whomsoever granted it was immediately notified to the Commissary-General of Musters, who thereupon gave the necessary orders for passing the name of the absentee at muster.

The number of officers allowed to be absent was limited to one third of the regiment,²⁰²⁰ and two officers were always to be present with each troop or company: even so early as 1663 the limit of leave for all ranks was fixed at two months in the year,²⁰²¹ although this rule was either dropped or more honoured in the breach than in the observance, for six months was no unusual period of leave at the close of the century.²⁰¹⁸

As the soldier's subsistence-money was supposed to support

²⁰¹⁸ Musters Regulations, 5 May, 1663, App. XXIV.

Royal Proclamation, Kensington, 26 Octr., 1696; That no officers except General Officers or Officers serving in Parliament absent themselves from their quarters without leave under Royal sign manual; Lond. Gaz., 26/29 Octr., 1696.

Licences of Absence, Dublin, 4/9 June, 1697, by Lords Justices (*i.e.*, the King).

Musters Regulations, Dublin, 29 July, 1697; No leave except from the Lords Justices; App. XLVII.

Order, Dublin, 4 Sept., 1697; Officers Members of Parliament to be allowed absent on muster; Dub. State papers.

Licences of Absence, Dublin, Sept., 1697, by Lords Justices to N.C.O. and Privates for from six weeks to three months; ditto.

Licences of Absence, Dublin, 1699 (many), by Lords Justices to Officers, Non-Commissioned Officers and Privates; ditto.

Royal Warrts., 24 May, 1699-1701. Leaves to many officers for two to six months; ditto.

Many instances in W.O. records, 1670 to 1700.

²⁰¹⁹ Leave of absence, 1 June, 1678, to Ensign Clerke, 2nd Ft. Gds., by Duke of Monmouth, Capt.-Genl., and addressed to the Commissary-General; W.O. records, and many similar instances.

²⁰²⁰ Articles of War, 1673, Art. 42.

Letter, Whitehall, 20 Novr., 1690, Blathwayt to Clarke; that officers were ordered from regiments in Ireland to recruit "over and above the third part of " officers allowed to be absent," Clarke MSS.

²⁰²¹ Musters Regulations, 5 May, 1663; App. XXIV.

himself and his horse, the Supplies branch of the Commissariat was by no means so important as in later days and the details of its working will therefore not occupy much space.

The advisability of furnishing the soldier with a limited quantity of food in lieu of pay must have frequently suggested itself to military commanders before the actual adoption of such an arrangement. Of old, soldiers used to draw pay only, and were left to provide for their own wants as best suited their individual requirements. But many of the men were not proof against passing temptations to dissipate their earnings; and the consequence was that either such men were lost to the strength by starvation and weakness,²⁰²² or else a premium was held out to idle extravagance by feeding the thoughtless at the expense of Government while the self denying man continued to feed himself. Even at the best it frequently became necessary to carry food for the troops in situations where either from the ravages of warfare, from the nature of the country, or from the proximity of the enemy, it would be impossible for the soldiers to purchase for themselves.

At length in Queen Elizabeth's time the system of RATIONS²⁰²³ was introduced into the English forces. It was

²⁰²² It is frequently remarked that the English soldier is more dependent upon due feeding than the soldiers of other nations. Shakspeare puts the same observation into the mouth of the duc d'Alençon in Henry VI, Act 1, Scene 2:—

“ They (the English troops) want their porridge, and their fat bull-beeves;
 “ Either they must be dieted like mules
 “ And have their provender tied to their mouths,
 “ Or piteous they will look like drowned mice.”

²⁰²³ Sir John Smythe, Certain Discourses, 1590. “The summer before the Earl of Leicester went over, our such men of war that had served divers years before in those parts devised a *new invention, never heard or read of before amongst men of war, but only upon some great lacks and extremities*; and that was, that their soldiers instead of pay with money should be paid in provand, which was bread and cheese, and other such victual of the best cheap and basest sort, and that taxed by measure, saying that it was not convenient that their soldiers should receive their own pays, because they knew not how to lay out their money, but that they would spend it idly: which simplicity and ignorance, if it had been in them (as it was not) they and their officers by good instruction should have reformed the same. But such covetous men of war, under the pretence (as though their soldiers had been either natural fools or children), did, contrary to all military order, put the greatest part of their soldiers' pay into their own purses, allowing them great scarcity of provand.” Sir J. Smythe here dilates upon further and similar abuses and then proceeds thus:—“And these wonderful disorders, with innumerable other did continue and increase, until such time a divers young noblemen lately coming to take principal charge in those wars, as also divers knights and gentlemen of noble and of worshipful houses, and themselves of great valour and worthiness, did complain of and discover those strange and wonderful abuses unto the Queen and to her counsel, who understanding thereof did very nobly reform and redress divers of

first tried in the army in Holland in 1587 under the Earl of Leicester, but it would seem that the abuses consequent upon the introduction of a scale of stoppages were so heinous that it was found necessary to rescind the orders relative to rations and to return to the old custom of handing the soldier his whole pay with which to provide himself.

Fifty years later, however, a return had been made to rations in most armies ²⁰²⁴ although not in all; and even in those armies in which the new system had obtained it was limited to troops on active service. In 1678 the English troops on active service in Flanders ²⁰²⁵ were furnished with bread on stoppage, but the arrangement was to cease on their quitting the field: at the same period also a proposal to supply the officers (as well as the men) with a fixed allowance was first mooted.

Thacker states ²⁰²⁶ that at Tangier (1660/1680) the garrison received not alone bread, but also meat, vegetables, cheese, and butter, and even fuel for cooking, "at the King's charge," *i.e.*, free of stoppage; and these soldiers were said to fare better than any in the world. But Thacker must have been in error, for there is extant the "Establishment for Tangier" of 1678, ^{2026a} which states that the pay of the soldier "besides victuals" was for Foot threepence a day, and for Horse two shillings; the whole of this (excepting eightpence of the latter for forage) being paid to the Colonels towards clothing: and that the Victuallers received two shillings and sixpence per man per diem to supply rations. This is a widely different thing from a free ration in addition to the regulated pay.

From 1678 to 1689 there was no war, and therefore no necessity arose for continuing or amending the rules relating to rations, the soldier in time of peace always subsisting himself: but when the expeditionary army was sent to Ireland in 1689, it was not long before the question of subsisting the troops became prominent.

"those disorders, taking further orders that the aforesaid new devised provand should be abolished, and that instead thereof the soldiers should receive their own pays in money."

²⁰²⁴ Sir J. Turner, 1670-83.

²⁰²⁵ Monmouth's Letter, Sept., 1678; App. XLV.

²⁰²⁶ Thacker, 1680; "The private soldiers live there better than in any part of the world, for they have fresh and wholesome quarters with small gardens; Coals for dressing their provisions they have out of the stores, at the King's charges; Every Monday morning each man receives one piece of beef, one piece of pork, 7 lbs. of bread, a quart of pease, a pint of oatmeal besides butter and cheese for his week's allowance."

^{2026a} Est. for Tangier, 1678; Dartmouth MSS.

Accordingly in July, 1689, a Warrant was published authorising the Commissary-General to issue provisions²⁰²⁷ in "such quantities and sorts as the General should direct," upon stoppages "not exceeding" fourpence per diem for infantry soldiers, sevenpence farthing for dragoons and one shilling for Horse-soldiers.

Subsequently the Secretary at War desired to saddle the troops with the actual gross cost of all provisions supplied to them; and this he succeeded in doing²⁰²⁸ (as already related) in spite of the Commissary-General's opinion of the injustice of such a measure.

During this war²⁰²⁹ officers were permitted to draw provisions from the stores on payment.

In 1670 the ordinary allowance²⁰³⁰ to a soldier in the field was two pounds of bread, one pound of meat or an equal weight of cheese, and one pottle of wine or two of beer. "It is enough," cry the soldiers, we desire no more, it is enough in conscience."

It is most likely that all troops on foreign service,²⁰³¹ whether on active service or peacefully in garrison, were provided with rations during the latter part of the seventeenth century; and the ration for troops in some garrisons was by no means so liberal as that which Sir James Turner tells us evoked such unusual exclamations of contentment from men in the field, for it was limited to two thirds of a pound of bread and the same of meat.

The allowances to officers were higher than those of the soldiers and varied in proportion to the degree of rank,²⁰³⁰ an ensign usually drawing four privates' rations and a colonel twelve such rations. This system of allowances to officers in an increasing ratio proportioned to their rank was permanently in vogue in the French army, where for example a Lieutenant-General drew fifty rations daily.²⁰³²

In 1691 the Contractor for bread to the army in Ireland was

²⁰²⁷ Royal Warrant, 29 July, 1689; App. XXVIII.

²⁰²⁸ See under "Stoppages" in this chapter.

²⁰²⁹ The charge of the Army in Ireland, 1689/92; Harl. MSS. 7, 194.

²⁰³⁰ Sir J. Turner.

²⁰³¹ St. Helena Official Records, 27 Aug., 1683, 8 Sept., 1684, &c., &c. The armourer to have pay and provisions, vizt. "twenty pounds of bread and twenty "pounds of meat monthly which is our full allowance to all other persons."

See also account of rations at Tangier, Note ^{2026a}.

²⁰³² De Feuquiere.

not bound to supply more than one pound to each man daily,²⁰³³ and the same limit was observed in forming encampments in 1698;²⁰³⁴ but in an estimate for bread in Flanders about 1694 the ration is calculated at a pound and a half per man.²⁰³⁵

We hear nothing of meat as an article of Commissariat supply at this time; and altogether there seems to have been a lamentable difference between the theory of Commissariat supplies as set forth by Sir James Turner and the practice as permitted by the Secretaries at War: Sir James Turner tells us that the Proviant-Master-General was to provide as meats and drinks most fit to preserve,²⁰³⁶ "corn, grain, and meal of several kinds, stock-fish, herrings, and all other salted fishes; salted and hung flesh, especially beef and bacon, cheese, butter, almonds, chestnuts, and hazel nuts, wine, beer, malt, honey, vinegar, oil, tobacco, wood and coal for firing, and as many living oxen, cows, sheep, and swine, hens, and turkeys, as can be conveniently fed." In 1690 biscuit, meal, and cheese,²⁰³⁷ were indeed kept in the stores but only for those who could afford to purchase them.

I cannot forbear to instance here a War-Office minute upon a complaint of starvation of the troops. Such complaints had been growing frequent;²⁰³⁸ and men cheated out of their pay, and then absolutely refused bare food, were naturally growing dangerous to the peace of the country. At length Colonel Purcell of the Twenty-third Foot wrote direct to the Commander-in-Chief²⁰³⁹ in Ireland complaining that, owing to the evil system of pay and general bad management, his men

²⁰³³ Letter, Athlone, 21 Aug., 1691, Col. Purcell (23rd Foot) to Clarke; "com-
plains that Pereira has stopped the supplies of bread to the militia (for he says)
"their allowance ought to be but one pound a day, and that hitherto they had one
"and a half pound; therefore they must not have bread till the overplus be paid";
Clarke MSS.

²⁰³⁴ Order, Dublin, 7 July, 1698; Dub. state papers.

²⁰³⁵ Estimate of bread in Flanders, quoted further on, Note ²⁰⁴⁷.

²⁰³⁶ Sir J. Turner.

²⁰³⁷ Charge of the Army in Ireland, 1689/92; Harl. MSS. 7,194.

Letter, Whitehall, 21 June, 1690, Blathwayt to Clarke; advice of 150 tons of
cheese and paid for by bills drawn by the Dy. Commry. at Chester on the Paymaster
in Ireland.

Abstract of Accts. of Commy. General Fielding in Flanders, 1693; Try. state
papers.

²⁰³⁸ Letter, Westmeath, 10 June, 1691, Col. Peyton to Clarke; praying "an
"order on the Commissary of Provisions for cheese it being very hard for poor men
"that have no pay nor means of their own to live upon bread alone and do duty."

Other letters of the same sort; Clarke MSS.

²⁰³⁹ Letter, 20 June, 1691, Col. Purcell to Ginnell; Clarke MSS.

were wanting even bread and were plundering the country, that his letters on this matter to the Secretary at War and to the Contractor had produced no effect, and that he was therefore obliged to address the General himself. The endorsement by the Secretary-at-War on this epistle is as follows :

" Mr. Pereira is ordered to send Colonel Purcell bread, and
" Colonel Brewer writ to for cheese, which he is desired to
" spare as much as he can *so long as the soldiers have money.*"

And Colonel Purcell's soldiers were expected to have
" stomach to the fight " for a country which treated them thus
worse than a gentleman treats his hounds !

Another decision against the troops and in favour of manifest abuses may also be mentioned here. A Mr. Reade, a subordinate charged with the detailed issues of provisions on the landing of the troops in Ireland in 1689, wrote²⁰⁴⁰ to the authorities complaining that it had " always been allowed to
" such persons as had charge of the King's provision to deliver
" in small parcels at fourteen ounces to the pound " and " that
" now the Controller (and Commissary-General) refuseth to
" allow it me, forcing me to weigh sixteen ounces." The letter contains a note on the margin to the effect that the fourteen ounce practice was to be allowed !

Occasionally contracts were entered into for supplies in the field ;²⁰⁴¹ but more frequently the bread was baked either in camp or in some garrison conveniently near at hand."²⁰⁴²

When, in obedience to a popular outcry, the supply of bread to the army on active service in Ireland in 1690 and 1691 was handed over to a contractor, complaints of his failures were rife ; and not unfrequently enterprises had to be foregone for lack of supplies.²⁰⁴³

About the middle of the seventeenth century, a Dr. Keffler²⁰⁴⁴ invented some iron FIELD OVENS which he suc-

²⁰⁴⁰ Letter, Carrickfergus Bay, 23 Aug., 1689, John Reade to the Officers of the Ordnance ; R.U.S. Inst.

²⁰⁴¹ Lond. Gaz., 1/4 Octr., 1677. Advertisement for Tenders for contract to supply Tangier garrison with victualling : proposals to be addressed to H.M.'s Commissioners for the affairs of Tangier.

Monmouth's Letter, Sept., 1678 ; App. XLV.

Letters, 1690/1, Blathway to Clarke ; Clarke MSS.

Schonberg's Dispatches, 10 Febr., 1690.

²⁰⁴² D'Auvergne.

De Beaurain, &c.

Abstract of accts. of Commy. Genl. Fielding in Flanders, 1693 ; Try. state papers.

²⁰⁴³ Numerous letters ; Clarke MSS.

²⁰⁴⁴ Evelyn's Diary, 1666, " Went to see Dr. Keffler, who married the daughter of

ceeded in making portable: he had specimens of these ovens in England in 1666 and exhibited them to men in authority, but if they were ever adopted here, the art of using them had been forgotten in 1690, when the army in Ireland was destitute of any such contrivance.²⁰⁴⁵ In 1693 it appears to have been contemplated to create a working corps for Supplies-duties, for in the accounts of the Commissary-General in Flanders for that year there is an item for money "paid to *bakers listed* and for "baking" &c.²⁰⁴⁶

The following estimate of the cost of baking bread for the Army in Flanders (cir. 1694) will be interesting to statisticians of our Administrative Corps:—²⁰⁴⁷

"Calculation of 36,000 loaves of bread of 3lbs. each, being the
"allowance of 72,000 men a day, supposing the bushel to make 72lbs.
"of bread.

	£	s.	d.
"18 Last $\frac{3}{4}$ at £13 6s. 8d. per Last	250	0	0
"Milling and baking, 2s. per Last... ..	37	10	0
"Charge of Ovens	10	0	0
"Casks and sacks	5	10	0
"Commissaries' Clerks and Magazines	12	0	0
	<hr/>		
	£315	0	0

"36,000 loaves = £428 11s. 5d."

It will be observed that the percentage obtained from the flour is set down at twenty-nine; and a comparison in other respects with the returns of the present day will repay the trouble.

In 1686, for the army encamped on Hounslow Heath (consisting of about 14,000 men) the Commissariat bakery was seventy feet long by forty broad, and contained five ovens of which four were daily in use: they were worked by fourteen men and produced each six batches of three hundred loaves.

Throughout the period here treated of, the soldier was, then, supposed to subsist himself; and any departure from that principle was regarded as an exceptional emergency: consequently every regiment found it convenient to have its own

"the famous chemist Drebbell, inventor of the bodied scarlet. I went to see his
"iron ovens made portable (formerly) for the Prince of Orange's army."

²⁰⁴⁵ Schonberg's Dispatches, 1689 and 1690.

Story, 1689 and 1690.

²⁰⁴⁶ Abstract of Commry. Genl. Fielding's account, 1693; Try. state Papers.

²⁰⁴⁷ Estimate of Bread, &c., Brit. Mus., Add. MSS. 10, 123, being a collection of papers, mostly military, between 1688 and 1699.

SUTLERS,²⁰⁴⁸ who accompanied the regiment from place to place. From a warrant of 1691, as well as from the Articles of War, it would seem that these sutlers were recognised by the authorities, and also that the Life-Guards preferred female to male sutlers.

There were no settled allowances of fuel or light except to guards at the different garrisons;²⁰⁴⁹ and to those garrisons where a pecuniary allowance was drawn in lieu, the allowance was one shilling a day for each guard.²⁰⁵⁰

With regard to FORAGE the trooper's subsistence money was "for himself and horse";²⁰⁵¹ and the Commissariat had therefore theoretically nothing to do with the feeding of any horses except transport and artillery horses: but sometimes it was imperative to take the matter out of the hands of the regimental authorities and to lay up magazines in different spots for strategic reasons, or else to supply by contract: on such occasions the value of the forage was subsequently deducted from the subsistence of the regiments.²⁰⁵² During the war in Ireland of 1690/1 hay was largely supplied by contract.²⁰⁵³

There used to be a Forage-Master-General who was an officer holding a position independent of the Commissary-General and whose duties were confined to procuring and distributing forage only. This was the case as late as 1645;²⁰⁵⁴ but, in the reign of Charles the Second, the supply of forage was undertaken by the same officer as had charge of the other provisions.²⁰⁵⁵

It may interest some professional readers to know that the allowance of forage thought sufficient for draught horses on active service was in 1691 eighteen pounds per diem of hay or corn:²⁰⁵⁶ also that officers of Administrative Corps (and probably

²⁰⁴⁸ Petition, 23 July, 1691, to Government of R. Seales, "sutler to Col. Gus. Hamilton's regt." (20th Foot).

Warrant, 3 Feby., 1690/1, for payment of £9 for a horse to "Mrs. Jane Woollaston, "sutler to Their Majesties' 3rd troop of Guards"; Clarke MSS.

Articles of War, 1686, Art. 2, and 1692, Art. 2, App. LIII.

²⁰⁴⁹ Est. Lists, 1687/89, &c.; Harl. MSS. 7,018.

And subsequent Est. Lists.

²⁰⁵⁰ Heads of the late Lord General's function, 1660/1678; App. XXI.

²⁰⁵¹ Proclamation, Dublin, 26 July, 1697; App. XC.

²⁰⁵² Warrant, Dublin, 11 July, 1699, and others in 1698/9; Dub. state papers.

²⁰⁵³ Clarke MSS.

²⁰⁵⁴ Markham, *Soldiers' Accidence*, 1645.

²⁰⁵⁵ Sir J. Turner, &c.

²⁰⁵⁶ Letter, Dublin, 20 Feby., 1690/1, Commies. Genl. Robinson and Van Homrigh to Pereira; Clarke MSS.

By a Memo. of William III's reign, Brit. Mus., Add. MSS. 28,947, the following

all Staff officers), were permitted to draw a pecuniary allowance instead of forage as early as 1696, and that this allowance in Ireland was tenpence farthing per diem.²⁰⁵⁷

The method of storing and distributing provisions differed but little from that of the present day. There was a Commissary of Supplies,²⁰⁵⁸ represented either by the Commissary-General of the army or by some officer under him: this officer, by means of his immediate subordinates, collected the supplies and issued them to the regimental Quarter-masters in quantities apportioned to the strength of the several regiments as shewn in the muster-rolls²⁰⁵⁹ which were ordered to be regularly furnished to the Commissariat.

Both the Supply and Transport branches of the English Commissariat have always had peculiar difficulties to struggle against, owing to the generally fatuous ignorance²⁰⁶⁰ of the British officer on such subjects; the incorrigible indolence or indifference of the British soldier;²⁰⁶⁰ and the usually helpless inexperience of both. The British officer and the British soldier have ever, at least in the first two or three campaigns of a war, been like sucking-babes, so much care and attention do they require and so helpless are they. If they are not fed well and pretty regularly they are easily worn-out; and yet if their food were not brought to them and put as it were into their very mouths they would starve. Not only so, but if the British soldier is supplied with three days' food to carry with him on some enterprise, he will eat it all up at a meal and become a straggler from faintness on the second day. The classes from which our soldiers are mostly taken are notoriously improvident and helpless as compared with those of other countries, although possessing greater physical strength; and this improvidence and helplessness in the soldier, until corrected

rations were proposed for troops encamped: Horse 16 lbs. old hay, 1 Peck of Oats, and 1 truss of straw a week; Dragoons same less $\frac{1}{2}$ peck of oats.

²⁰⁵⁷ Order, Dublin, 8 Febr., 1697/8, for payment of £14 9s. 0d. to J. Jackson, Gentleman of the Ordnance "for the charge of keeping his horse from 14 Decr., 1696, to 18 Novr., 1697."

²⁰⁵⁸ Sir J. Turner.

Schonberg's Dispatches, 1689.

Est. Lists, 1688/89.

"Plan of a descent to be made in England," Janry., 1692, Nairne Papers, D.N., vol. 1.

²⁰⁵⁹ Sir J. Turner.

²⁰⁶⁰ Schonberg's Dispatches, 1689.

Story, 1689 and 1691. D'Auvergne, 1691/97.

See also the histories of later campaigns up to that of the Crimea.

by lessons in the hard necessities of warfare, serve to increase an hundredfold the difficulties and hindrances of Generals and of Commissary-Generals.

When to these drawbacks were added bribery and fraud²⁰⁶¹ in all their forms and extending to all ranks, it is not surprising that the Commissariat (*i.e.*, the Transport, the Supplies, and the Finance) of our army formed the principal impediment to success in the Irish and French wars of William the Third.

One of the most important elements of warfare, and certainly the most important and arduous of the duties of the Commissariat in the field, is the ARMY TRANSPORT.

Of army Transport there are three kinds; first, organised or permanent trains for general service; second, trains organised but local; and third, hired or pressed Transport.

It cannot be said that the British army possessed any organised transport train prior to the Revolution.

Doubtless trains were equipped to accompany any particular force about to take the field, and the organisation of such trains is described by Sir James Turner. From his account it appears that there was a chief of the train usually termed the "Wagon-Master-General,"²⁰⁶² whose duty it was to attend the Commander-in-Chief or the General of his Division every morning and every night in order to receive instructions and advise with him on the movements of the following day.

Under this Chief were two "Lieutenants," or "Deputies," and under these again there were Wagon-Masters attached to each regiment; these last were sometimes officers, and sometimes "sufficient serjeants or corporals" of the regiments, but they were nevertheless subject to the control of the Wagon-Master-General and owned no other authority: in fact, so long as a regiment was on the march, its baggage, munitions,

²⁰⁶¹ Mily. Dictry., 1702; "Etapplier. One that contracts with a Country, or Territory, for furnishing Troops in their march with provisions, and forage. "Etappliers are forbid giving soldiers their Etappe in money. Sometimes the "Etappliers and Officers compound for a sum of money, and oblige the men to make "two days march in one, which is great harassing of men and horses, and a notorious "fraud."

Parker, 1711, retrospective to temp. William III; but of this more in a future volume.

See also under the heads of finance and pay in this chapter.

²⁰⁶² Sir J. Turner, *Pallas Armata*, 1670-83.

Dispatch, Lisburne, 8 Janry., 1689; R.U.S. Inst.; Schonberg to Master-Genl. of Ordnance; "Capt. George Barnard, Wagon-Master," sent to England to arrange for transport for the coming campaign.

et cætera, became the property of the motive power and were entirely taken out of the hands of their owners.

The gravity of the subject of army transport was, however, never brought home to the English authorities. The military conceptions of English statesmen, and of many English generals too, were limited to a review of the Guards in Hyde Park, or at the most to a toy camp on the heaths of Putney or Hounslow; and, as might be expected from such insular ignorance, our army was utterly destitute of any pretence at perfection of internal organisation. When William of Orange acceded to the throne, and the country was at once and suddenly immersed in war, the whole responsibility of the field administration was cast upon the shoulders of one man, the Commissary-General.²⁰⁶³ Had all the wheels of the administrative machine been in place and in working order, nothing could have been better in principle than this undivided or rather concentrated responsibility: but the one man was expected to make and repair the machinery, and at the same time to superintend its working. The same Commissary-General was blamed because he was not sufficiently speedy in purchasing horses and wagons for the Commissariat and regimental transport, because the sea-transport was tardy, because the artillery transport was insufficient, because things were improperly done in Cheshire, in Belfast, in Dundalk, and on the waters of the Channel.

In fact the British army, when called upon to act, was found incomplete and therefore inefficient; and one man was expected to do in one day what ought to have been the work of previous years. But from that time to the present all general transport in the field has been under the sole control of the Commissariat, yet—except at intervals during the height of a war—without any permanent organisation of it.²⁰⁶⁴

One branch of transport which is now included under the head of Artillery, and is committed to the management of the officers of that arm of the Service, used also to pertain indirectly to the Commissariat.²⁰⁶⁵ The guns themselves were under the

²⁰⁶³ Schonberg's Dispatches, 9 Aug., 1689; 20 Sept., 3 Oct., and 6 Oct., 1689.

²⁰⁶⁴ This was written twenty years ago, and there have been important improvements; but there is still room for more (1890).

²⁰⁶⁵ Lists of the Trains, 1659 to 1699; see next chapter.

Rules, &c., of the Ordnance, 1683; App. CIII; the Wagon-Masters were charged with the general custody and direction (as well as in the field) of all transport for Ordnance or Artillery.

charge of the "Gentlemen of the Ordnance," the working and utilising of them was committed to officers of Artillery, but the means of movement were subject to the "Controller of the "Train,"²⁰⁶⁶ who was assisted by Wagon-Masters, Commissaries of Draught-Horses, and Conductors.

The only advantage of this system was that *all* army transport, for whatever purpose originally detailed, became available for general service at the discretion of the Commissary-General. A remarkable instance of this advantage occurred in Ireland in 1689, when the army lay perishing at Dundalk for want of food:²⁰⁶⁷ there was plenty of food at Belfast, but there were no means of getting it to Dundalk, and at the same time the horses of the Artillery train were standing idle: nevertheless the Artillery Commissary, Mr. Halloway (who was, moreover, an especially intelligent and good officer), refused to allow the Commissary-General to take his horses for purposes of Supply; the matter was referred to Marshal Schonberg, and of course Mr. Halloway's objection was overruled to the great benefit of the army.

In 1690 a wagon-train was raised for service in the Irish war:²⁰⁶⁸ and in the same year a separate train for the "marching" (*i.e.*, field) hospital" was authorised,²⁰⁶⁹ consisting of twelve four-horsed wagons with one Conductor, twelve drivers, twelve boys, and one smith.

In 1691 the delays and evils incident to an absence of efficient transport, both general and hospital,²⁰⁷⁰ were complained of to the Secretary at War by Colonel Purcell of the Twenty-third Foot.

The mode of ordering the transport of an army on the march in the middle of the seventeenth century is thus set forth by Sir James Turner:—²⁰⁷¹

"Every regiment, whether of horse or foot, should have a waggon or a baggage master, and where the establishment of the prince doth allow him no pay, the colonel should order a sufficient serjeant or corporal to exercise that office by

²⁰⁶⁶ Lists of the Trains, 1659 to 1699; *see* Chap. XXX.

Rules, &c., of the Ordnance, 1683; App. CIII.

Royal Warrants, 16 June, 1685; 24 May, 1698.

²⁰⁶⁷ Story, Wars in Ireland, 1689.

²⁰⁶⁸ London Gazette, Apr. and May, 1690.

²⁰⁶⁹ Royal Warrants, 14 Mar., 1689/90, and no date, 1690; App. XCVIII.

²⁰⁷⁰ Letter, Athlone, 16 Aug., 1691, Col. Purcell (23rd Foot) to Clarke; Clarke MSS.

²⁰⁷¹ Turner, 1670/83.

" turns ; these are to see, that every officer's baggage, from
" the highest to the lowest, march accordingly to the dignity
" and precedence of him to whom it belongs, whether it be
" carried on waggons, carts, or horses ; but these regiment
" baggage-masters are not to suffer the baggage of the regiments
" to march, till they have received their directions from the
" waggon-master-general, when and in what manner it shall be
" done. The waggon-master-general's charge is extremely
" toylsome, when an army marcheth, every night after the
" army comes to quarter, and every morning before it march,
" he must attend the major-generals of the cavalry and infantry,
" and receive his orders from them, if the whole army march
" together ; but if the cavalry march apart, then the major-
" general of the foot gives the waggon-master his instructions,
" particularly a list in what order the army is to march ; for
" ordinarily, regiments and brigades charge by turns, and their
" baggage must march in the same order that themselves do ;
" the waggon-master having got his list, he accordingly orders
" the regiment baggage-masters (who are obliged to wait on
" him every morning) to cause their luggage march, wherein
" they may not fail ; for (unless some extraordinary occasion
" alters it) the prince, or in his absence, the commander-in-
" chief, his coach or coaches, with his waggons, go first ; then
" the whole train of artillery behind it ; the coaches and waggons
" of all the general officers, according to their dignity ; after
" them the waggons of that brigade that hath the van for that
" day, and so all the rest in order, according as the regiments
" of brigades march. If any waggons or baggage-horses press
" to be before those, behind whom the waggon-master-general
" has ordered them to march, he may safely make prize of
" them, own them who will. When the waggons come to a
" heath, or a champaign field, the waggon-master should order
" the waggons to draw up, two, four, or five in rank, and to
" drive in that order so long as the ground permits them to do
" so, and this saves time, and makes dispatch ; and when they
" come to strait ground, they are to fall off, by the right
" hand, in that order wherein they were before ; the same course
" he is to take with baggage-horses.

" This baggage-master-general is allowed to have two lieu-
" tenants ; so that if the army march three several ways (as
" sometimes it doth), himself and his two deputies serve to
" marshall the baggage of all the three. If the army is divided
" into two, or the cavalry march alone, one of his lieutenants

" goes along with the horse, the other stays with himself, and " he is constantly to be there where the general of the army " and train of artillery either marcheth or quartereth." There was no " Wagon-Master-General " on the establishment of the Standing Army until 1690: on the 29th of December in that year the office was re-established: ²⁰⁷² there had however been an acting or local Wagon-Master-General in Ireland earlier in the year.²⁰⁷³ And it is in this year and in Ireland that we first find the detrimental practice creeping in of administrative Officers getting their orders at second-hand instead of direct from the General: the Wagon-Master-General was instructed to take his orders daily through the Quarter-Master-General.

Sometimes contracts were entered into by which the persons furnishing supplies to the army in the field bound themselves also to find transport for them,²⁰⁷⁴ or by which parties undertook to find transport alone; but the objections to thus placing troops on active service at the mercy of private individuals are obvious.

In 1673/8 a curious arrangement was under consideration, although it is not recorded how far it was carried into effect: by this arrangement the transport train was to be raised and maintained by contract, but under regular Officers,—a Commissary-General, Commissaries, and Captains of Divisions. This proposal is so unique in military history that its details may be quoted in full:—²⁰⁷⁵

" Proposals humbly offered to the Right Honble. Thos. Earl " of Danby Lord High Treasurer of England (1673 to 1678) " for carrying victuals for the Army.

" Two hundred wagons, to be divided into two Divisions one " hundred in each division, will require eight hundred horses to " draw them, four hundred in each division. Over each hundred wagons there must be a Captain to see they march in order,

²⁰⁷² Royal Warrant, Whitehall, 29 Decr., 1690; Harl. MSS. 7,439.

Certificate, 29 Febr., 1691/2, as to pay of Mr. Robt. Barker as Wagon-Master-General; Try. State Papers.

²⁰⁷³ Instructions, 19 June, 1690; Clarke MSS.; Wagon Masters to come to the Quarter-Master-General daily for orders.

²⁰⁷⁴ Schonberg's Dispatches, 10 Febr., 1690.

Autobiog. James II, 1689.

Letter, Whitehall, 18 Apr., 1691, Blathwayt to Clarke " Mr. Pereira (the " contractor for bread to the army in Ireland) has undertaken the care of the horses " and bread wagons by contract." Clarke MSS.

Proposals for carrying, &c., see next note.

²⁰⁷⁵ Proposals for carrying victuals for the Army (1673/8), Brit. Mus., Add. MSS. 28,082.

"and he must be allowed two men and horses to assist him : to
 "every wagon there must be allowed a wagoner, and to every
 "two wagons a spare man and a horse to supply the failure of
 "horse or man : and it were convenient also that there were a
 "boy to every two wagons to help drive upon extraordinary
 "marches.

"There must be a farrier to every Division, and he must be
 "allowed (blank) men to help drench and shoe the horses and
 "to keep them in order. There must be a harness-maker, and
 "he must be allowed four men to every Division. There must
 "be a Wheelwright, and he must be allowed three men to every
 "Division.

"The Undertaker (Contractor) to be allowed what is con-
 "venient for buying the horses, harness, and wagons. Over all
 "there must be a Commissary-General to give orders touching
 "the instructions he receives from the other Generals, and he
 "must be allowed men for dispatches to the magazines and
 "carriages. There must be a Commissary to deliver out the
 "provisions to the Commissary of every regiment, and he must
 "have men convenient allowed to help him.

" The Commissary-General or Superintendent's pay ...	£45 per month.
" The Commissary to deliver out the provisions ...	£35 "
" The Captain of every Division... ..	8/- per diem.
" His men and their horses, for each	2/6 "
" To buy in the horses for the wagons, for each horse...	£12.
" To the leading wagoner of every Division extra-	
" ordinary	£6 a month.
" Every wagoner	2/- per diem.
" For every horse	2/6 "
" For every boy if any thought convenient to be allowed	1/3 "
" For the men the Commissary-General employs, and	
" horses	4/6 "
" For the men employed by the Commissary that	
" delivers the provisions	2/6 "

"All mortality of horses furniture and wagons decaying, the
 "Undertaker to be supplied at H.M.'s charge. The Undertaker
 "having the management of the whole concern in appointing
 "such Officers as may be fit for his purpose: if in any thing he
 "hath over-rated the allowance, he is willing to be governed by
 "my Lord High Treasurer or whom His Majesty shall appoint."

A clause empowering Officers to impress transport, when on
 the march in the United Kingdom,²⁰⁷⁶ was first inserted in the
 Mutiny Act in 1692. Up to that time it had been illegal to
 impress transport; so much so that in Ireland in June, 1690,

although war was raging in that country, a proclamation was issued²⁰⁷⁷ forbidding anything of the sort under pain of dismissal to Officers, and of the piquet and the gantelope to soldiers. Warrants authorising impressment of Transport were, however, common in the reign of Charles the Second.^{2077a}

However, in 1691 some such arbitrary measure had been found absolutely essential; and in Ireland the requirements of the Service were met by a County assessment of transport²⁰⁷⁸ at fixed rates payable by Government. The assessment was made by the County magistrates; the owners of horses and vehicles were compelled to furnish their quota of transport when called upon, but they received what was deemed a fair remuneration for it.

There is one other kind of Transport, the management of which is every year exercising a more and more direct influence on warfare, and especially so in our own insular army; namely, ARMY SEA-TRANSPORT.

Who that remembers the Crimea does not remember the fatal bungling between Admiralty and Commissariat, between naval and military authorities. It will be well when Englishmen learn to apply the common-sense tests of their own daily affairs to the administration of their government establishments. What mercantile firm would for one instant allow itself to be deprived of the entire management of its own carrying arrangements?

For the origin of this insanity we have to go back to the days of our military infancy,—to days when each department of the State strove to get under its influence as much business as possible, simply because business meant fees and patronage, and the control of men and ships meant the pocketing of so many bribes from interested parties and of so much pay of the employed.²⁰⁷⁹

In our first great campaign (1689) all Supply ships were at

²⁰⁷⁷ Royal Proclamation, Hillsborough, 20 June, 1690; Clarke MSS.

^{2077a} Numerous Warrts., 1660 to 1680, W.O. records; *e.g.*, 5 July, 1672, 25 Octr., 1676.

²⁰⁷⁸ Warrant, Dublin, 20 Mar., 1690/1; to impress Garrans (ponies) in different Counties as per list; and Justices of the Peace to attend and aid in settling the rates to be paid by Government for them.

Letter, Garryhinch, 12 May, 1691, Richd. Warburton to Clarke; in reference to an order by the Lords Justices imposing upon the County a Press of horses, cars, and drivers, for use in the coming campaign. From this letter it is evident that the drivers received pay while employed:—Clarke MSS.

²⁰⁷⁹ Pepys's Diary affords many hints of the corrupt state of the Admiralty: *see* also Treasury and Domestic State papers in the Public Records.

the disposal of the Commissary-General; ²⁰⁸⁰ it was he who paid them and ordered them, nominally at least: but before the end of the very same campaign we find confusion arising between the Commissary-General and the naval authorities; we find provisions lying rotting on board ship in Belfast Lough while the troops were starving a few miles away. Nevertheless, the principle of one concentrated military responsibility for supplies was not readily surrendered so long as there was war to bear hourly testimony to its wisdom, and in 1690 the Commissariat had reasserted its common-sense right ²⁰⁸¹ to the control of all shipping for horses and supplies for the general service of the army; and for a time we hear no more of the friction, the delays, and the complaints that were so rife in 1689.

In the letter of a Commissary-General of this date ²⁰⁸² on the subject of transport we have traces of the two centuries of waste that intervened between the abolition of the office of the Treasurer-General and the institution of that of the Controller-in-Chief. Let economists beware of a return to the old subdivision of military administrative corps. ²⁰⁸³

The shipping of troops was entirely under the Admiralty: ²⁰⁸⁴ a system continued to the present day with very immaterial modifications, and which, whether on the score of divided responsibilities or on the score of finance, appears to be highly objectionable.

It may, I venture to say, be gathered from all past military history as an indisputable axiom, that, *in military affairs especially, while a division of executive labour is conducive to success, a division of responsibility means almost certain failure.*

There is one other means of locomotion which ought to be intimately connected with army transport, but which is not so connected even at this present time, and which was still less so in the seventeenth century. ^{2084a} I allude to cavalry REMOUNTS.

²⁰⁸⁰ Commry.-General Shales's report, 25 Novr., 1690; Try. State papers.

²⁰⁸¹ Letter, July, 1690, Commry. Genl. Van Homrigh to Clarke; Clarke MSS.

²⁰⁸² Letter as in last note: that the General had ordered him to provide transport for munitions; the transport (expensive sea-transport) all ready, but "none of the Artillery Agents (*i.e.*, modern Ordnance Store Officers) here have directions what they must load or send."

²⁰⁸³ Written about 1875: and since then we have already retrograded with very bad results.

²⁰⁸⁴ Reports, 1690-1691; many papers; Treasury state papers.

^{2084a} Since this was written a step in the right direction has been made by bringing the Remount Est. under the same head with the Transport.

At this period ²⁰⁸⁵ the horse was the veritable property of the trooper, paid for out of his own money, and his to carry away with him on his discharge.

Sometimes the soldier brought his horse with him when he enlisted; ²⁰⁸⁶ this was the old feudal fashion, retained for many years after the Restoration. Sometimes the King bought the horses and the troopers were charged an average price for them; ²⁰⁸⁷ thus in 1691/2 fifteen pounds was the price charged for a remount. Doubtless his ownership of the horse was an inducement to many a soldier to take good care of his charger; but it was also the cause of many men quitting the Service, for, if a cavalry soldier lost his horse, he became disqualified to serve ²⁰⁸⁸ unless he had the means to procure another.

For this reason it was found desirable to make some arrangement by which the horses should become more the property of the regiment, and less the property of the individual; and in 1697 a code of regulations on this head was promulgated. ²⁰⁸⁹ For the purchase of remounts the captain of each troop was to stop from his men four shillings a month during the six "grass" or summer months. Annually on the first of May the Captains were to account with their men for this stoppage; and if any surplus had accrued, it was to be divided among the men, with the exception of those remounted during the period. These

²⁰⁸⁵ Petition, Janry., 1661, Lt.-Col. Cropper for preferment in troops about to be raised—(in Life-Guards as Pte. Gentlemen); Dom. State papers.

Act 31 Chas. II, Cap. 1.

Letter, Dublin Castle, 26 June, 1686, Clarendon to Blathwayt.

State of Protestants in Ireland (1689).

Petitions, 1693, troopers of Col. Russell's Regt.; Try. State papers.

Rules, Dublin, 13 Aug., 1697, about the pay and remounts of Horse; Apps. XCI, XCII.

Court-Martial, Tangier, 14 Aug., 1665, a Private sentenced to be dismissed, and his horse sold for the benefit of the orphans of his opponent in a duel. Sloane MSS. 1,959.

²⁰⁸⁶ 31 Charles II, Cap. I.

Letter, Dublin Castle, 29 July, 1686, Clarendon to Blathwayt.

Proc. Ho. of Commons, 3 Janry., 1698; 9 Mar., 1699; 18 Apr., 1699.

W.O. Misc. Orders, 1665 upwards; e.g., Warrant, 10 June, 1670, for 100 Gentlemen to be added to Our Troop of Horse-Guards (*i.e.*, First troop of Life-Guards), and recruits to be accepted "that shall bring with them good horses and come well "armed."

²⁰⁸⁷ The charge of the army in Ireland, 1689/92; Harl. MSS. 7,194.

Letter, Whitehall, 22 Janry., 1690/1, Blathwayt to Clarke; Clarke MSS.

²⁰⁸⁸ Petition, 1693, of soldiers of Russell's Horse for their pay, as they had been forced out of the regiments into which they had been dispersed, for want of their horses which had been lost in His Majesty's service in Ireland and Flanders; Try. State Papers.

²⁰⁸⁹ Rules, Dublin, 13 Aug. and 2 Sept., 1697; Apps. XCI, XCII.

latter were also to pay double stoppages during the ensuing year.

The regulations then proceed as follows: "By this method
" the horses being in common to the whole troop, such trooper
" as shall be discharged upon his own desire, or shall be broke
" by a sentence of a Court Martial, or by the order of the Chief
" Governor or Governors, or the General, shall have no pretence
" of challenge to his horse, neither is to have any money for
" him, but the horse is to remain in the troop for H.M.'s service
" and to mount the trooper that shall be listed in his room; for
" which reason no Captain shall stop or make any deductions
" for the horse from the new enlisted trooper, neither shall any
" Captain discharge any man, without first acquainting his
" Colonel, and giving the reasons thereof. And if it should
" happen that any of the troops should be disbanded, the several
" horses of such troops are hereby declared to belong to the
" troopers that ride them, and not to the Captain, and each
" trooper shall carry off the horse on which he served."

In 1692²⁰⁹⁰ a Warrant was published remitting to the troops one-third of the price of King's remounts for horses lost on active service. Until the issue of the regulations of 1697 it was a disputed point whether or not a discharged trooper²⁰⁹¹ could be compelled to leave his horse in the regiment upon being paid a fair price for it.

Occasionally it was found necessary to reduce even the *subsistence* of troopers²⁰⁹² for the purpose of purchasing

²⁰⁹⁰ Royal Warrant, 15 Mar., 1692; Petition, 1694, of Officers of Leveson's Horse (2nd Dr. Gds.) respecting horses destroyed by the enemy in 1690; Try. State Papers.

²⁰⁹¹ Letter, Dublin Castle, 26 June, 1686, Clarendon to Blathwayt; "I have still
" some questions to ask, which I would be glad to be well informed of, and I know
" not of whom so well to enquire as of you. I find our new officers pretend to be
" guided by what is done in England, which occasions my asking the more questions.
" If a trooper be not fit to serve, and is put out, and has a good horse, it is said that
" in England, the Captain (if the new man who is to come in have not money) is to
" pay the man who goes out such a price for his horse as two of the troop shall judge
" it to be worth: I would be glad to know the truth of this."

Letter, Dublin Castle, 29 July, 1686, Clarendon to Blathwayt; "I am obliged
" to you for the answers you have sent to my questions; whereby I perceive I was
" in the right before in my own thoughts: but some of our officers here think it very
" reasonable, that those men who are put out of the troops for no other reason but
" because they are not thought fit to serve, should leave their horses behind them,
" though they brought them with them into the troop; and I am sure, some of these
" unfit men would not have been disbanded if the King had seen them. But for
" the horses, I have ordered the owners shall either take them away, or be paid the
" value for them; which angers some men." Clarendon Correspee.

²⁰⁹² Order, Dublin, 22 Octr., 1698, for reducing the subsistence of one troop of 6th Dragoons to fivepence a day for six months, the saving to be expended in horses for them; Dub. state papers.

remounts, but on the other hand some liberality was shewn to the soldiers respecting horses purchased by Government: for instance in 1699 a Warrant²⁰⁹³ appeared directing that "Where any Non-Commissioned Officer or Trooper hath served a whole year, the Horse which H. M. has paid for by the Levy-money is to be given to him, His Majesty being graciously pleased to give his whole right in such horse to said Non-Commissioned Officer and Trooper"; where the man had not served for a whole year the horse was to be sold and the money credited to Government.

The capture of horses in action used to form no inconsiderable source of prize-money; and after the battle of Rowton-Moor (1645) a curious decision had been given upon this point. Complaints having been made to the King²⁰⁹⁴ anent the right of ownership of certain captured chargers, the King consulted Lord Astley, who was the General, and decided that by the old laws of war a horse could not be deemed taken unless carried by the captor to his own quarters or lines and there kept for twelve or twenty-four hours: thus A's horse being taken by B, and re-captured by C, was still A's property if it had not been thus kept by B; but if it had been so kept by B it became C's property.

With one exception cavalry regiments were not mounted on horses of any particular colour²⁰⁹⁵ until the year 1692, when the second troop of Life-Guards, which appears to have for some time previously had many white horses,²⁰⁹⁶ was ordered by its colonel²⁰⁹⁷ to be entirely remounted on black horses. It is, however, most probable, that the First Troop had set the fashion.

²⁰⁹³ Warrant, 11 Mar., 1698/9; Dublin state papers.

²⁰⁹⁴ Symonds's Diary; Harl. MSS. 986.

²⁰⁹⁵ Many advertisements in London Gazettes for horses of different regiments, 1677-1700; see notes to Illustrations.

²⁰⁹⁶ De Quincy; Campaign of 1691; "la cavalerie qui occupait toute la hauteur était vêtue de rouge et montée sur des chevaux blancs, ce qui les faisait reconnaître pour être les gardes du Prince d'Orange" (William III).

There is, however, no mention of any special colour in Brooks, Sandford, or Chamberlayne: while in 1677 the Horses were most certainly not of one colour, nor all grey; Lond. Gaz., 7 June, 1677, Advt. for horses, one Bay and one Iron-grey.

The trumpeters were, however, mounted on white horses in 1685; see Note ²⁰⁹⁸.

²⁰⁹⁷ Letter, Grammene, 12/22 Sept., 1692, J. Hartstonge (Chaplain, Life-Guards) to John Ellis; Brit. Mus., Add. MSS. 28,926. "My Lord Duke's (of Ormond) troop has already orders to be transported to England by way of Ostend. His Grace designs them to be quartered at Northampton for two or three months, till "it be recruited all with black horses."

The Trumpeters of the Life Guards had been ordered to have grey horses six years before.²⁰⁹⁸

The fashions of adorning and of cropping the horses' manes and tails differed at different periods, as may be gathered from the illustrations.

In 1677 it was usual for horses to have "cropped ears,"²⁰⁹⁹ "shorn manes," and "bob-tails" or "cut-tails."

The shorn manes and bob-tails remained²¹⁰⁰ more or less in fashion until the end of the century, although they were by no means *de rigueur*. It was also customary to brand troop-horses²¹⁰¹ on the buttock with the King's cypher or other distinguishing mark.

The next topic under the head of Commissariat is that of QUARTERS, that is to say the lodging of troops.

In the olden days of feudal raids and forays, benighted soldiers simply entered the first convenient house they could master and treated themselves freely to all it contained: but in the seventeenth century civilisation and parliamentary government were too far advanced to permit longer of such illegalities being committed openly.

When the Standing Forces were first established, the pay of the soldier was, like the pay of any other labourer, intended to cover all his ordinary expenses, the board, lodging and equipment of himself and his horse. There were no barracks, and soldiers found their own lodgings and made their own arrangements individually for their rent.

But a number of soldiers dispersed in all directions, and not easy of assembly on one spot at short notice, are apt to become rather a rabble than a regiment: since the days of James the First, during the civil war in England and during the French, Spanish, and Dutch wars on the Continent, regimental economy and regimental drill had made such progress that the regimental system had become an integral part of modern warfare. It was therefore found necessary, not long

²⁰⁹⁸ See Chap. XXII, Note 809.

²⁰⁹⁹ Lond. Gaz., 4/7 June, 1677; advertisements for horses of Life-Guards.

²¹⁰⁰ Many advertisements in London Gazettes, 1680-1700, both belonging to regiments and to civilians.

²¹⁰¹ London Gazette, 4/7 June, 1677, Advertisement for horses belonging to the Life-Guards.

Order 21 Mar., 1678, W.O. records; for horses of newly raised Regts. to be marked, "so that they may be known to belong to the said respective troops."

Lond. Gaz., 2/6 June, 1692; advertisement for horses belonging to the 5th Dragoon Guards; &c.

after the Restoration, to adopt some means of keeping the men of the same regiment together, instead of allowing them to disperse over several parishes as best pleased themselves. The Royal authority was accordingly given, though illegally, for quartering soldiers in houses within certain limits.²¹⁰²

And it is a curious circumstance that even in the earliest of these warrants we have "victualling-houses, taverns, and ale-houses," pointed out as the fittest places for quartering soldiers and indicated in such a manner as to lead one to the belief that there must have existed some old law under which it was legal to make use of such houses of entertainment alone for quarters.

In Ireland²¹⁰³ brewers', bakers', butchers', and chandlers' houses were also made use of,—all being houses concerned in the supply of provisions eatable or drinkable.

Presently it became customary to quarter on public-houses first, and if they did not afford sufficient accommodation, then on private dwellings.²¹⁰⁴

It is stated in a work of some authority published in 1669 that²¹⁰⁵ "no soldier can be quartered in the house of any freeman "in time of peace, without his will; though they pay their "quarters": but the practice of compulsory billeting must have attained to some height in 1677; for in that year an Act of Parliament enacted most distinctly that no soldier could be quartered²¹⁰⁶ on "any subject or inhabitant of this Realm of "any degree quality or profession whatever without his "consent."

Notwithstanding this Act, warrants appear to have continued to be issued for quartering soldiers²¹⁰⁷ in "inns victualling-

²¹⁰² Royal Warrants, 23 Mar., 1670/1; 6 Apr., 1672; 5 July, 1672; App. LXXX.

It was probably because of this use of public-houses for billets that soldiers were forbidden to keep any such houses: Regulation, 3 Novr., 1671, App. LXXXI.

The illegality is dealt with below.

²¹⁰³ State of Protestants in Ireland.

Letter, Apr., 1688, Sec. of State to Lt.-Govr. of Portsmouth. App. CIV.

Letter, Sept., 1688, Lord President of Council to Mayor of Hull; ditto.

²¹⁰⁴ Royal Warrt., Whitehall, 6 Apr., 1672, for the Horse Guards (Blues) to quarter in and about Sowold in Suffolk in "victualling-houses, taverns, and ale-houses," but if not enough of these, "then in other houses"; W.O. records.

See also previous Note, App. CIV.

²¹⁰⁵ Chamberlayne, 1669.

Declaration of Rights; App. CI.

²¹⁰⁶ Act 31 Chas. II, C. 1, S. 32. Also Proc. Ho. of Commons, 25 May, 1679.

²¹⁰⁷ Royal Warrt., 20 Mar., 1678, quartering troops about Gravesend; W.O. records.

Heads of the late Lord General's function, 1678; App. XXI.

Numberless Warrts., 1660 upwards, W.O. Records.

"houses and ale-houses," although for a time care seems to have been taken to avoid private dwellings: and at the close of James the Second's reign resort was again had to private houses.²¹⁰⁸ This was considered so real a grievance that it was one of the conditions of the Declaration of Rights (1688) that no soldier could be quartered on any subject without his own consent.

In the very next year, however, the Standing Army was recognised by Parliament and was enormously increased with its sanction: as there were no barracks, Parliament had of necessity to legalise the practice of billeting on public-houses:²¹⁰⁹ at the same time the right of private persons to refuse billets was reaffirmed.

In this earliest sanction of billets in this country the only limitation as to payment was that the soldier was to pay fair prices but not exceeding his subsistence-money.

In Scotland soldiers were to pay their quarters in the same way²¹¹⁰ "according to the rates of the country" as fixed by certain authorities: but in 1695 officers were to pay for their quarters and their fuel and light, while soldiers were to be supplied with these by the landlord at his own expense, the fuel and light being "only according to the ordinary condition" of the house and after the manner of the ordinary domestics."

In like manner in Ireland the billet found quarters and fuel and light, and the soldier paid for his provisions and forage alone.²¹¹¹ A landlord was not to be compelled to furnish soldiers with more than "lodging and candle, and to let them" have the necessary use of one fire with those of the family": he was, moreover, not to be called upon to supply even salt, pepper, or vinegar.

²¹⁰⁸ State of the Protestants in Ireland.

W.O. Records; *e.g.*, R. Warrts., 11 Mar. and 28 Apr., 1678; App. CVII.

Evelyn in speaking of his visit to the Holland Regt. (3rd Foot) on 18 July, 1685, says "By a gross mistake of the Secretary of H.M.'s Forces, it had been ordered "that they should be quartered in private houses, contrary to an Act of Parliament; "but on my informing his Majesty timely of it, it was prevented." There is good reason, from other warrants in James's reign, to doubt if there was any "gross "mistake" at all.

²¹⁰⁹ Act 1 Wm. & M., Sess. 2, C. 4, lawful to quarter "the Officers and soldiers "in Their Majesties' service in inns, livery-stables, ale-houses, victualling-houses, "and all houses selling brandy, strong waters, cider, or metheglin by retail to be "drank in their houses and no other, and in no private house whatever."

²¹¹⁰ Scotch Acts, 1690 to 1698; anent the quartering of soldiers.

²¹¹¹ Proclamation, Dublin, 23 Janry., 1698/9, to effect of the text; preamble stating that similar declaration had been made by Lord Sydney when Lord Lieutenant (1690/92) and again by the Lords Justices since that time; Dub. state papers.

The Sheriffs or the Justices of the Peace gave orders for the billets ²¹¹² on receiving a Warrant or Requisition for them from the Commissary-General of Musters ; and the Quarter-Masters and Constables signed the billet-orders for the distribution of the men : and it is worthy of remark that at the very time when Parliament was disturbed about the illegality of billeting, magistrates were thus (even in London itself) aiding in the public violation of the law.

No soldiers were allowed to be billeted within the city walls of London ²¹¹³ in the reign of Charles the Second.

At first the payment for his quarters (and the term "quarters" included all liabilities for board and lodging) was left to the soldier himself, but this was productive of differences between the tradesmen and the troops ; and in 1677 payment for quarters was ordered by an Act of Parliament to be "defaulted" out of the soldiers' pay : ²¹¹⁴ that is to say, the Officers were to give certificates to the billets of the amounts due to them, and these certificates being presented to the Paymaster-General were paid by him and the sums debited against the troops. But the Paradise of the soldier has in all ages been FREE QUARTERS—to live in somebody else's house, to call for the best, to have plenty of meat to eat and wine to drink, and coal to give warmth, to make the owner perform the office of a servant or at best of an inn-keeper ; to eat, to drink, to sleep, and to make love, and to have nothing to pay ; to be utterly free from all care, to be under no necessity to take thought for the morrow what he shall eat and what he shall drink and wherewithal he shall be clothed ; to enjoy all the sweetness of stolen goods without any fear of the penalties,—this is the meaning of "free quarters" to the soldier, this is his *summum bonum* of military bliss, and this is what the British soldier of the seventeenth century was constantly trying to claim.

It may be readily imagined that what was so pleasant to the military mind was naturally the most outrageous tyranny in the eyes of civilians. Such disorders were however not much heard

²¹¹² Heads of the late Lord General's function, 1678 ; App. XXI.

Warrt., Dublin, 7 Febr., 1697/8, and others as in App. LXXXII.

Letter, Horse Guards, 9 Oct., 1697 ; App. XX.

Letter, Secy. at War to Lt.-Col. Billings, 8 July, 1698, concerning the subsistence of "the soldiers that *the townsmen turned out of their houses*" at Berwick ; W.O. records.

²¹¹³ Heads of the late Lord General's function, 1678.

²¹¹⁴ Act 31 Chas. II, C. 1.

of during Charles the Second's reign, partly because of the small number of troops and partly because much tact was evinced in smoothing over any complaints.²¹¹³ But that the exaction of free quarters was no uncommon occurrence is certain, for even so early as 1673 we hear of inn-keepers "buying soldiers off":²¹¹⁵ what this buying-off meant will be seen presently.

In 1688 James the Second tyrannically ordered²¹¹⁶ publicans to afford *free* quarters to soldiers, while private persons were compelled to billet men for the remuneration of eightpence a week.

It was in consequence of these oppressions that the Declaration of Rights^{2116a} asserted the privileges of the subject in this matter. The Scotch Acts of Parliament recited the same right of the subject against free quarters year after year, and imposed heavy fines upon offenders. In Ireland, as well as in England, there were instances of Officers being brought to trial for exacting free quarters.²¹¹⁷

Openly professed extortion of free quarters became therefore less frequent, but not the less were free quarters obtained. It was notorious that Officers refused, or purposely forgot, to give the certificates;²¹¹⁸ and whole regiments marched out of towns without paying for their quarters. It was after investigations into complaints of this sort by injured civilians, that in 1695 a Proclamation²¹¹⁹ was published warning Officers and soldiers against "disorders and misbehaviour" in quarters; and directing that for the future, upon arrival of any troops in a

²¹¹⁵ Proceedings of House of Commons, 3 Novr., 1673.

²¹¹⁶ Letter, Apr., 1688, Secry. of State to Lt. Govr. of Portsmouth; App. CIV. Letter, Sept., 1688, Lord Prest. of Council to Mayor of Hull; to similar effect; ditto.

^{2116a} Declaration of Rights; App. CI.

²¹¹⁷ Order, Dublin, 31 July, 1697; Dub. state papers.

²¹¹⁸ The charge of the army in Ireland, 1689/92; Harl. MSS. 7,194.

Proceedings of House of Commons, 12 Janry., 1694/5.

Petition, Aug., 1696, Mayor and inhabitants of Plymouth for subsistence of nine Companies billeted there: and other petitions of the same sort; Treasury State papers.

Letter, 1 Sept., 1696, Mr. Secry. Vernon to Lords of Treasury with petition from inn-keepers of St. Albans; ditto.

²¹¹⁹ Royal Proclamation, Kensington, 11 Mar., 1694/5; Lond. Gaz., 14/18 Mar., 1694/5.

Royal Proclamation, Kensington, 26 Oct., 1696; That civility and prompt payment be observed in quarters, &c.; Lond. Gaz., 26/29 Oct., 1696.

In Scotland Acts of Parlt. were passed (17 July, 1695, and 9 Oct., 1696), prohibiting Officers from demanding free quarters for themselves, *their wives or children*.

place, publication was to be immediately made by sound of trumpet or beat of drum that "no Officer or soldier be trusted "in their quarters beyond the rates that have been or shall be "prescribed by Act of Parliament." This process is still practised and is termed "CRYING DOWN CREDIT." At this time the troops could not obtain their pay at all, but this did not excuse such excesses as the levying of contributions equal to more than double their full pay,²¹²⁰ or as the wholesale robbery of surrounding property.²¹²¹ But what could be expected when the soldiers knew full well that they themselves were being robbed most shamefully by all their Officers from the Commander-in-Chief down to the subalterns ; how could soldiers be expected to abstain from plunder when we find the Officer commanding a garrison writing to the Secretary at War ²¹²² telling him that he finds he may become master of five hundred head of cattle and five hundred pounds' worth of hay "that none pretends to," "and if you will be concerned with me "you shall be nothing out of pocket, only I beg that you will "get the General's Pass for that number." It was useless to pretend to compel soldiers by Acts of Parliament, by Proclamations, and by Articles of War to make prompt payment for their quarters when they themselves drew no pay at all ; and to meet the popular outcry in some degree a most shameful compromise was made. A clause was inserted in the Mutiny Act of 1697²¹²³ by which the billet could *buy out* the soldier altogether, or else could *pay him* fivepence a day with his lodging in quit of all demands.

The natural effect of abuses which came so home to the people was to exhibit the necessity of building BARRACKS for the troops. The word *barraca* in Spanish used to signify any sort of hut, such as a fisherman's hut, as well as a hut for soldiers ; and *baraque* in French properly means a hut for troops as contradistinguished from permanent quarters : in the English Military Dictionary of 1702 Barracks are thus described,²¹²⁴ "Barrack, A hut, like a "little Cottage, for Soldiers to lie in the Camp. Once, only

²¹²⁰ Proceedings of House of Commons, 12 Janry., 1694/5.

²¹²¹ Clarke MSS. ; several instances.

²¹²² Letter, Loughrea, 6 Aug., 1691, Major R. Smith to Clarke ; Clarke MSS.

²¹²³ Act 8 & 9 Wm. III, C. 13.

In B. M., Add. MSS. 33,278, is a letter from Mayor of Portsmouth to Secy. at War, 14 Apr., 1697, that the Town has subsisted Gibson's Regt. for the last twelve months ; it is now embarking without paying off the debt : the Town "cannot "provide another Regt. with *money* or any other necessaries," being too impoverished

²¹²⁴ Milry. Dictionary, 1702.

"those of the Horse were called Barracks, and those of the Foot Huts; but now the name is indifferently given to both. These are made, either when the soldiers have not tents, or when any Army lies long in a Place in bad Weather, because they keep out cold, heat, or rain, better than tents, and are otherwise more commodious. They are generally made by fixing four strong forked Poles in the ground, and laying four others across them; then they build the Walls with Wattles, or Sods, or such as the Place affords. The Top is either thatch'd, if there be straw to spare, or covered with Planks, or sometimes with Turf."

With us the word barracks has usually meant any lodging erected or used expressly for the occupation of troops.

In 1664 we have a description of the sort of places used as barracks within permanent forts in England. A company was sent from Dover to Sandown Castle, and an eye-witness ²¹²⁵ says "these had no beds, but a nasty Court of Guard where a sutler lived within a partition made of boards, with his wife and family."

The following description of the guard-room at the Horse-Guards in 1662 also speaks poorly for the cleanliness of what barracks there were at that time:—²¹²⁶

1661/2, Janry., to Whitehall to the Gatehouse, "I was had into the Guard-room which I thought to be hell: some therein were sleeping, others swearing, others smoking tobacco. In the chimney of the room I believe there was two bushels of broken tobacco-pipes, almost half one load of ashes."

In 1685 there are two barracks in London mentioned,²¹²⁷ one in the "Mews" and the other the "Barn" barracks; but these appear from the demand for bedding to have been capable of accommodating only an officer's guard.

The erection of permanent barracks was first sanctioned in Ireland in 1697,²¹²⁸ and was then continued year after year.

²¹²⁵ Hutchinson.

²¹²⁶ Lilley.

²¹²⁷ Various contingent accounts Coldstream Gds., 1684/6; Mackinnon's App.

The Mews is now the National Gallery.

²¹²⁸ Irish Acts 9 Wm. III, C. 4, and 10 Wm. III, C. 4.

Warrants, Dublin, 24 Sept., 3 Decr. and 27 Decr., 1697, and 8 Apr., 1698, setting apart certain sums "to build barracks" "for lodging of soldiers in garrison"; Dub. State papers.

Order, Dublin, 22 June, 1698; ditto.

These barracks were built under the superintendence of the Engineer officers, who also made the contracts with builders.²¹²⁹

In 1699 the germ of a Barrack Department made its appearance in Ireland,²¹³⁰ consisting of "Captain Corneille (of the 11th Foot) 2nd Engineer, and M. Skynner Esqre., 3rd "Engineer."

In 1679 "beds with their furniture" had "become an "ordinary charge" to the office of the Ordnance;²¹³¹ but ten years later only two sets are shewn as in store,²¹³² and in 1691 this had dwindled to *Nil*; the reason being that it had become customary to charge payments for bedding as well as clothing and arms²¹³³ as an imprest on the pay of the troops.

The term COMMISSARIAT is a modern word of French invention, but "Commissary" from which it originated is of Spanish origin. *Comisar* in Spanish means to confiscate, and the French *Commissaires des Guerres* used to be almost always, if not invariably, endowed with the powers of Ministers of Police,²¹³⁴ and used to exercise in camp or garrison justiciary functions, punishing by confiscation or otherwise. *Comisario* and *Commissaire* mean a Commissioner or one empowered to exercise any vicarious power or trust. In the British Army it was not until the eighteenth century²¹³⁵ that the many military functions classed (until 1889) under the one head Commissariat came to be thus consolidated. But, nevertheless, during the wars of William the Third's time there was no effort at a re-organisation of this important branch of the Service, no authorised attempt to return to the old and excellent system of concentrated control which had been in force before the abolition of the office of the "High Treasurer" or "Treasurer

²¹²⁹ Order, Dublin, 22 June, 1698, to Captain Corneille, one of H.M.'s Engineers o go to Cork and Waterford to make Contracts for building barracks "at the lowest "rates you can," reporting the details; ("Capt." Corneille was an acting Engineer, and a Captain in the 11th Foot, Order, 13 Aug., 1697); Dub. State papers.

²¹³⁰ Warrant, Dublin, 14 Feby., 1698/9; Dub. state papers; Many barracks being built, and a small Barrk. dept. being formed for the purpose under Capt. Corneille 2nd Engineer, and M. Skynner Esq. 3rd Engineer.

Warrant, Dublin, 1 June, 1699; for £76 for the printer, &c. for the use of "the barrack office"; Dub. state papers.

²¹³¹ Ordnance Estimate, 1679; Harl. MSS. 4,251.

²¹³² States of Ordnance Stores, 1687/91; Harl. MSS. 7,458/63.

²¹³³ Letters, 7 Sept. and 26 Oct., 1696; Try. State papers.

²¹³⁴ De Feuquiere.

²¹³⁵ The term "Commissariat" has now this year (1889) entirely disappeared in our Service, its functions being now executed by a combatant corps, styled the Army Service Corps, under the direction of the General Staff (just as with the Royal Engineers or Royal Artillery).

"at War." As has been already observed, the Commissary General seems to have been selected to bear the blame of all miscarriages; but he received no extraordinary powers, and there was no pretence at a formal organisation of the heavy machinery of his staff. For these reasons it has been most difficult to give an account at all succinct or methodical of the Commissariat of the latter part of the seventeenth century. Prior to 1660 there was method in the military field-administration; but after that, and I may say until our own times, it fell into chaos, and in place of order and system there was nothing better than a slipshod patching of failures and a constant shifting of material responsibilities. It is impossible to give a systematical history of that which was devoid of all plan or harmony.

The effect upon the operations of war of this absence of organisation, and of this want of previous adaptation to the requirements of prompt active service is briefly summed up by the experienced old General who led our Army to its first campaign; and his expression might be re-echoed by the General Commanding in the opening campaign of our every war from that day to this: Duke Schonberg, writing at the close of the campaign of 1689 to the Master-General of the Ordnance, thus expresses himself:²¹⁸⁶ "But the excess of business since this "war, although but little action, has far exceeded any I ever "underwent."

²¹⁸⁶ Dispatch, Lisburne, 16 Novr., 1689; R.U.S.Inst.; Schonberg to Principal Officers of the Ordnance.

CHAPTER XXX.

THE FIELD ADMINISTRATION OF THE ARMY (*continued*).ORDNANCE SERVICES.
(Including Artillery and Engineers.)

1660 TO 1700.

Introductory.—The Master-General of the Ordnance.—Composition of the Ordnance Service.—Military status.—Stores.—Marks on Arms.—Cannon.—Breech-loading cannon.—Mortars.—Gun-metal.—The manufacture of cannon.—The manufacture of powder.—Improvements and inventions.—Shot and Shell.—The Petard.—Balloons.—Pontoons.—Fortifications.

[*For Illustrations, see Note on p. xiii.*]

THE second branch of the Field-Administration of our Army is comprehended under the head of ORDNANCE SERVICES, This term used, until comparatively recently, to be far more comprehensive than it is now. It is now limited to the receipt and issue of stores by the "Ordnance Store Department"; but it used to embrace all services connected with ARTILLERY and ENGINEERING, the Store branch taking a comparatively minor place. So intimately associated were these, that it is impossible to treat of them separately, although endeavour will be made to individuate the history of each branch as far as may be, and as far as is consistent with their general subordination to the one chief.

This Chief was the Master-General of the Ordnance. The office of Master-General of the Ordnance is a very ancient one. The French had a Master of the Ordnance as early as 1291;²¹³⁷ but we appear to have had no set officials of this kind earlier than the reign of Henry the Fifth: in 1418 there was a Clerk of the Ordnance,²¹³⁸ and it may be presumed either that there was a Master also or that the Clerk officiated as Master.

In 1483 a Master, a Clerk, and a Yeoman of the "Ordnance" were appointed²¹³⁹ besides lesser officers; and thence-

²¹³⁷ Guillaume de Dourdan.

²¹³⁸ Rymer.

²¹³⁹ Harl. MSS. 433.

forward the Establishment flourished and increased in proportion to the spread of fire-arms.²¹⁴⁰

After the Restoration the affairs of the Ordnance were administered by a Board of which Lord John Berkeley was the chief:²¹⁴¹ but a return to the master-ship was shortly made, and Sir Thomas Chicheley, whose term expired in 1679, was the first to be styled *Master-General*.²¹⁴² After him the office was again placed in the hands of a Board²¹⁴³ until 1681, when George Legge Lord Dartmouth was appointed "Master-General of the Ordnance."²¹⁴⁴

The duties of the Master of the Ordnance are thus set forth in a Manuscript dated 1518, and this will convey to the mind of the reader an excellent idea of what these duties have remained ever since, until the abolition of the post.²¹⁴⁵

"First it is the Office of the Master of the ordonnance (*sic*) "after that he hath received his charge at the council's hands, "he must first of all, in any wise before he shall go forth to "the camp, see that they lack no kind of munition or such "other necessities which appertain to the said Master of the "Ordonnance.

"And there are appertaining to the Master of the Ordonnance, a lieutenant and certain clerks, which are all in wages.

"Also the said Master of the Ordonnance must also first "of all receive the ordonnance, shot, corn-powder, serpentine-powder, match, and all other munitions, as fire-works, bows, "arrows, strings, pikes, bills, halberts, harquebusses, calivres, "lances, light horsemen's staves, javelins, and bore-spears.

"And further the said Master of the Ordonnance must "receive all kinds of necessities, that is to say, ladders, ladles, "and sponges, for artillery, mattocks, spades, shovels, pick-axes, crows of iron, cart wheels, for ordonnance, cart traces, "with all kind of cart wares, as ropes, cressed and cressettes,

²¹⁴⁰ Harl. MSS. 4,685 and 6,844; A.D. 1518 and 1557.

²¹⁴¹ See Warrant, 24 Febr., 1664/5; App. XXXVI.

²¹⁴² See Capt. Genl.'s Letter, 19 May, 1676; App. LVII.

²¹⁴³ Royal Warrant, 13 June, 1679; Signet Books, State papers, and Add. MSS. 27,277; Brit. Mus.

Chamberlayne, 1679.

The Commissioners were three, Sir John Chicheley, Sir Wm. Hickman, and Sir Christopher Musgrave, two to form a quorum.

Royal Warrant, Whitehall, 4 Febr., 1685/6, "the late Commissioners for "executing the place of Master-General of the Ordnance," Harl. MSS. 6,334.

²¹⁴⁴ Royal Warrant, Whitehall, 31 Decr., 1681; Brit. Mus., Add. MSS. 27,277.

²¹⁴⁵ The Order of a Camp or Army Royal with the duty of every Officer belonging to the same, per B. Con. Milit., 1518; Harl. MSS. 4,685.

“ lights, lanterns, candles and links, with all other necessities,
“ which must be foreseen, that there be no lack before their
“ going on.

“ Further that is the Office of the Master of the Ordon-
“ nance, after he comes into camp, and the provost marshal
“ hath appointed the ground most mete and necessary for the
“ artillery, then must the aforesaid Master of the Ordonnance
“ cause the said ordonnance to be brought to the said place
“ appointed, there to be placed to the most advantage.

“ Item, The said Master of the Ordonnance must cause the
“ said munition to be brought to the place appointed and mete
“ therefore, which must be trenched about, for the danger of
“ fire ; and the aforesaid Master of the Ordonnance must charge
“ some discreet man with watch if it stand in need.

“ Also the said Master of the Ordonnance must see that
“ there be attending on the office of ordonnance, certain
“ artificers, as carpenters, wheel-wrights, smiths, bowyers,
“ fletchers, masons and such other necessary men, mete and
“ convenient therefore.

“ The said Master of the Ordonnance his office is, that if
“ there be any captain that lacketh munition for his soldiers,
“ the said captain shall come to the Master of the Ordonnance
“ and he must command the clerk of the ordonnance to deliver
“ such munition as he lacketh ; providing always that the clerk
“ of the ordonnance do take a bill of the captain's hand, or of
“ his lieutenant, for the said munition, and at the pay day the
“ clerk shall deliver the said bill unto the treasurer, that he may
“ stay so much money in his hands as shall answer the Queen
“ for the munition so delivered.

“ Furthermore it is the office of the Master of the ordonnance
“ that if the enemy and foe join battle, the ground being
“ appointed by the officer of the field, where the battle shall be
“ pitched, to repair to the field, there to see the ordonnance,
“ and in any wise to be circumspect that the Master Gunners
“ do their duties belonging thereto.”

Before the end of Charles the Second's reign the Ordnance had become one of the best organised branches of the army, and a description of its composition and of the duties of the several officers will exhibit the nature of the responsibilities of the Master-General himself at that period.

Establishment of the Office of the Ordnance, 1683.²¹⁴⁶

PRINCIPAL MINISTERS.						Pay per ann.		
						£	s.	d.
Master-General	...	...	...	...	...	1,500	0	0
Lieutenant-General	...	...	...	...	...	800	0	0
Surveyor of the Ordnance	...	...	...	...	...	400	0	0
Clerk do.	...	...	...	...	...	400	0	0
Storekeeper	...	...	...	...	...	400	0	0
Clerk of Deliveries	...	...	...	...	...	300	0	0
Treasurer	...	...	...	...	...	500	0	0
Secretary	...	...	...	...	...	200	0	0

ATTENDANTS ON THE PRINCIPAL MINISTERS.

17 Office Clerks at from	...	...	...	...£40 to	75	0	0
Deputy Keeper of the Armoury	..	...	...	...	60	0	0
3 Armourers...	...	...	...	... at	25	0	0
Armourer at Whitehall	...	...	...	...	20	0	0
Keeper of the Small Guns	...	...	...	...	80	0	0
Furbisher of do.	...	...	...	...	30	0	0
Do. at Portsmouth	...	...	...	...	40	0	0
Storekeepers at Chatham, Upnor, Sheerness, Tilbury, Woolwich, Windsor, Portsmouth, Hull, Berwick, and St. James's Park, at from £20 to £120.							

UNDER MINISTERS.

Principal Engineer	...	...	...	...	...	300	0	0
Second do.	...	...	...	...	...	250	0	0
Third do.	...	...	...	...	...	150	0	0
Two young men to be bred up in the knowledge of fortifications	...	..	...	...	... each	100	0	0
Master-Gunner	...	...	...	...	...	190	0	0
3 ditto's Mates	...	...	..	...	... each	45	10	0
60 Gunners, at	...	...	...	...	(per diem)	0	1	0
Fire-Master	...	...	..	...	...	150	0	0
His Mate	...	...	...	...	...	80	0	0
4 Fireworkers or Petardiers	...	...	...	...	... each	40	0	0
2 Proofmasters	...	...	...	...	... each	20	0	0
Wagon Master	...	...	...	...	...	100	0	0
Clerk of the Cheque	...	...	...	...	...	60	0	0
Purveyor (<i>i.e.</i> , of water-transport)...	...	...	...	...	...	40	0	0
Messenger	...	...	...	...	...	60	0	0
44 Labourers, at	...	...	...	...	(per diem)	0	2	0

The Master-General was of course responsible for the whole, and the duties of his subordinates were thus divided :

The Lieutenant-General was to act on occasion for the Master-General : he was especially charged with the preparation

²¹⁴⁶ Rules, Orders and Instructions for the future government of the Office of the Ordnance : promulgated by Royal Warrant, 25 July, 1683 ; Harl. MSS. 6,334 ; App. CIII.

Royal Warrant, Whitehall, 8 Mar., 1688/9, re-affirming the above ; ditto.

of the estimates for military and naval stores, and with the acceptance of contracts for their supply. He was responsible that the "marching trains" of Artillery at the Tower and other places were kept fully equipped and in readiness to take the field: and he was to pay especial attention to the practising of the artillery under the Master-Gunner, besides generally superintending all other subordinates.

The duties of the Surveyor, or Surveyor-General as he was sometimes called, were (as indicated by his title) to supervise everything to do with the custody and care of the stores: he was to survey them occasionally, to audit and pass the bills for them, and to see that the storekeepers, armourers, and artificers performed their several functions efficiently: he was also charged with a surveillance over the execution of works, buildings, and fortifications, in short all Engineering services.

The Clerk of the Ordnance was simply the chief clerk for office duties.

The Storekeepers were responsible for the stores and the store-ledgers, and corresponded to the modern Ordnance Store Department Officers, who until quite recently were still styled Storekeepers.

The Clerk of the Deliveries had to check all demands for stores and to be present at the issue of them in accordance with the taxed demands. The Treasurer (who gave a security) was entrusted with the financial work of the office.

The Secretary was a sort of private secretary to the Master-General.

All the "principal Officers" were enjoined to live near the Tower, and were to meet at least twice a week *at eight o'clock in the morning* for the transaction of business.

The Principal Engineer^{2146a} and his assistants planned and erected fortifications and other military works or buildings, under the direction of the principal Ordnance Officers.

The Master-gunner was instructor of artillery, and he was to exercise the gunners once a month in winter and twice a month in summer, and he was to keep an account of the proficiency of those under him:²¹⁴⁷ he was also to keep a register of the number and nature of the different cannon in use.

^{2146a} The following will prove interesting to Engineers; Engineer-General's Commission, 1662, App. LXXXVI.

²¹⁴⁷ The Master Gunner appears to have received extra pay for instruction in gunnery: Ordnance Ledger, 1676 (R.U.S.Inst.), "Paid the Master Gunner of 'England for exercise of scholars to shoot in great Ordnance at the Artillery ground."

The Firemaster was in like manner to exercise weekly his men at the mortars: he was charged, too, with the direction of the laboratory,²¹⁴⁸ the manufacture of powder, rockets, fire-balls, petards, and all similar instruments of war, as well as *air and water balloons*. The Horse-Granadeers had in 1688 a Fire master to themselves.²¹⁴⁹

The Proofmaster was to prove all arms offensive and defensive, as well as ammunition, and to see the royal mark affixed in token of approval.

The Wagon-master was entrusted with the direction and custody of all land transport for Ordnance or Artillery, as the Purveyor was with that of all water-transport.

The Clerk of the cheque was merely employed to check the working-time of the artificers and others and the quantities of materials used by them.

The Commissions of most of the Officers of the Ordnance establishment were at first granted in the same manner as all other military commissions,²¹⁵⁰ by the Commander-in-Chief; but these appointments, like other military posts partaking of a financial character, seem to have gradually become more and more civilian,²¹⁵¹ and to have been granted by Crown-Officers direct without reference to the Commander-in-Chief,—insomuch that it came to be doubted if the Officers had any right to military rank or precedence. In 1686 the right of the Master-General himself to military honours had to be affirmed by Royal Warrant;²¹⁵² and in like manner in Ireland in 1699 a Warrant was issued ordering that the Master-General and Major-General of the Ordnance should have rank and prece-

²¹⁴⁸ Also "Account of Disbursements made by Thomas Silver, Firemaster, for "the use of Captain Bridgeman's Company of Granadeers (Coldstream) for fixing of "granadoes, from 1 Janry., 1685, to the last of June following;

	£	s.	d.
" For fuzees for exercise and service, 900, at nine shillings			
" per hundred	4	1	0
" For compositions to make them up... ..	3	15	0
" For workmen to assist	3	3	6
	10	19	6

" I have examined this bill and believe the same to be true,

" John Huitson,

" Major."

Ordered to be paid by Royal Warrant, Windsor, 15 Aug., 1686.

²¹⁴⁹ Est. list, 1687/89; Harl. MSS. 7,018.

²¹⁵⁰ Monck's Commission, 3 Aug., 1660; App. I.

²¹⁵¹ Signet Books; State Papers.

²¹⁵² Royal Warrt., 13 May, 1686.

dence as Brigadeers ²¹⁵³ according to date of Commission "in
" all Councils of War and other military occasions."

The Establishment above noticed was largely supplemented within the next ten years, as may be seen from the lists of the "Trains" ordered on active service. One such train was placed in the field on the occasion of the Monmouth rebellion in 1685; ²¹⁵⁴ but, passing over that one and some others subsequently, it will serve all practical purposes to give lists of two Trains, one ordered for active service in Ireland in 1691, and the other for Flanders in 1694.

The Train of Artillery for His Majesty's service in Ireland for the year 1691 ²¹⁵⁵ (Ils. CCLXV, CCLXVI):—

							<i>Pay per diem.</i>		
							£	s.	d.
Clerk of the Stores	...	...	...	...	...	...	0	4	0
Paymaster	...	...	...	...	...	...	0	8	0
Do. Clerk	...	...	...	...	...	...	0	4	0
Do. do. Assistant	...	...	...	...	...	...	0	3	0
First Engineer	...	...	...	...	...	...	0	15	0
Do. Clerk	...	...	...	...	...	...	0	4	0
Second Engineer	...	...	...	...	...	...	0	10	0
Wagon-Master	...	...	...	...	...	...	0	10	0
2 Assistants to do.	...	...	...	...	...	...	0	4	0
Commissary of draught horses	...	...	...	...	...	...	0	8	0
Asst. to do.	...	...	...	...	...	...	0	3	0
Do. to do.	...	...	...	...	...	...	0	2	0
Purveyor of the Horses	...	...	...	...	...	...	0	5	0
2 Assts. to do.	...	...	...	...	...	...	0	3	0
Provost Marshal	...	...	...	...	...	...	0	3	0
2 Assts. to do.	...	...	...	...	...	...	0	2	6
Chief Conductor of the Horses	...	...	...	...	...	...	0	5	0
10 Conductors do.	...	...	...	...	...	...	0	3	0
6 Gentlemen of the Ordnance	...	...	...	...	...	...	0	5	0
Master Gunner	...	...	...	...	...	...	0	5	0
2 Mates to do.	...	...	...	...	...	...	0	3	0
15 Gunners	...	...	...	...	...	...	0	2	0
12 Montrosses (<i>sic</i>)	...	...	...	...	...	...	0	1	6
Master Carpenter	...	...	...	...	...	...	0	3	0
Mate to do.	...	...	...	...	...	...	0	3	0
5 Carpenters	...	...	...	...	...	...	0	2	6
10 Wheelwrights	...	...	...	...	...	...	0	2	6
6 Collar-makers	...	...	...	...	...	...	0	2	6

²¹⁵³ Royal Warrt., 14 Janry., 1699; App. XCIX.

²¹⁵⁴ Royal Warrts., 16 and 21 June, 1685.

These trains appear to have been broken up as soon as the occasion was over. R. Warrt., 3 Aug., 1693, discharging the present Train of Artillery; Home Office records.

²¹⁵⁵ Clarke MSS.

There is also in the Clarke MSS. a list of the Dutch train, in which appear a Comptroller-General, and a Colonel with his clerk.

See also Trains for Ireland, R. Warrt., 28 May, 1689, and List of Train in Add. MSS. 5;795.

							<i>Pay per diem.</i>		
							£	s.	d.
6 Smiths	...	...	...	...	...	...	0	2	6
8 Farriers	...	...	...	...	...	...	0	2	6
2 Coopers	...	...	...	...	...	...	0	2	6
1 Ladle-maker	...	...	...	...	...	...	0	3	0
1 Tent maker	...	...	...	...	...	...	0	4	0
2 Assts. of the Battery-Master	...	...	...	...	...	...	0	4	0
Captain of the Pioneers	...	...	...	...	...	...	—
Lieutenant do.	...	...	...	...	...	...	—
2 Sergeants	...	...	...	...	...	...	0	2	0
1 Corporal	...	...	...	...	...	...	—
2 Drums	...	...	...	...	...	...	0	1	0
40 Private Pioneers	...	...	...	...	...	...	—
2 Firemasters	...	...	...	...	...	...	0	5	0
9 Bombardiers	...	...	...	...	...	...	0	2	6
1 Turner	...	...	...	...	...	...	—
Adjutant	...	...	...	...	...	...	—
Quarter-Master	...	...	...	...	...	...	—
Kettle-drummer	...	...	...	...	...	...	—
His Coachman	...	...	...	...	...	...	—
Chaplain	...	...	...	...	...	...	—
Master Chirurgion	...	...	...	...	...	...	—
2 Assistants to do.	...	...	...	...	...	...	0	5	0
170 Carters	...	...	...	...	...	...	0	1	6

List of Officers, &c., to the Train of Artillery in Flanders,
1694 :—²¹⁵⁶

							<i>Pay per diem.</i>		
							£	s.	d.
1 Colonel (Col. Goor)	}	...	...	...	...	...	2	0	0
His clerk		...	...	...	...	...	—
1 Comptroller (W. Meesters, Esq.)	}	...	...	...	...	...	3	0	0
His clerk		...	...	...	...	...	—
1 Lieut.-Colonel (Jacob Richards)		...	...	...	...	...	1	5	0
1 Major	...	...	...	...	...	...	0	16	0
1 Adjutant	...	...	...	...	...	...	0	8	0
1 Quarter-Master	...	...	...	...	...	...	0	8	0
1 Paymaster	...	...	...	...	...	...	0	12	0
2 Assts. to do.	...	...	...	...	...	...	0	3	6
1 Wagon-Master	...	...	...	...	...	...	0	10	0
2 Assts. to do.	...	...	...	...	...	...	0	4	0
Auditor	...	...	...	...	...	...	0	6	0
Commissary of the Draught horses	...	...	...	...	...	...	0	8	0
Chaplain	...	...	...	...	...	...	0	8	0
Surgeon	...	...	...	...	...	...	0	8	0
3 Assts. to do.	...	...	...	...	...	...	0	3	4
Provost	...	...	...	...	...	...	0	3	0
3 Assts. to do.	...	...	...	...	...	...	0	2	6
Kettle Drummer	...	...	...	...	...	...	0	4	0
His Coachman	...	...	...	...	...	...	0	3	0

The Regiment consisting of four companies, each company containing :—

²¹⁵⁶ Letter, St. James's, 23 Apr., 1694, Sidney to Lords of Treasury; Try. State Papers. Also several papers in Add. MSS. 5,795.

							<i>Pay per diem.</i>		
							£	s.	d.
1 Captain	...	...	...	...	...	...	0	12	0
1st Lieutenant	...	...	...	...	...	...	0	8	0
2nd do.	...	...	...	...	...	...	0	7	6
2 Gentlemen of the Ordnance	...	...	...	...	...	...	0	5	0
4 Serjeants of the Gunners	...	...	...	...	...	...	0	3	0
36 Gunners	...	...	...	...	...	...	0	2	0
4 Corporals of the Matrosses (<i>sic</i>)	...	...	...	...	...	...	0	2	6
56 Matrosses	...	...	...	...	...	...	0	1	6

"BRIDGEMEN OR TINBOATMEN."

1st Captain	}	...	...	...	...	...	0	6	2
2nd do.		...	...	...	...	...	0	4	0
1 Lieutenant	...	...	...	...	...	...	0	4	0
4 Corporals	...	...	...	...	...	...	0	2	6
50 Men (10 being "Watermen")	...	...	...	...	...	...	0	2	0
1 Master Tinman	...	...	...	...	...	...	0	5	0
2 Assistants to do.	...	...	...	...	...	...	0	3	0
5 Engineers	...	...	...	...	...	...	0	10	0
Chief Firemaster	...	...	...	...	...	...	0	5	0
Firemaster and Petardier	...	...	...	...	...	...	0	6	0
10 Firemasters	...	...	...	...	...	...	0	5	0
12 Bombardiers	...	...	...	...	...	...	0	2	6
2 Commissaries of the Stores	...	...	...	...	...	...	0	8	0
4 Clerks	...	...	...	...	...	...	0	4	0
1 "Conductor and Plumer" (Plumber?)	...	...	...	...	...	...	0	4	0
30 Conductors	...	...	...	...	...	...	0	3	0
2 Conductors and Coopers	...	...	...	...	...	...	0	3	0
1 Master Carpenter	...	...	...	...	...	...	0	6	3
2 Mates to do.	...	...	...	...	...	...	0	3	0
20 Private Men	...	...	...	...	...	...	0	2	6
1 Master Wheelwright	...	...	...	...	...	...	0	4	0
6 Wheelwrights	...	...	...	...	...	...	0	2	6
1 Master Smith	...	...	...	...	...	...	0	4	0
6 Smiths	...	...	...	...	...	...	0	2	6
1 Master Collar-maker	...	...	...	...	...	...	0	4	0
6 Collar-makers	...	...	...	...	...	...	0	2	6
1 Master Tent-maker	...	...	...	...	...	...	0	4	0
1 Asst. to do.	...	...	...	...	...	...	0	2	6

PIONEERS.

1 Lieutenant	...	...	...	...	...	...	0	4	0
4 Serjeants	...	...	...	...	...	...	0	2	0
54 pioneers	...	...	...	...	...	...	0	1	2

This train of Artillery reckoned sixty guns and six mortars.²¹⁵⁷

The insertion in the above lists of the Coachmen to the Kettle-drummer may appear puzzling: but the kettle drums of the Artillery used to be borne on a carriage on which the drummer was seated while another man drove the horses.²¹⁵⁸

²¹⁵⁷ D'Auvergne.

²¹⁵⁸ See Chap. XXIII under the head of Military Music.

The duties of the "Gentlemen of the Ordnance"²¹⁵⁹ were to superintend such matters as the making and repair of the gun carriages, and theirs was the responsibility of the material of the Train generally; in other words the duties of Store-keepers.

We see then from such lists as these that the Ordnance, as a whole, was a well organised department, and that it was in much the same state of advancement as that in which it remained until very late years: that the Engineer sub-department of the Ordnance^{2159a} was just budding into a more military stage: and that the Artillery, while still subject to the Ordnance, was making rapid strides towards an independent existence.

Touching the *personnel* and the general status of the Ordnance proper a great deal has been said in the last chapter; so that there remains little to be added on that head. But it must not be forgotten that beyond all manner of doubt, both ARTILLERY and ENGINEERS²¹⁶⁰ formed throughout this period an integral portion of the Ordnance Department, and were indeed sub-departments of it; and that the modern Ordnance Store Department in no way represents the old Department of which it is merely the store-keeping survival after the Artillery and Engineers had acquired independence. And here let us stop to glean an easy lesson: had anyone in the Service ventured at this time to assert the claims of the Artillery²¹⁶¹ to be considered as not only a substantive part, but indeed a most important part, of the combatant forces, he would have been laughed to scorn: and with regard to the Engineers this obser-

²¹⁵⁹ Orders, Dublin, 8 Febr., 1698, &c., Dublin State Papers.

^{2159a} Besides the Companies of "Pioneers" mentioned in the above lists there was a Company raised in 1693 for service of one train of Artillery during the present campaign, and "with two fit persons to command them in the quality of Serjeants." R. Warnt., Parck, 1 June, 1693; W.O. records.

In W.O. records is a report 21 Sept., 1700, by the Secy. at War, upon petition of Colonel Blood whom "H.M. was pleased by a Commission dated 1 Oct., 1696, to "constitute director of the *Company of Engineers*," which was apparently disbanded 25 Novr., 1699; W.O. records.

²¹⁶⁰ Grant to Thos. Loup; Dom. State Papers, *see* Note ²¹⁶².

Letter, 19 May, 1676, Captain-General to Master-General; App. LVII.

Ordnance Regulations, 25 July, 1683; App. CIII.

Add. MSS. 5,795, Lists of Trains of Artillery.

Nathan Brooks, 1684.

Various Orders, &c., 1697/8; Dublin State Papers.

Establishment Lists.

²¹⁶¹ The Engineers did not become purely military until after the middle of the next century.

vation applies with much greater force, and to much more recent times: and yet these two branches of the Service have been among the foremost in the present day to ignore, or to try to prevent, the advance in the same direction of the Field Administrative Corps of our Army.

In the seventeenth century the Engineer Officers were purely servants of the Ordnance Department,²¹⁶² and they held no sort of military command or precedence. The Artillery Officers were equally subject to the "Principal Officers of the Ordnance"; their Commissions were signed by the Master-General or his deputies and not by the King or Commander-in-Chief as in the case of other Corps, and these Commissions are sufficiently distinct on this head. In fact the Artillery and Engineers used to own a double allegiance, to the Commander-in-Chief and to the Master-General of the Ordnance, exactly as the Corps of Control does now (written in 1875) to the former and to the Secretary of State.

²¹⁶² Petition of Thos. Loup, 28 Augt., 1660, for continuance in place of Engineer which he held under the late King; is prepared to assist the "Chief Engineer "M. de Gomme." Grant, Oct., 1660, to Thos. Loup of office of Engineer to attend the Master of Ordnance and Artillery, with pension of £100 a year and fee of four shillings a day, Oct., 1660; Domestic State Papers. Evidently not a military commission.

Appointment, 24 Novr., 1671, of Augustus Storff as Engineer to the Office of the Ordnance; Home Office records.

See also lists of the Trains given in text above.

Ordnance Regulations, 25 July, 1683: App. CIII.

Commission, 1 Apl., 1692, J. W. Goor as Colonel of an Ordnance Train for Flanders, &c.; App. LXXXIII.

Ditto, J. Richards, Esq., as Lt. Col.

Ditto, J. Simon Schlunt as Major.

Commissions, 1 May, 1692, to Sir Martin Beckman to be Colonel of a Train for sea-service; G. Brown, Esqre., as Lt. Col.; and J. Hopeke, Esqre., as Major.

Commissions, blank day, 1694, J. W. Goor as Col. of Train for Flanders; J. Richards, Esqre., as Lt. Col., J. Sigmond, Esqre., as Major.

Commission, 8 May, 1694, Sir M. Beckman as Col. of Train for sea.

Commissions, 12 Octr., 1694, Christian Lilly, Esqre., to be 1st Engineer and Commander-in-Chief of the Train for Jamaica.

All these Commissions (App. LXXXIII) are purely departmental Commissions, and are limited to the particular Trains or occasions specified. Thus J. W. Goor and J. Richards received fresh Commissions when appointed to a fresh train although in the same rank or capacity. "Major" Beckman was probably a major by virtue of his commission in some regt., like many Engineers appointed later, *see* Note ²¹⁶⁵. He was a Captain in the 7th Foot (commanded by the Master-General of the Ordnance) in 1685 (Commission of Lt. Pitt, 14 June, 1685, W.O. Com. Bks.) and was probably son of Sir Martin Beckman, who was Engineer-General in 1662. (App. LXXXVI.)

Report of Ordnance Offrs. 31 Augt., 1660; Dom. State papers. Letter, Lord Lieut. of Ireland, 12 Decr., 1695; Treasury State papers; *Mr.* Robinson, Chief Engineer and Surveyor-Genl. of the Fortifications.

In 1694 an addition was made to the Commissions of Artillery Officers by the interpolation of the words "you are therefore to take the said Train of Artillery into your care and charge as Colonel thereof, and duly to exercise as well the Officers as the Bombardiers and Gunners of the said Train in the use of the mortars and guns to which they shall respectively belong, and to keep them and also the Artificers and other attendants belonging to the said Train in good order and discipline: And they are hereby required to obey you as their Colonel, and you to observe and follow," &c., &c.

The inference is that the right of military command of these Ordnance Officers had been disputed by the men under their orders, and that it had been found necessary to place it beyond doubt. But it is curious that this interpolation as regards the exercising of the men is omitted from the Commissions of the two Engineers selected to take charge of Trains (Sir Martin Beckman and Mr. Lilly) while it appears in other commissions to artillery officers of the same year, and also in that of Jacob Richards of the following year: whether the omission is intentional or only accidental there is no means of ascertaining.

One particularly noticeable fact is that all the duties of the several officers of Ordnance (and partly of the Commissariat too) were interchangeable (the Store-keeping Officers alone being excepted), although naturally officers were most frequently retained in those particular functions to which they had been most accustomed or for which they had displayed the greatest aptitude. Thus in 1692 and 1694 Engineers were selected to command Artillery,²¹⁶² and ten years later occurs an instance of a Comptroller being chosen for a similar position: ²¹⁶³ thus also Mr. Robinson who in 1688 was "Surveyor-General of Fortifications" in Ireland ²¹⁶⁴ became "Commissary-General of Pay and Provisions" in the war of 1690-91 and had reverted in 1695 to the post of "Chief Engineer and Surveyor-General of Fortifications." Just as it is frequently customary now to address Officers of the Administrative Corps by the title of Captain or Major, &c. (written in 1875), although their proper titles are not such, but some lengthy and quite incomprehensible

²¹⁶³ Commission, 24 Febr., 1703/4, J. Pendleburg, Esqre., to be Comptroller and Lieut.-Colonel of a Train for Holland; Brit. Mus., Add. MSS. 5,795.

²¹⁶⁴ Full and true account of actions in the North of Ireland; a letter from Lisburn; Lond. 1689.

Royal Warrt., 12 Apr., 1690; Harl. MSS. 7,439.

Order, Dublin, 21 June, 1697; Dublin state papers.

as well as un-usable sequence of high-sounding words, so it was at this time not uncommon to do the same thing : but while the more lucrative Commissions in the Commissariat were, as we have already seen, eagerly sought for by civilians, the less remunerative warrant appointments of Engineers to the Ordnance Department were often bestowed upon regimental officers : thus gradually all Engineer Officers usurped later that right to titular rank ²¹⁶⁵ which the transferred officers claimed, *not as Engineers*, but in their regimental capacities.

During the slothful reign of Charles the Second the administration of the Ordnance seems to have fallen off in efficiency, for in 1690 a Royal Warrant ²¹⁶⁶ had to be issued enjoining upon the Principal Officers to attend in person to the execution of their several offices instead of performing them by deputy.

From the lists of the Establishment already quoted it has been seen that a working corps of soldier artificers for purposes of fitting munitions, working the artillery and aiding in the engineering duties, was attached to the Ordnance.

Prior to the year 1682, gunners and matrosses appear to have existed only in small independent bodies at the principal fortresses and sea-ports: their places were "most commonly "bought and sold to such as would give most money"; ²¹⁶⁷ and the buyers were frequently unskilled in gunnery or military affairs, and were practising other trades in civil life while holding the appointments, the pay of which was but sixpence a day; neither were these men considered to be under martial law.

In 1682 ²¹⁶⁷ they were brought under the Ordnance and thus subjected to military discipline, their pay was increased to rates corresponding with those of other soldiers, and they were

²¹⁶⁵ Report, 20 June, 1696, on claim of Capt. Cartwright in Sir John Jacob's regt. (13th Foot), he being appointed to make his campaign in Flanders as an Engineer; Try. State Papers.

Petition, 1696, of Lieut. Salomie in Belcastel's regt., for pay as Engineer; ditto.

D'Auvergne, July, 1695; "Capt. Gaubel of Col. Ingoldsby's regt. (23rd Foot), "and Engineer."

Do., Aug., 1695, "Lieut. Wallis of the Royal Regt., one of our Engineers": and three other similar instances.

Warrt., Dublin, 13 Aug., 1697; "Rodolph Corneille, one of H.M.'s Engineers "in this Kingdom, and Capt. of a Foot Company in the regt. of Brigr. Hanmer" (11th Foot); Dub. State papers.

Warrt., Dublin, 8 Apr., 1698; "Martin Skynner, Esqre., one of H.M.'s Engineers "in this Kingdom"; ditto.

²¹⁶⁶ Royal Warrant, 20 Mar., 1689/90, Ordnance papers.

²¹⁶⁷ Royal Warrt., 12 Apr., 1682; Brit. Mus., Add. MSS. 27,277.

ordered to be considered as an integral portion of the garrisons and to be regularly exercised at their duties.

It had been customary whenever field-guns were paraded to have them worked by the gunners of the garrison ²¹⁶⁸ assisted by a body of pioneers, men under punishment or else detailed from a regiment for this duty. In 1685 at the battle of Sedgemoor the guns seem to have been mainly, if not entirely, worked by soldiers of infantry regiments ; ²¹⁶⁹ although at this time there were 60 Gunners belonging to the Train stationed at the Tower. In 1686 ^{2169a} and 1687 it was customary to attach two brass 3 Pr. Field-guns to every regiment of Infantry. About this same time there were added to the Establishment a chief Bombardier ²¹⁷⁰ with twelve bombardiers besides an additional number of Petardiers, owing to the introduction of brass mortars ; and we have seen how in the succeeding reign the Ordnance Corps was increased during the long wars, until it attained to the strength of several companies, whether of Gunners, Drivers, and Mattrosses (for Artillery), or of Pioneers, and Miners (for Engineering). ²¹⁷¹

In 1690 it appears to have been a moot point whether it would be better to train the artillerymen as soldiers in other respects besides gunnery, or whether it would be better to train line soldiers as gunners, ²¹⁷² and to take them for that duty as occasion might require.

Sometimes the Artillery was recruited ²¹⁷³ by drafting men into it from foot-regiments.

²¹⁶⁸ Capt. General's Letter, 19 May, 1676 ; App. LVII.

²¹⁶⁹ Royal Warrant, 26 Febr., 1685/6, W.O. Records ; directing payment of £40 to a Serjt. First Foot for good service in firing the great guns.

^{2169a} R. Warrt., Windsor, 8 Augt., 1686, for 14 brass Field-pieces 3 prs. to march with the seven regts. of Foot leaving Hounslow heath for their respective quarters ; Home Office records.

R. Warrts., 5 June, 1687, for two 3 prs. each to other Regiments still without ; ditto.

²¹⁷⁰ Royal Warrts., James Rex, no date ; Harl. MSS. 6,334.

²¹⁷¹ The term Mattross, Matross, or Montros, is evidently akin to the Dutch Matroos, and the German Matrosen, a sailor ; but I am unaware of the origin of the word in the sense of a gunner's assistant.

²¹⁷² Letter, London, 29 Janry., 1690/1, Jas. Richards to Clarke ; Clarke MSS. ; had heard that his company of Fusileers was to be broke, that it must be a mistake "for the memorial that is now at the office of the Ordnance shews that the King had resolved That all the montrosses (*sic*) of the Artillery should be added to my Company so as to make up 100 Fusileers, that they should be paid no otherways than "as Fuzeleers ; when they were employed as Montrosses to be paid for it ; and "Mr. Blathwayt seems to be of the opinion that this is the King's intent because "t'will lessen the charge of the Artillery, and that there will be so many Montrosses "always ready in good order and under discipline."

²¹⁷³ Memorial to General Ginckel from certain companies of Foot, 12 June, 1691 ; Clarke MSS.

In the Regulations for musters in 1697²¹⁷⁴ there is specially inserted as subject to the same rules with other troops, "and "the Officers and Artificers of the Train of Artillery."

The ORDNANCE STORES²¹⁷⁵ comprehended all sorts of artillery, great and small, arms offensive and defensive, powder, accoutrements, pontoons, and all other equipment, whether of men or arms; and for the Navy as well as for the Army. The store officers were the "Gentlemen of the Ordnance," and the Storekeepers.

Prior to 1671 beds and bedding for the troops²¹⁷⁶ had been added to the other stores: and in 1685 the "King's Tents and "Toyles"²¹⁷⁷ were brought under the Ordnance, they having previously been in charge of the "Serjeant of the King's "Tents."²¹⁷⁸

As it was with money, so it was with stores: up to the year 1679 the Commander-in-Chief authorised the issues,²¹⁷⁹ but after that date the Warrants were usually signed by the King or by the Ministers for him.

From the first it was usual to have an independent officer²¹⁸⁰ present at the stock-takings: in King James's reign it was ordered that a remain should be taken septennially.²¹⁸¹

The Master-General of the Ordnance had apparently no great reason to pride himself upon the efficiency of the Store-keeping branch of his Department in 1689; for in that year Schonberg wrote to Sir Henry Goodrick^{2181a} complaining that the pikes issued to the troops on active service in Ireland were actually rotten, that the stocks of the firelocks were equally so, and that the cannon burst even with the small use of them at Carrickfergus "being made of ill metal."

²¹⁷⁴ Regulations for Musters, 29 July, 1697; Dublin State Papers, App. XLVII.

²¹⁷⁵ States of Ordnance Stores, 1669/75; Harl. MSS. 4,244-50.

Ditto, 1687/91; Harl. MSS. 7,458-63.

²¹⁷⁶ Ordnance Estimates, 1679; Harl. MSS. 4,251.

Warrt., 8 June, 1671, for exchange of blankets, rugs, and sheets for ten beds of the garrison at Landguard Fort; W.O. records.

²¹⁷⁷ Royal Warrt., 4 Octr., 1685; Additional Ordnance Regulations; Harl. MSS. 6,334, also Home Office records.

The word "toyles" is evidently the same as the French "toiles."

²¹⁷⁸ Grant of the office to R. Garnet, 1483; Harl. MSS. 433.

²¹⁷⁹ Functions of the late Lord General, 1678, App. XXI.

Various Warrants, 1660 to 1700.

²¹⁸⁰ Letter, July, 1660, Sir W. Compton, Master of the Ordnance, to Sir J. Robinson, Lieut. of the Tower, requesting him to join with the Ordnance Officers in taking stock; Dom. State papers.

²¹⁸¹ Royal Warrt. by James R.; and signed Sunderland, no date; additional Ordnance Regns.; Harl. MSS. 6,334.

^{2181a} Schonberg's Memorandum; Home Office records.

In 1676 it was prohibited to show His Majesty's stores in the Tower to strangers.²¹⁸²

Although the inspection, storing, and distribution of all arms and munitions of war were thus the duties of the Ordnance, yet after the Revolution they frequently devolved in the field upon the Commissary-General,²¹⁸³ who was gradually becoming responsible for all of those duties which had, up to that time, and since the abolition of the office of High Treasurer, been divided among so many branches; and this notwithstanding that there were responsible subordinate Officers of the Ordnance attached to the trains of Artillery, such as the Comptroller, the Commissaries of Munitions and Stores, and the Gentlemen of the Ordnance.

In 1660 the manufacture of brass and iron ordnance,²¹⁸⁴ as well as grenades and similar stores was a monopoly granted to Sir Sackville Crowe and George Browne; and in the same year a contract²¹⁸⁵ was entered into with one Dan O'Neale for the manufacture of powder: but, twenty years later, only half the estimated quantity of powder was furnished by contract, while the remainder was made in the King's mills at Chillworth,²¹⁸⁶ the total estimate in 1679 being ten thousand barrels.

In 1685 internal troubles caused a great increase in the Army, and three years afterwards when we were launched into two great wars at once, in Ireland and in Flanders, the armouries were found so poorly provided²¹⁸⁷ that William the Third had to send to Holland for even musquets, bullets, and match, besides pontoons, sand-bags, and tents. King James complained of an equal poverty in the Irish magazines.²¹⁸⁸ At this time in England such ordinary articles as a military forge-cart or portable smithy and a pontoon bridge were regarded with

²¹⁸² Ordnance Ledger, 1676.

²¹⁸³ Schonberg's Dispatches, 9 and 27 Aug., 1689, &c.; in which not only musquets but also bombs and cannon are mentioned as furnished through Commissary-Genl. Shales and upon his inspection.

There is frequent mention of arms and powder supplied through the Commissary-General of Provisions in 1691 in the Clarke MSS.

²¹⁸⁴ Grant, Sept., 1660; Dom. State papers.

²¹⁸⁵ Order, 18 Aug., 1660, by Lords of Try.; Dom. State papers.

²¹⁸⁶ Ordnance Estimates, 1679; Harl. MSS. 4,251.

²¹⁸⁷ Dispatch, Lisburn, 3 Mar., 1690, Schonberg to the King.

Letter, Whitehall, 5 Mar., 1690/1, Blathwayt to Clarke; Clarke MSS.

Conte des Armes, &c., livrées pour le service de S. M. Britannique (by the Dutch Govt.), 1691; Harl. MSS. 6,845.

²¹⁸⁸ James II, autobiog.

Acct. of arms and other habiliments of war remaining in the several magazines in the kingdom of Ireland, 1 Apr., 1689; Nairne papers.

wonder and admiration,²¹⁸⁹ as something extraordinary for an army to carry with them.

As the MARKS upon objects of antiquity are always of high interest as affording the means of authentication, it may be of use to antiquarians to offer some information on this point. In the Ordnance Regulations of 1683²¹⁹⁰ the Proof-Master was ordered to see that the King's mark was put upon all duly proved small-arms; and in 1699 a proclamation appeared specifying what the mark was to be on "stores of war belonging to the Ordnance";²¹⁹¹ namely "The King's cypher in whose reign they were made, and the rose and crown on the barrels and sometimes the broad arrow, also the King's cypher on the locks, and the Tower on the lock-sides of the stocks of all H.M.'s Musquets, Carbines, Pistols and other fire arms: and only the broad arrow upon all other stores except cordage." Some specimens of the marks in use in James's and William's reigns have been given in the illustrations of this volume.

The arms and equipments coming under the head of Ordnance Stores have all been described elsewhere,²¹⁹² with the exception of those pertaining especially to the Artillery and Engineering services. But as this Work is not a technical history of artillery, it will be endeavoured to condense the information on so scientific a subject into as brief and generally interesting a form as possible, leaving it for deeper students to dive further into the authorities quoted if they desire more detailed information.

The word Ordnance is a corruption of ordinance and this is borrowed from the French *ordonnance*: that this is the case is amply proved by the frequent spelling of the word as *ordonnance* in early manuscripts and as ordinance later. Ordnance means therefore originally cannon of a prescribed or *regulation* calibre and make (III. CCLXVII).

The CANNON in use during the reigns of Charles, James, and William may be classified as follows:—²¹⁹³

²¹⁸⁹ Further account of the Prince's army in a letter from Exeter, 24 Novr., 1688; Harl. Misc.

²¹⁹⁰ Ordnance Regulations, 1683; App. CIII.

²¹⁹¹ Proclamation, Lond. Gaz., 13/16 Feby., 1698/99.

²¹⁹² See Index, and Chapter XXI.

²¹⁹³ The Authorities for this classification are:

Abstracts of Ordnance Stores, 1669/1675; Harl. MSS. 4,244-50.

States of Ordnance Stores, 1687/1691; Harl. MSS. 7,458-63.

Royal Warrt., 16 June, 1685, for a Train on occasion of Monmouth's rebellion.

Royal Warrants, 6 Mar., 12 Apr., and 1 July, 1689; 27 Feby., and 4 Aug., 1692;

The terms of Eight and Seven seem to have been derived from the number of inches of diameter in the bore at the muzzle (Ils. CCLXVIII, CCLXIX).

Table of Cannon in use, 1660 to 1700.

Name of Piece.	Iron or Brass.	Field or Garrison.	Length.	Weight.	Diameter of bore.	Weight of Ball.	Weight of Charge.	Comparative Force.	Point-blank shot.
Cannon of Eight or Cannon Royal ...	Either	Either	Feet. 12	Lbs. 7,000 to 8,000	Inches. 8	Lbs. 48 to 63	Lbs. 28 to 32	3,382	Yards. 185
Cannon of Seven ...	do.	do.	12	...	7	42	21½	2,422	180
Demi-Cannon ...	do.	do.	11	6,000	6	36	14½	1,577	160
Culverin ...	do.	do.	11	4,000 to 4,800	5 to 5½	15 to 20	10 to 12½	1,000	180
Demi-Culverin ...	do.	do.	10	2,000 to 3,000	4½ to 4¾	9 to 11	6½ to 8½	733	175
Saker ...	do.	do.	8 to 10	1,400 to 1,800	3½ to 4	4½ to 7½	3½ to 5	371	163
Minion ...	do.	do.	7 to 8	800 to 1,000	3 to 3½	3½ to 3¾	2½ to 3½	238	125
Falcon ...	do.	do.	6	750	2½	2½	1½	166	130
Falconet ...	do.	do.	4 to 6	400	2	1½	¾ to 1½	61	90
Rabinet ...	do.	do.	3 to 5½	300	1½ to 1¾	¾	1½ to 1¾	38	70
Base ...	do.	do.	4½	200	1½	1½	...	...	60

Besides these pieces there were Twenty-four-Pounders, Twelve-Pounders, Eight-Pounders, Six-Pounders, and Three-Pounders.

There was also the Pierrier or Pateraro or Pedrero: this piece whose name signifies a stone-thrower was a BREECH-LOADING CANNON, the breech being opened or closed by means of a removable cylindrical chamber: this chamber contained the charge of powder, and the ball was placed within the breech of the piece itself (Ils. CCLXX, CCLXXI, CCLXXII) immediately in front of the loaded chamber: pierriers were generally of lighter construction than most guns, and were especially adapted for mountain warfare, or for small forts: they were

5 and 30 Mar., 1693; 7 May and 10 Oct., 1694; 15 Mar., 1697; for Trains for Ireland, Flanders, West Indies, and expeditions; Brit. Mus., Add. MSS. 5.795.

Military Dictionary, 1702.

St. Remy.

Mallet.

Miethe.

Cocker.

A gunner's Rule (Cir. 1700) in the Woolwich Rotunda.

Chamberlayne (1692) says that the cannon of eight carried a ball of lbs. 63.

In the Tower and at the Rotunda are several specimens of some of these various guns.

however becoming obsolete at the close of our period, although in use for a considerable portion of it.²¹⁹⁴

MORTARS for the projection of bomb-shells were not brought into use until two centuries after the invention of cannon: they are said to have been first cast at Venloo²¹⁹⁵ and used at the siege of Bergen-op-Zoom by the Duke of Parma in 1588. According to various accounts, the inventor, whoever he might be, was "hoist with his own petard"; he seems also to have intended to introduce some sort of Greek fire to be projected within bomb-shells. Reidanus, in his history of the Low Countries Wars, says "A certain Italian who deserted from " the Duke of Parma, fled to the Confederates, to whom he " pretended that he had an admirable and unheard-of invention " for preparing hollow vessels and globes of iron and stone " which might be easily thrown amongst the enemy; where " they would do most terrible execution by thousands of " splinters which would fly from them in bursting, and besides " that the least spark of them would infallibly set fire to what- " ever they touched. But the instant that our Granadeer was " busied in carrying on his project, a spark of fire unfortunately " fell upon the table where he had prepared his composition: and " as he was going hastily to take it away, the fire (which loses " no time) got hold on his hand. He, astonished to see a globe " of flame upon his hand, and not knowing what to do to get rid " of it, clapped his hand between his thighs to stifle it, but " far from being suppressed it laid hold on his breeches and " from thence penetrated to his thighs: in a word his hand " was instantly stripped of both skin and flesh. Vinegar proved " ineffectual; and instead of extinguishing rather increased the " flame: to conclude, the fire spreading over the rest of his " limbs, the unhappy man expired in less than three days, after " having suffered the most severe pains without intermission or " relief."

But it appears highly probable that the origin of mortars dates further back than this, and that they originated in our own country (Ill. CCLXXIII): for Stowe tells us that in 1543 " the King, minding wars with France, made great preparations " and provision, as well of munitions and artillery, as also of " brass ordinance; amongst which at that time one Peter Bawd,

²¹⁹⁴ Mallet.

St. Remy.

²¹⁹⁵ Simienowicz. Thuanus. Reidanus. Famianus. Strada.

“ a Frenchman born, a gun-founder, or maker of great ordnance,
 “ and one other alien, called Peter Van Collen, a gunsmith, both
 “ the King’s freedmen, conferred together, devised and caused
 “ to be made certain mortar pieces, being at the mouth from
 “ eleven inches, unto nineteen inches wide ; for the use whereof,
 “ the said Peter and Peter caused to be made certain hollow shot
 “ of cast iron, stuffed with fire-works, or wild-fire ; whereof the
 “ bigger sort for the same had screws of iron to receive a match
 “ to carry fire kindled, that the fire-work might be set on fire to
 “ break in small pieces the same hollow shot ; whereof the
 “ smallest piece hitting any man, would kill or spoil him
 “ (Ills. CCLXXIV, CCLXXV, CCLXXVI): and after the
 “ King’s return from Bullen (Boulogne), the said Peter Bawd
 “ by himself in the first year of Edward VI did also make
 “ certain ordnance of cast iron of diverse sorts and forms, as
 “ fawconets, falcons, minions, sakers, and other pieces.”

The word Cannon is derived from the Latin *canna* a reed, pipe, or tube ; and the word Bomb²¹⁹⁶ seems to be derived from the Latin *bombus* a loud noise, while the term Mortar is obviously obtained from the resemblance of the chamber of that piece to a pounding-mortar.

Bomb-shells varied from $18\frac{1}{2}$ inches diameter down to 4 inches (Ill. CCLXXVII): in the Ordnance Stores in 1669/75 there were 18, $16\frac{1}{4}$, 15, $13\frac{1}{2}$, $8\frac{3}{4}$, 8, 6, and $4\frac{1}{2}$ inch shells, but in 1687/91 there appear none above $12\frac{1}{4}$ inch.

The composition of the metal from which guns were cast differed in different countries and even in different foundries ; but the following will serve as a fair example of the mixtures most in vogue :—²¹⁹⁷

100 lbs. of red copper,
 10 to 20 lbs. of tin,
 20 lbs. of letton.

This last was a combination of equal parts of red-copper and calamine-stone.

The mode of the MANUFACTURE OF CANNON may be thoroughly comprehended from the illustrations aided by a very brief description.

²¹⁹⁶ Johnson’s Dictry., 1775 : Bacon “ An upper chamber being thought weak
 “ was supported by a pillar of iron, of the bigness of one’s arm in the midst ; which,
 “ if you had struck, would make a little flat noise in the room, but a great *bomb* in
 “ the chamber beneath.” The word is sometimes spelt “ Boomb ” by older English
 writers.

²¹⁹⁷ St. Remy.

A piece of polygonal timber,²¹⁹⁸ usually deal, and of a greater length than the required gun, was rested on trestles at either end in such a manner as to permit of its turning on rollers (Ill. CCLXXVIII): this piece of timber was termed the "Trousseau" or truss.

This truss was then well greased, and afterwards tightly covered with a rope of plaited straw up to a certain thickness.

The straw plait was then well covered with several layers of loamy earth mixed with powdered brick (Ill. CCLXXIX), at the same time producing as nearly as possible the general form of the gun.

On the top of these layers of earth was next applied another layer of earth thoroughly beaten and mixed with hair and horse-dung, the form of the gun being still followed.

During the application of these several layers of earth, a small fire of turf or wood was kept up under the parts, as they were completed, to hasten the drying of them.

The mould was now in the rough form of a gun as regards its length and its several degrees of thickness, but without more than a mere rough outline of any of the projections.

To obtain these projections there was applied to the mould while still sufficiently soft, a piece of timber having the different projections or mouldings of the gun notched into it (*see* Ill. CCLXXXII) and faced with metal, being in fact a profile of the piece. This profiled model being firmly fixed on the trestles so as to properly clip the mould, the latter was steadily turned by the hand-wheels at the end of the rollers, and thus the projections were cut out by the wooden model.

The mould was now in all its parts a solid gun apparently made of earth, only without trunnions or ornament.

The now shapely mould was next thickly rubbed over with tallow, with a view to prevent the adhesion of the next coating, and the profile was again applied so as to equalise and level the tallow (Ill. CCLXXX).

At this stage also the ornaments and trunnions and anses (or handles) were added; the former having been separately moulded in wax mixed with turpentine, and the latter being of wood and fastened to the mould by large nails.

The next coating was a sort of putty composed of horse-dung, potter's clay, and hair. This was allowed to dry of itself

²¹⁹⁸ St. Remy.
Mallet, &c., &c.

without the aid of fire ; and another coating somewhat similar, only richer and softer, was applied to the depth of four or five inches, the nails of the trunnions and anses being at the same time withdrawn and the holes filled up.

The mould was now again a mere general form of the piece without projections, only very thick ; and it now consisted of two parts, the mould proper, and its coat, separated from each other by the layer of tallow.

The next process was to bandage it with iron bands (Ill. CCLXXXI), and over all to put yet another covering of earth. When the whole mass, thus bandaged, had been thoroughly dried, a few blows of a hammer being given upon the extremities of the tapering truss, this latter could be drawn out by the larger end and its straw covering with it (Ill. CCLXXXII). The mould, thus hollowed in its centre, was then borne to the trench in front of the furnace, where the metal gun would have to be cast, and the centre was filled with fire. The effect of this fire was twofold : first, it melted the tallow which was between the mould proper and its coat ; and, secondly, it dried the earthen layers of the former to such a degree that they were easily broken-up with iron tools made for the purpose, so that there was nothing left of the interior mould proper, while there remained the hollow coat retaining an exact impression in its interior of the intended piece, the breech alone being wanting.

For the purpose of obtaining the calibre of the piece, a bar of iron (*see* Ill. CCLXXXII) covered (to the thickness of the required calibre) with a paste of ashes bound with wire three times wound about it spirally, all thoroughly baked by fire, was inserted throughout the hollow of the earthen coat : this "core" was carefully secured exactly in the centre of the hollow by a ring (termed a chapelet), having supports so that it could be placed in the breech of the hollow mould.

Thus there remained betwixt this core and the sides of the hollow mould or coat, an empty space representing exactly the metal portion of the piece.

The breech-piece, which had been separately moulded in precisely the same manner as the rest of the gun, was now affixed to the main mould by means of exterior wire-bands.

The mould was now quite ready to receive the metal ; and being now placed upright in the trench in front of the furnace (Ill. CCLXXXIII) the trench was filled in so as to completely bury it, a pipe being first placed so as to lead the molten metal from the furnace into each such mould.

After the metal had been thus poured into the moulds and had cooled, the core was withdrawn and the mould itself was broken up by blows until the metal was bared (Ill. CCLXXXIV), exhibiting the gun itself; the roughnesses (which will occur in casting) being subsequently smoothed down with instruments (Ill. CCLXXXV).

The mode of piercing the touch-hole is shewn in one of the illustrations (Ill. CCLXXXVI).

Sometimes the calibre of the piece was obtained by boring by machinery (Ill. CCLXXXVII).

After weighing, and proving by firing with different charges, the gun was ready for service.

From the Ordnance Estimates we learn that about the middle of Charles the Second's reign, iron ordnance²¹⁹⁹ "nailed, "turned, and polished" was coming into use; and that in 1688 it was quite superseding, the "Rough iron ordnance" and the "Iron ordnance hammered."

It may be equally interesting to some artillery students to learn how POWDER used to be manufactured.²²⁰⁰

The principal ingredient of gunpowder is Saltpetre. Saltpetre (*i.e.*, Sal petreæ or salt of the rocks) is a kind of salt which distils itself from the earth under certain favourable conditions: it is found on the roofs and sides as well as in the flooring of subterranean places such as quarries, caves, and cellars, and it is also found on the surface of the open country, in parts of India and other places.

The process of extracting the saltpetre from the earth, stones, or rubbish in which it occurred, so as to render it fit for use, was as follows:

The raw material was first well broken-up with mauls and passed through a screen like a coal-screen (Ill. CCLXXXVIII).

Three rows of tubs being then placed on trestles, the first row received two full bushels of wood-ashes and were filled up with the screened earth, a stopper of straw-wisp being put on the top: in the second row was put nearly the same quantity of ashes; and in the third row only a bushel and a half of ashes, all being completed with the earth.

There was then poured into the first row a specified quantity

²¹⁹⁹ Abstract of Debts, Ordnance Office, Sept., 1673; Brit. Mus., Add. MSS. 28,082

States of Ordnance Stores, 1687/91; Harl. MSS. 7,458-63.

²²⁰⁰ Mallet.

St. Remy.

of water, which, being allowed to filter through the earth and ashes, found its way out through the vents at the bottom of the tubs (the vents being plugged with straw only) into vessels placed to receive it. The water (which took about twenty-four hours thus to filter), being reduced by the process by about one-fifth and having become impregnated with the saltpetre from the earth through which it had passed, was now filtered through the second row of tubs in the same manner, and afterwards through the third row, the quantity of water now produced being only about two-fifths of the original quantity.

This residue being then filtered through a fourth row of tubs containing fresh earth and a larger proportion of ashes, was still further reduced in quantity, and this was carried to the copper or boiler together with an equal quantity of water obtained by a second filtering. At the end of four-and-twenty hours of boiling (Ill. CCLXXXIX), trial was made by letting fall a few drops of the liquid on to a plate; when, if the liquid congealed like grease or melted sugar, it was considered evidence of the sufficient formation of the saltpetre. The liquid was thereupon removed from the boiler (a residue of common salt being generally found at the bottom of the boiling), into the refining vessel, which was kept hot and covered; and after about half an hour it was drawn off and poured into large copper basins, where it was left to congeal, a process which seldom accomplished itself under five days.

A mass of saltpetre was thus turned out of each basin. The refuse of the works, judiciously applied on suitable spots, would fructify and thus furnish fresh raw material.

The other ingredients of gun-powder, beside saltpetre, were the highly inflammable and volatile mineral called Sulphur; and Charcoal, that produced from the black alder-wood being esteemed the best. The wood being stripped of its bark, was placed upright in a pit and burnt with a quick fire; when thoroughly burnt into charcoal the fire was extinguished by smothering it with a broom, care being taken not to use water for the purpose.

The proportions of these three materials used in the manufacture of powder were usually about 75 per cent. of saltpetre, and the remaining 25 per cent. equally divided between the sulphur and the charcoal.

This mixture being placed in pounding-mortars (Ill. CCXC), and kept slightly moistened, was pounded for about twenty four hours so as to form one equalised composition. This

composition was then carried into the graining mill, where it was well dried and then rolled with a wooden roller over a graining sieve: after passing through the grainer, the whole was again passed over a fine sieve, that which remained in the sieve being good powder, and that which passed through being merely refuse dust to be worked up again.

The grained powder was then again thoroughly dried either in the sun or in a drying room, and so finally became fit for use.

To prove the powder, a little of it was placed upon a piece of white paper and gently ignited by means of live charcoal. If the powder was of good quality the smoke would ascend in a column and leave but little trace on the paper; while if it was of bad quality the effect would be the reverse, and grains of the composition would be left on the paper, so that they could be felt with the finger. If the powder was indubitably good this test could be made on the palm of the hand without risk of burning.

In the very year in which I am correcting this work for the Press—1890—a comparatively smokeless and noiseless powder is being introduced into our Army; but in a manuscript of 1699 there appears a recipe for noiseless powder, namely the mixture with the powder of an equal quantity of burned alum.^{2200a}

Prior to about the year 1679 the gun in general use in the Navy was "taper-bored," but in that year²²⁰¹ on the report of the Master-General of the Ordnance these guns became obsolete: they appear, moreover, to have been in use in the Navy alone. As regards the land-service, prior to about the year 1690 the bore of cannon used to be perfectly straight,²²⁰² of one diameter throughout, and without any distinction of the chamber from the rest of the bore. But about that year an important innovation was introduced by making the chamber about half as wide again as the barrel (*see* Ills. CCLXVIII, CCLXIX) and of a circular form: a year or two later this was improved upon by the Marquis de la Frezeliere²²⁰³ by altering the form of the

^{2200a} Garrett Moore, his almanac without beginning and without end, 1699. Kilkenny, &c., Archæological Society, 1862.

²²⁰¹ Ordnance Estimate, 1679; Harl. MSS. 4,251.

By this Estimate the price of a gun was £36, *i.e.*, 1,500 for £54,000.

²²⁰² Mallet, 1684, has only the old form, while St. Remy, 1697, tells us of both as the old and the new.

²²⁰³ St. Remy.

In Royal Warrt., 7 Apr., 1692; Ordnance papers; "Cashé pieces of brass of

chamber to an oblong or pear shape and thus lessening greatly the force of the recoil as well as the detrimental effect of the undue spread of the explosion at the mouth of the piece.

A similar alteration took place also in the form of Mortars : originally of one calibre throughout and merely rounded off at the bottom, they now began to be made with a chamber for the charge, sometimes pitcher-shaped and sometimes merely tubular : this alteration was introduced by the Spaniards²²⁰³ (*see* Ills. CCLXXIV, CCLXXV).

Our own countrymen were not altogether behind-hand in artillerist inventions. It had been the practice to fire mortars by two separate actions,²²⁰⁴ first igniting the fuse of the shell while loading and afterwards firing the mortar by its touch-hole : but in 1691, during the siege of Limerick, a subaltern named Brown²²⁰⁵ hit upon the simple expedient of suffering the fuse to ignite itself from the flame of the discharge. Apparently the same officer, in 1693, invented a hand-mortar²²⁰⁶ with a flint-lock for firing it. Another Englishman, "Governor" Tinker,²²⁰⁷ about the year 1690 also invented a hand-mortar-piece (*see* Ill. CXXXIV), although it cannot be ascertained what were its peculiarities, except that a Rest was used with it.

About 1692,²²⁰⁸ a strong powder was invented by an Englishman named Polycarpus Wharton. In 1693 a patent was granted to one Richard Povey²²⁰⁹ for a new invention for "making moulds of iron and other metals whereinto to cast "guns of any sizes whether of iron or other metals, with great "expedition and less charge than hath hitherto been known."

In 1696,²²¹⁰ in the expedition of the Allies against Dinant, a trial was made of wooden mortars bound with iron hoops and thus made sufficiently light to be transported on mules ; but

"7 feet length and 10 inches diameter" are ordered to be issued. But I do not know the origin of the name.

²²⁰⁴ Mallet, &c.

²²⁰⁵ Story. Possibly this Brown is the same man who was commissioned as Lieut. Colonel of the Train in 1692.

²²⁰⁶ Royal Warrant, 10 Oct., 1694 ; for artillery train for West Indies ; Brit. Mus., Add. MSS. 5,795.

²²⁰⁷ Bill of Lading, 29 Oct., 1690 ; Ship "Fortescue" Plymouth to Waterford ; Clarke MSS.

Royal Warrants, 6 May, 1693, and 10 Oct., 1694, for Artillery Trains ; Brit. Mus., Add. MSS. 5,795.

²²⁰⁸ Royal Warrant, 7 April, 1692 ; Ordnance papers ; for issue of "a quantity of "strong powder according to the late invention of Polycarpus Wharton."

²²⁰⁹ Patent, April, 1693 ; Signet Books.

²²¹⁰ D'Auvergne.

these pieces did not realise the hopes of artillerists, and their use was abandoned.

Another invention to meet similar difficulties of transport was a Portuguese gun: it was only a foot and a half long, although a twenty-Pounder,²²¹¹ and the peculiarity of the piece consisted in its having a large globular chamber for its charge of ten pounds; on account of its shortness it dispensed with the rammer and other gear, thus further reducing the burden of its transport; but it possessed naturally one great fault, that of excessive recoil.

Brass mortars were in this country first cast in Charles the Second's reign;²²¹² and in the succeeding reign they had almost entirely superseded the iron ones. Brass cannon had been in use for sea-service as early as Henry VIII's reign,²²¹³ and were introduced for land service as early as Charles the First's reign; and later, in 1662, James Weyms, the Master-Gunner of England, had the honour of exhibiting to a Council of War presided over by the King himself specimens of "Light Ordnance" both of iron and brass, for which he was granted a patent.²²¹⁴ This light ordnance was probably entirely field artillery (Ill. CCXCI); and while the heavier guns were manufactured of brass and iron indifferently, the field-pieces, subsequently to 1670, were invariably of brass.²²¹⁵

What is here termed brass would be more correctly spoken of as bronze.

But, with all our inventions, there are to be seen in India pieces of cannon (Ill. CCXCII) of the seventeenth century far superior in point of size and power to any cast in Europe.

In the year 1700 there was paid to one William Meesters ^{2214a}

²²¹¹ Mallet.

²²¹² Abstract of Ordnance Stores, 1669/1675; Harl. MSS. 4,244-50.

States of Ordnance Stores, 1687/1691; Harl. MSS. 7,458-63.

Chamberlayne, 1692.

Royal Warrant, Temp. James II, no date; Harl. MSS. 6,334; recites that of late "Brass Mortar pieces of several sizes" had been cast, and found satisfactory.

Bill of Lading, 29 Oct., 1690; Ship "Fortescue" Plymouth to Waterford.

States of Ordnance Stores.

²²¹³ Clarendon.

²²¹⁴ Patent, 24 March, 1662, to James Weyms, Master Gunner of England, &c., for "a new way of making light ordnance (*sic*) shooting from a quarter of a lb. "bullet to a demy cannon, a train whereof 17 pieces was tried in our presence by a "Council of War, with pieces of brass of like calliver (*sic*)." There is, however, an earlier grant to Sir Sackville Crowe and George Browne for the making of brass as well as iron Ordnance; Grant, Sept., 1660; Dom. State papers. There are specimens of brass guns of Charles I and Charles II's time in the Woolwich Rotunda and at the Tower.

^{2214a} War Office records; Misc., 14 Oct., 1700.

£2,212 for "making and providing instruments of exact firing 'with great ordnance as well by night as by day.'"

In 1694 Colonel Goor, commanding the British Artillery train in Flanders was ordered to report upon a Danish invention for firing bombs of 100 lbs.^{2214b} up to 400 yards "only by "the help of one of the small field-pieces that usually march "with every regiment of our Army"; but it does not appear that Colonel Goor had the opportunity of seeing the invention in practice, and mortars certainly continued to be used.

Among the various curious inventions some of which are not at all unlikely to be revived in our own day (as some, indeed, have already successfully been), was a field-piece affording protection to the gunners, in fact a sort of travelling turret; it was patented by one James Austin²²¹⁵ in 1693, and is described as "a certain machine or chariot of artillery, which is musquet-proof and so contrived as to hold two falconets or small field-pieces and two hand-mortars, to be used by the party sitting "in the chariot, and may be conveyed many miles a-day with "great ease and expedition, which hath been seen and approved "and thought very useful in our armies here and elsewhere."

We have seen how the much-vaunted mitrailleuse²²¹⁶ and the breech-loading cannon are no new things under the sun; and it is quite possible that we may yet return to some form of multifold cannon.

In 1669 there was in the Train in the Tower²²¹⁷ a brass piece "of seven bores," and this same piece was still there in 1690, although it does not seem to have been deemed worthy of imitation. An iron-founder of Lyons named Emery invented some years later a twin-cannon;²²¹⁸ and shortly afterwards an Italian priest succeeded in introducing the use of triple cannon, which last continued in vogue for some years after the commencement of the eighteenth century, and were certainly used in action.

Not only were cannon-balls and ordinary shells (Ills.

^{2214b} Letter Mr. Greg to Mr. Blathwayt, Copenhagen, 16 June, 1694; and King's order to Col. Goor; W.O. records.

²²¹⁵ Patent, 6 Mar., 1693, to James Austin.

²²¹⁶ See Chap. XXI on Arms.

²²¹⁷ States of Ordnance Stores, 1669/1675 and 1687/1691.

(This was penned in 1874.)

²²¹⁸ St. Remy.

At the Woolwich Rotunda are two of the triple-bores, both French, made at Douay in 1704 and 1706, and captured at Malplaquet in 1709: and there are two at the Tower of London of about 10 years earlier date.

CCXCIII, CCXCIV) used as artillery missiles prior to the year 1700, but there were also tin, wooden, or canvas cases filled with nails or musquet-shot and called canister-shot,²²¹⁹ iron carcasses, red-hot shot, double-headed shot, or bar-shot, chain-shot, pinc-apple or grape-shot, and the pot-à-feu. All these sufficiently explain themselves, except the last. The pot-à-feu is thus described by an officer who saw large numbers of them thrown from mortars by the garrison of Charleroi when besieged by the French in 1693.²²²⁰ "Un Pot-à-feu est une espèce de globe, ou grosse boule, rempli de vieille corde bitumée, qui fait un feu très clair. Ce globe qu'on a soin d'allumer par un bout avant de le jeter, brûle pendant très long-temps, et éclaire un grand espace de terrain, sur lequel on peut pointer du Canon, comme si c'était en plein jour. Pour empêcher qu'on n'aille éteindre le feu, quoiqu'il fut très difficile d'en venir à bout, à cause de sa composition, on a le soin de fourer en differents endroits du globe, de petits Canons de Pistolet chargés à bal, qui tirent à mesure que le feu les saisit."

Everybody has heard of the engineer that was "hoist with his own petard";²²²¹ and the PETARD must not be forgotten among the other explosive instruments of destruction, although it was becoming gradually obsolete at the close of the century.²²²²

The petard was a bowl of iron or brass in the shape of the crown of a steeple-crowned hat (Ils. CCXCV, CCXCVI); this was filled with powder and then inverted on to a square plank

²²¹⁹ States of Ordnance Stores, 1669/1675 and 1687/1690; Harl. MSS. 4,244-50 and 7,458-63.

Royal Warrts., 1691 to 1697, for Trains for active service; Brit. Mus., Add. MSS. 5,795.

St. Remy and other authorities quoted previously in this chapter.

D'Auvergne, &c., &c.

²²²⁰ De la Colonie.

²²²¹ Shakspeare; Hamlet:

"'Tis the sport to have the engineer

"Hoist with his own petard."

²²²² Abstracts of Ordnance Stores, 1669/72, "brass petars."

Ordnance Regulations, 1683; instruction in the use of petards enjoined.

Account of the Train shipped for Ireland. Office of Ordnance, 1 June, 1689; Brit. Mus., Add. MSS. 5,795, contains "Petards complete" of iron and of brass.

Mallet.

Royal Warrt., 8 Mar., 1689, Ordnce. papers; 20 Petards sent to General Mackay.

Account of Stores remaining in City of Cork, 24 Apr., 1691; Clarke MSS.; 50 Pr. and 20 Pr. "brass pittars."

St. Remy, 1697.

and fixed to it firmly by irons: on the bottom of the plank, which was strengthened by cross bands of iron, was a strong hook. The use of this engine was to blow in gates or the walls of mines by fixing the petard to them by means of the hook: the petard was fired by a fuse in its top or side and the explosion naturally took place towards the broad end.

It would be too voluminous for any except a technical history of Artillery and Engineering to mention in detail all the stores of war or all their uses. We must be satisfied with glancing thus briefly at the chief and most generally interesting of them (Ill. CCXCVII).

Among the multitude of lesser Ordnance stores we find paper rockets, and *water as well as air* BALLOONS, which it was an especial charge of the Firemaster to have "ready for war." This is an interesting fact at a moment when, even as I write, the daily journals are filled with descriptions of attempts to utilise balloons for war and to render them secure for passage of seas.

There is one very essential article of Ordnance Engineering supplies that must not be passed over in silence, namely Pontoons or improvised bridges. In this, as in so many other matters, for want of a succinct history of past experiences we seem to have been for two centuries running round in a wheel of obsolescences and re-adoptions.

In the seventeenth century pontoons were a comparatively recent invention, and many experiments were made with a view to discovering the best material for them. The form of the pontoons was almost invariably that of boats, more or less flat-bottomed (Ills. CCXCVIII, CCXCIX), and it is evident that the pontoon that will serve for a boat as well as for forming a bridge is more useful than one that can be used for a bridge only. These boats were made with fittings so that they could be tethered together side by side when planks were laid over them, and thus a serviceable bridge was formed. Of course the great desideratum was to have these boats as portable as possible, both that they might travel over rough or heavy country and that they might add as little as possible to the transport of the army.

Consequently, the attention of inventors was especially directed to the material of which the boats were formed.²²²³ The lightest woods were tried; osier frames pitched over, or

²²²³ St. Remy.

else covered with waxed cloth, were tried; boats of rope, and boats of tin, were tried :²²²⁴ but eventually it was decided that copper was the material that best combined wearing power with lightness. Trials were also made of pontoons not in the form of boats: hollow cases covered with pitch were made use of for this purpose, but their use was shortly abandoned for the reason already mentioned, that the advantage of having pontoons to serve as boats on occasion was considered to counterbalance all other considerations. One scheme for closed pontoons may be mentioned as affording a hint for possible use in emergencies; namely, the use of the skins of animals blown-out and then made air-tight.

For narrow rivers such as the canals of the Netherlands, pontoons of casks were sometimes used, being put together on the land, and on wheels, so that when completed they could be run straight into the water.

It would be equally too lengthy for any except a technical history to pretend to enter fully into the subject of Fortifications. A second volume of this work would contain the narrative of many sieges; and it might possibly become desirable to include in that volume such a review of the progress of the science of fortification, up to that time, as might enable the general reader to better appreciate the actions described. But for the present it will suffice to direct the student's attention to the main features of the great change in that science which took place after the introduction of, and improvements in the use of, cannon and fire-arms.

The ancient mode of fortification in the time of the bow and the battering ram used to be by round or square towers placed at intervals around the place and connected by curtains or plain walls.^{2224a} The change necessitated by the use of gunpowder was the substitution of prominent angular works for the old towers, and the sinking of the defences as much as possible to the ground-level instead of making them as lofty as walls of masonry could well be. The old plan, too, had been to have as few sides to the fortifications of a place as possible, whereas under the new plan the square form was

²²²⁴ Tin boats were used in our pontoon train in Flanders in 1694; see Note ²¹⁶⁶: and at the siege of Limerick in 1691; Story. Also Royal Warrt., 27 Feb., 1691/2, for train for Flanders: "40 Tin boats with carriages complete."

^{2224a} An extraordinary survival of this mode is to be seen in the walls of Avila in Spain, at no great distance from Madrid: the ancient walls of this town remain to this day, just as they stood eight hundred years ago.

expressly avoided. Under the old plan the plainer the front opposed to the besiegers the better; but the object of the new mode was to offer as little direct front as possible, both that the shot of the besiegers might glance off and that the defence of any one part might be aided by the cross-fire of the adjacent parts.

But, for the reasons already stated, it is not desirable to enter upon this subject in a volume containing the history of only one siege of any magnitude; and the introduction of the non-professional reader to the specialities of Vauban and Coehorn must therefore be reserved for a future volume (III. CCC).

CHAPTER XXXI.

THE MEDICAL ADMINISTRATION AND THE RELIGIOUS
ADMINISTRATION DURING THE PERIOD FROM 1660 TO
1700.

1660-1700.

Introductory.—Regimental surgeons.—Garrison surgeons and physicians.—The Surgeon-General.—Status and attainments of medical officers.—Physicians and Apothecaries.—Field medical administration.—The supply of medicines.—Purveyors.

The Religious Administration.—Divine Service.—Official status of Chaplains.—Supply of Chaplains.—Readers.

[For Illustrations, see Note on p. xiii.]

THERE are two branches of administration which, unlike the Field Administrative branches just treated of, are not absolute essentials to an Army; although the army that should be without them or imperfect in them would be said to be sadly incomplete. These branches are the MEDICAL and RELIGIOUS departments. An army could exist without either, but they both exercise so beneficial an effect upon the physical and moral well-being of the troops, and therefore upon the results of warfare, that to be without either would be to revert to barbarism. The duties of the one are to administer physical aid and comfort to the sick and wounded, and those of the other to administer spiritual solace and encouragement to the depressed or dying warrior, or to the doomed offender against the rigid discipline of an army in the field. While on the one hand both doctors and chaplains may be over-pampered and their cures of bodies or souls rendered disproportionately small, on the other hand an over-economy in either of these accessories of an army may be attended with very evil results.

From the first introduction of the regimental system there was a surgeon or "chirurgion"²²²⁵ to each regiment.²²²⁶ In 1673 during the war with the States-General "chirurgion's

²²²⁵ The word chirurgion is from the Greek *keir* a hand, and *ergon* work,—one who works cures by external manipulations or operations.

²²²⁶ Est. lists.

mates" ²²²⁷ were first added to the establishment: in 1680 the First Foot Guards ²²²⁸ had two "Mates" because of its strength, and in 1684 every regiment of Foot ²²²⁹ had a mate as well as a chirurgeon. In 1673 we find a garrison chirurgeon appointed to the Isle of Wight ²²³⁰ and in 1690 a garrison physician to the garrison of Portsmouth. ²²³¹

In 1669 attention had become so far attracted towards this branch of the Service, that a "Chirurgeon-General" ²²³² was added to the establishment, though at a rate of pay (£182 per annum) that does not speak very highly for his position.

But indeed at this period the Chirurgeons and their mates do not seem to have been very highly rated, for the surgeon was paid far less than a chaplain and in no case more than a subaltern or a Quarter-Master: while his mate's pay was less than that of an Ensign. At the period of the Restoration surgeons' mates were denominated "barber-chirurgeons," ²²³³ but I am unable to say whether on their reintroduction a few years later as surgeons' mates they still exercised the tonsorial functions.

Barry thus writes in 1634 of this office: ²²³⁴ "The Captain "is of necessity to have a barber in his Company, and if it be "possible of good skill in this art, for being a very necessary "instrument in war, for when a soldier is hurt the greatest "comfort he can have is a good barber, that shall cure him well "and with speed."

And Elton thus writes in 1659: "In every company there "ought to be a Barber-Chirurgeon for the trimming of the "soldiers, who ought likewise to have some skill in Chyrurgery,

²²²⁷ 3 May, 1673, Est. of a chirurgeon's mate to the Regiment of Guards; Abstract of Est., Septr., 1673; Brit. Mus., Add. MSS. 28,082.

²²²⁸ Est. list, 1680, Harl. MSS. 6,425.

²²²⁹ Nathan Brooks.

Est. lists.

²²³⁰ 11 Janry., 1672/3, Est. of "a chirurgeon to the Isle of Wight"; Abstract of Est., Septr., 1673.

²²³¹ Royal Warrt., 1 Janry., 1689/90, appointing "a Physician to the garrison" of Portsmouth; Harl. MSS. 7,437.

²²³² Abstract of Est., 1668/69; Brit. Mus., Add. MSS. 28,082.

There had however been a Chirurgeon-General in Ireland as early as 1661; Patent, Dublin, 5 Apr., 1661, appointing James Fountaines, gent., as Chirurgeon-General to the Army, during pleasure, with 10s. a day, vizt., 6s. as Chirurgeon-General and 4s. as Chirurgeon to the Hospital in Dublin; being the first appointment to the office; Liber Munerum.

²²³³ Elton.

²²³⁴ Barry.

In Spain it is still common to see on a Barber's sign "Here you can be shaved, "have your teeth drawn, or be bled."

“that when the soldiers are upon the watches, and guards, where imminent danger may be, he may then be at hand, to be ready in the absence of the Chyrurgion of the Regiment to bind up, and dress the hurt and wounded men. He is free from duties belonging to the Company and in some places is allowed to be an Officer in the list of their armies, which, I conceive, it ought so to be, in respect they allow but of one Chyrurgion to a Regiment, and if it should happen many to be wounded, as oftentimes in field-fights there are, one man is not able scarce in three days to bind up the wounds, and dress the sores, of them that are maimed. And therefore it concerns every Captain to be provided, and to have in the absence of the Chyrurgion, a Barber-Chyrurgion attending on his Company.”

In 1692 the Surgeon of Cambon's regiment was advertised for in the same way as any ordinary deserter.²²³⁵ The status of military doctors seems, then, to have advanced with the advance of medical science. Indeed, the acquirements of military surgeons in William the Third's reign were even below the average of their contemporaries in civil life; and in 1691 the complaints of their “negligence and ignorance” had become so numerous and loud that the subject engaged the attention of the principal ministers,²²³⁶ and the result was the institution of an examination before the Surgeon-General²²³⁷ of all candidates for medical appointments, and a tightening of the reins of discipline.

Besides surgeons and their mates, there used to be physicians and apothecaries. In 1686 there was a chirurgion-general, a physician-general,²²³⁸ and an apothecary; and in 1690 this last, when with an army on active service,²²³⁹ was elevated to the title of apothecary-general.

²²³⁵ Lond. Gaz., 10/14 Mar., 1691/2.

²²³⁶ Proposals touching Surgeons, &c., “received from my Lord Sidney” May, 1691; Clarke MSS.

It is to be hoped that the Army no longer has reason to complain of such negligence and ignorance.

²²³⁷ Letter, 13 May, 1691, St. John to Clarke; ditto.

²²³⁸ List of H.M.'s Army, Decr., 1686; Harl. MSS. 4,161.

As the physician and apothecary are not in Nathan Brooks's list of 1684 they must have been added in 1685/6.

Est. lists.

There had been Physicians-General in Ireland earlier; Patents, Dublin, 26 June, 1663, and 15 May, 1669, to W. Curren, M.D., for life at 10s. a day, and to Des Fontaines, M.D., at pleasure; Liber Munerum.

²²³⁹ Royal Warrt. for Hospital Est. in Ireland from 1 Mar., 1689/90; App. XCVIII.

Petition, Feby., 1691/2, of Isaac Teale, apothecary-general in Ireland: Try. state papers.

Sometimes the same doctor drew pay as physician and surgeon separately.²²⁴⁰

The duties of the physicians and surgeons²²⁴¹ were to attend to the ailments, medical or surgical, of the soldiers, and to provide and administer all external remedies, while those of the apothecaries were to "provide and furnish physical and internal "medicines." For the cost of provision there was an extra allowance over and above the pay.

Like all our other military administrative machinery, the medical branch of our army was utterly unprepared for war when war broke out at the accession of William of Orange: wretched in quality, meagre in numbers, without stores and without organisation, the medical department was quite unfit to take the field: as usual in the British Army, the British soldier paid with his life for the bigoted ignorance and the short-sighted views of civilians entrusted by their equally ignorant countrymen with the virtual command of military men; and, as usual, the British tax-payer paid exorbitantly in hard cash for a lesson which he forgot again so soon as the war was over.

When the disastrous campaign of 1689 was over, Englishmen began to grumble that their brothers and sons should have been suffered to die like diseased sheep without proper medical succour; and the truly British plan was adopted of shutting the stable-door after the steed had been stolen, and of then shutting it only very imperfectly. In the spring of 1690 appeared a Warrant establishing a "Marching" and a "Fixed" Hospital for the army on active service in Ireland.²²⁴²

The establishment for the Marching Hospital was laid down, and that for the Fixed Hospital differed from it only in numbers.

Six months had not passed, however, before it was discovered that the funds of the new hospital establishments had "been "very ill applied."²²⁴³ Inquiries were instituted, and proposals for a reformation of the system put forward by the Lords Justices assisted by Colonel Venner of the Twenty-fourth Foot:

²²⁴⁰ Hospital accounts, Flanders, 1692; Harl. MSS. 7,434.

Report, 17 Aug., 1689, on petition of G. Fairclough physician and surgeon to 23rd Foot; Try. state papers.

See Note ^{2247a}.

²²⁴¹ Various authorities quoted throughout this chapter.

²²⁴² Royal Warrt., App. XCVIII.

²²⁴³ Letters, Whitehall, 21 Oct., 1690; 8 Nov., 1690, and 18 Apl., 1691; Blathwayt to Clarke; Clarke MSS.

The charge of the army in Ireland, 1690/1; Harl. MSS. 7,194.

these proposals were approved by the King, and the Hospitals started afresh with Colonel Venner for the governor of them both.

Story tells us that in Ireland, in 1691, the conveniences for the sick and wounded were much better than they had been before, ²²⁴⁴ and that at Athlone during the siege there were "a great many large tents set up in form of a quadrangle with quilts and other conveniences for every soldier."

In Flanders in 1692 a new plan was tried of making a contractor "Intendant" of the Hospitals, ²²⁴⁵ whereupon he supplied everything except the pay of the *personnel*: but in the following year the contractors were invited to contract for the whole care of the sick and wounded, ²²⁴⁶ including the pay of the establishment, doctors as well as nurses: in 1695 the contract under this arrangement was for 9¼ Stuyvers (about 4½*d.*) per man per diem; and in 1696 we find the doctors complaining that they could not get paid by the contractors, because the latter could not get paid by the government.

From one of the letters quoted below anent these hospital contracts it is evident that it was intended that medicines should be included in the contractor's supplies; but, prior to this, the supply of medicines had been a very sore point betwixt the doctors and the government. From the earliest there seems to have been a stoppage imposed upon the troops for the supply of medicines, and the question of the division of such stoppage between the Surgeons and Apothecaries appears to have formed a bone of contention. In 1670 a charge appears for eight pounds to the Surgeon of the Life-Guards ²²⁴⁷ for medicaments for one year; and from the Establishment List for 1680 it seems

²²⁴⁴ Story.

²²⁴⁵ Hospl. accts., Flanders, 1692; Harl. MSS. 7,434.

²²⁴⁶ R. Warrt., Whitehall, 20 Mar., 1693, authorising the making of a contract for care of the sick and wounded in the hospitals in Flanders; W. O. records.

Memorial, 8 May, 1693; Tracy Pauncefort to Lords of Treasury in answer to their Lordships' command about providing for physicians, surgeons and apothecaries, and all things relating to serving H.M.'s Hospitals for this campaign in Flanders; offering his reasons for declining to comply with the "Physic part," but offering to provide nourishment for the sick: Try. state papers.

Letter, 27 Feb., 1694/5, from Patrick Lambe, Contractor for victualling and nurses for soldiers in Hospitals in Flanders; ditto.

Letter, 14 Aug., 1696; Blathwayt to Lowndes to issue £4,000 to Mr. Lamb, Contractor for hospitals in Flanders, the officers of the hospitals having had no money since the two months' advance to them in England; ditto.

²²⁴⁷ Royal Warrt., 6 April, 1670, for £8 to N. Hubbard, Chirurgion of the Life-Guards for medicaments for one year to 24 Sept., 1670; Add. MSS. 5,752.

Est. List, 1680; Harl. MSS. 6,425.

that the Crown allowed such a charge of £8 per annum for each troop of two hundred of the Life-Guards, and £12 per annum for the whole regiment of eight troops of fifty each for the Horse-Guards. In all other regiments, however, the amount was defrayed by stoppage from the troops.

In 1673, in 1674, and in 1680, regulations were issued respecting the allowance for medicines to the Surgeons and Apothecaries, and there evidently prevailed a war between these and the troops as to the amount that should be fairly levied. In 1673 the stoppage was £2 a year^{2247a} per troop or Company for the Surgeon, and £2 for the Apothecary, the former finding the external and the latter the internal physics and medicaments. In 1674, the regimental Surgeons were ordered to find "physic or internal medicines as well as external" at twenty shillings a year per Company of sixty; but in 1680 they were ordered to receive twenty shillings per Company for internal and twenty more for external medicines, or one shilling per man per annum for both.

In 1689 one of the complaints brought before the House of Commons²²⁴⁸ about the army on active service in Ireland was the disgraceful scarcity of medicines. At this time the medicines (except for men in the two large hospitals) were supposed to be found by the doctors,²²⁴⁹ who were to be recouped by the

^{2247a} R. Warrt., 4 Novr., 1672; forty shillings a year allowed per company of Foot or troop of Dragoons for medicaments, as has been the case formerly; W.O. records.

R. Warrt., 21 Jan., 1673: ordering 40s. per compy. of 80 (and 1s. a year per man over 80) to "Richard Whittle, Apothecary to our Forces," for "providing and furnishing" of phisical and internal medicines" to the Guards, in addition to the 40s. a year now allowed to Chirurgeons of the Guards for external medicines. In other regiments 20s., besides the 40s. to the regimental chirurgeons; ditto.

R. Warrt., 24 Jan., 1674; Littleton's (Maritime) regt. to receive "physic or" internal medicines as well as external" from the regimental surgeon at 20s. a year per company of 60; and similar letters to all other regiments; ditto.

R. Warrt., 11 Feby., 1679-80, authorising 25s. a year to Chirurgeons for internal medicines and 25s. for external, or one shilling per man per annum for both (in the Guards 30s.); ditto.

²²⁴⁸ Proceedings of House of Commons, 26 Novr., 1689.

²²⁴⁹ Report, 17 Aug., 1689, by Mr. Harbord on petition of George Fairclough physician and surgeon to 23rd Foot for £44 4s. chest money; expressing an opinion that every surgeon should always have a chest of medicaments ready for service; Try. state papers.

Report, 6 Feby., 1690/1, by Lord Ranelagh in favour of petition of Theo. Allen formerly surgeon-major in 19th Foot, for £88 8s. value of two chests of medicines found by him for H.M.'s service in 1689; ditto.

Petition of Jas. Blean, Surgeon to 17th Foot, that on account of fevers in the regiment on its return from Ireland there had been an extraordinary charge to him for medicines; praying for £60 and two months' respites and allowance of medicines

government. The doctors, however, seem to have experienced considerable difficulty and delay in obtaining reimbursement ; and in 1690 or 1691 a regular scale appears to have been introduced of one shilling per man per annum.

In 1698 the cost of medicines was defrayed by the troops themselves by a stoppage²²⁵⁰ of a lump sum from every regiment, £20 per annum from cavalry, and £25 from foot regiments. The plan of leaving the supply to the doctors, and thus affording them the opportunity of making money out of it, could not possibly stand the test of a war ; and accordingly in 1691 the authorities were obliged to forward medicines²²⁵¹ to the army in Ireland ; and a curious little instance of truly British bungling is recorded respecting these same medicines : the Secretary at War ordered the physics indeed, and thus became security for the payment for them, but he never took the pains to make any thoroughly understood arrangements about their transport, their custody, and the repayment. In the course of three months' time two chests of drugs arrived in Ireland²²⁵² for each regiment ; but a dispute then arose whether the Colonels or the Surgeons were liable for the cost of carriage ; and the consequence was that in those regiments where the surgeon had not money enough to purchase and maintain a pack-horse, the chests were left behind, and the troops marched on active service without a drug or a plaster, because a civilian was at the head of military affairs. It is also observable that the news of this lamentable result was communicated to the Secretary at War by the principal Medical Officer on the spot, and that both the one and the other seem to have lacked the power or ability to

for the future : minuted "Given to the King," and "Not proper for the Lords (of the Treasy.) to move the King, 24 Novr., 1691" ; ditto.

Order in Council, 5 Janry., 1692/3, on petition of Thos. Roots, chirurgion to 4th Foot, for £23 for medicines and pay due to him ; ditto.

Report, 6 May, 1693, on petition of J. Noakes, late surgeon 1st Foot-Guards, for £59 due for medicaments for half year to 30 June, 1690, at the rate of one shilling per man ; ditto.

See also Note ²²⁵⁴.

²²⁵⁰ Order, Dublin, 20 Oct., 1698, and 10 July, 1699, Dublin State papers ; ordering medicines to be paid for by deduction "out of the monthly *subsistence* of the regiments to which the same was delivered," at the rate of £20 per annum per regiment of Horse or Dragoons and £25 per regt. of Foot.

²²⁵¹ Letter, Whitehall, 5 Mar., 1690/1 ; Blathwayt to Clarke ; "Mr. Peel is paid for a good quantity of medicines and is sending them in a day or two : more will be ordered for the campaign." Clarke MSS.

Agreement, 6 Janry., 1691, to supply 60 chests of drugs and medicines for 60 regts. of 500 each, for the ensuing campaign ; W.O. records.

²²⁵² Letter, Dublin, 27 June, 1691 ; Dr. Dunn to Clarke ; ditto.

remedy such a state of things ; indeed the doctor's letter does not mention the facts by way of complaint or of bringing the offending parties to account, but simply as an ordinary piece of chat.

There is no doubt that the supply of the medicines, whether on re-charge to government or on a fixed allowance, was regarded as a good pecuniary speculation ; for in 1691 the Apothecary-General in Ireland petitioned to be allowed to find the supply as a perquisite attaching to his office.²²⁵³ The Apothecary had right on his side, for by a Royal Warrant of 1689²²⁵⁴ all medicines external and internal were to be supplied in the fixed and marching hospitals in Ireland by the Hospital Apothecaries on their receipt of so much a day for each man stopped out of his pay for that purpose.

What the precise duties were of the "Purveyors" mentioned in the lists of the hospital establishments²²⁴² given in the appendices, cannot be specified ; but from the rest of the list it seems probable that their duties were to take charge of the hospital equipment and to superintend the accounts.

It will be observed that Nurses for the sick formed a portion of the establishment for the field-hospitals in the seventeenth century.

To turn from the ministration of the body to that of the soul.—The leading clause in the Articles of War²²⁵⁵ used to be that respecting Divine worship, enjoining due celebration of the same by the Chaplains and regular attendance on the part of the troops, and enacting penalties to either party for neglect. In the Articles of 1663 and of 1666, the Common Prayers of the Church of England were ordered to be read *daily*, with a sermon once a week on Sundays or holidays ; but in the Articles of 1673, 1686, and 1692, Divine service generally only is mentioned, and the daily celebration seems to have dropped

²²⁵³ Petition of Isaac Teale, Apothecary-General for the last two campaigns in Ireland ; minuted 17 Febry., 1691/2, "to be considered," &c. ; Try. state papers.

²²⁵⁴ Royal Warrt., Hampton Court, 29 July, 1689 ; Harl. MSS. 7,439 ; the stoppage was to be 3*l.* a day and 2*l.* a day for Horse and Foot respectively, to be paid to the Hospital Apothecary for providing medicines.

²²⁵⁵ Articles of War, 1662/3, Art. 18, App. LIII.

Ditto, 1673, Art. 1, App. LIII.

Ditto, 1686, Art. 1, App. LIII.

Ditto, 1692, Art. 1, App. LIII.

into disuse. At the outset of the campaign of 1691 in Ireland, the General tried to check the growing demoralisation of the army by prohibiting gambling,²²⁵⁶ and by ordering prayers to be read morning and evening at the head of every regiment.

Chaplains were from the first commissioned with a military commission,²²⁵⁷ in the same way as Commissariat Officers, and unlike the Doctors, Engineers, Artillery, Quarter-Masters, and Ordnance Officers, whose appointments used to be either by Warrant or by the favour of a Colonel. By their Commissions they were bound to obey the orders of their superior officers; and in the Articles of War of 1663²²⁵⁸ punishment "at discretion" is awarded for Chaplains neglectful of their duty, while in the Articles of 1666 the punishment is specified;²²⁵⁹ it was to be forfeiture of half a week's pay for the first offence, a week's pay for the second, and cashiering for the third: the chaplain might, if he chose, perform his duty by substitute.

In Ireland the usage was for the Colonels of regiments to appoint their own chaplains²²⁶⁰ in the same way as they did their Doctors and Quarter-Masters: and that such a mode of appointment was very likely to carry bad results, is pretty evident from one instance of collusive fraud between a chaplain and his colonel, even in England (where the appointments were by Royal Commissions). This has been preserved in the private papers of a Colonel of the First Dragoons: the chaplain's written undertaking sufficiently exhibits the nature of the fraud:²²⁶¹

"I, James Johnson, Chaplain to the Royal Regiment of Dragoons commanded by the Right Honourable the Lord Raby, being desirous to live at home, Do hereby promise to his Lordship upon consideration of his leave thereto, for ever to quit all claims and demands whatsoever from the Regiment as Chaplain to the same, from the first day of January next ensuing inclusive: and do further promise never to make

²²⁵⁶ Story.

²²⁵⁷ e.g., Chaplain's Commission, 1 Octr., 1662; App. LXXXIV.

²²⁵⁸ Art. War, 1662/3, Art. 18.

Symonds, 1645, tells us: "A Parson may be tried at a Council-of-War; it was so at Bridgenorth"; Harl. MS. 986.

²²⁵⁹ Articles of War, 1666, Art. 3.

²²⁶⁰ Letter, Dublin Castle, 31 Aug., 1686, Clarendon to Sunderland; "I would beg to know the King's pleasure concerning the Chaplains of his army here. The regiments are at present all supplied by men put in by the several Colonels, who always use to put in their chaplains"; Clarendon correspondence.

²²⁶¹ Brit. Mus., Strafford MSS. 22, 231. There is little doubt that the chaplain had bought the place for life; hence the necessity for the deed of surrender.

" interest either for myself or any other to be Chaplain to the
 " said Regiment. Witness my hand this 2nd day of November,
 " 1700.

" (Signed) James Johnson."

Here the presumable intention was either that the regiment should do without any chaplain at all while the Colonel pocketed the pay (an action not at all inconsistent with other dealings of his as exhibited in his own papers), or that the Colonel should take the pay and find a weekly substitute at his own rate.

The chaplain's status was not a very well-recognised one if we may judge from the following poetical moan of a military chaplain in 1693 :—²²⁶²

" The Chaplain's petition to the Honble. House for Redress
 " of Grievances. By one of the Camp-Chaplains.
 " London, 1693.

1.

" Since the ladies 'gainst men
 " Have to paper put pen,
 " By way of most humble petition ;
 " In hope your good pleasure
 " Will once be at leisure
 " To mend their now scurvy condition.

2.

" And since you allow
 " That impertinent crew,
 " Your patience to weary and vex
 " With a thing of no moment,
 " That has small weight or none in't,
 " But's as idle and light as their sex.

3.

" We humble Famelicks,
 " Divinity's relics,
 " In plain English, Chaplains Domestic,
 " To make known our grievance,
 " For you to relieve once,
 " On your door do our earnest request stick.

4.

" Viz. : be it enacted,
 " That as we've contracted,
 " Our salaries may be paid us ;
 " That when we're dismissed ill,
 " We may not go whistle
 " As an ordinary footman or maid does.

²²⁶² Harl. Misc., Vol. 4.

The first verse refers to a similar rythmical petition purporting to be from neglected Spinsters.

5.

“ For, as to the land all
“ It will be a scandal
“ To see sons of Levi go thread-bare ;
“ Even so, to be sure,
“ If the Pastor is poor,
“ His flock will ne’er greet him with head bare.

6.

“ Next when we’ve said grace,
“ Let’s at table have place,
“ And not skulk among the waiters,
“ Or come in with the fruit,
“ To give thanks, and sneak out,
“ To dine upon half-empty platters.

7.

“ But besides store of dishes
“ (One part of our wishes),
“ To fortify maw sacerdotal ;
“ Eleemosynary funk
“ And leave to be drunk,
“ We humbly desire you to vote all.

8.

“ Item, pray make us able
“ To command steed in stable
“ When we are disposed *ad ridendum* ;
“ And if we want boots,
“ Whips, spurs, or surtouts,
“ Oblige surly groom straight to lend ’em.

9.

“ Nor let our great patrons,
“ Or their ruling matrons,
“ Read the butlers a juniper lecture ;
“ If sometimes they pass
“ To our hands a stolen glass,
“ Of some little sorts of confecture.

10.

“ When long we have served
“ And preferment deserved,
“ Let’s not miss of our just expectations,
“ By every fop’s letter
“ For his friend, that’s no better,
“ Or our patron’s more blockhead relations.

11.

“ For ’tis cause of grieving
“ To see a good living,
“ Which our thoughts had long been fixed on,
“ Be given to a wigeon,
“ With no more religion
“ And learning much less than his sexton.

12.

“ Nor yet let matrimony,
“ The worst sort of simony,
“ Be the price of our presentation ;
“ Nor to wed a cast mistress
“ When she’s in great distress,
“ Our requisite qualification.

13.

“ And if ’t be our chance
“ To serve against France,
“ At sea, on the Rhine, or in Flanders ;
“ We earnestly sue to ye,
“ That, exempt from all duty,
“ We may dine with our pious commanders

14.

“ Then brandy good store,
“ With several things more,
“ Which we sons o’ the Church have a right in ;
“ But chiefly we entreat
“ You’ll never forget
“ To excuse us from preaching and fighting.

15.

“ Let not a Commission
“ So change the condition
“ Of him that just carried a halbert,
“ That a dunce of no letters
“ Should so hector his betters,
“ For truly we cannot at all bear’t.

16.

“ Nor when the war’s done,
“ Let’s be broke every one,
“ To languish in rags and lie idle ;
“ Nor be so ill served
“ To be left to be starved
“ And kept by a bear and a fiddle.

17.

“ May it therefore you please,
“ For your own and our ease,
“ To relieve us without hesitation ;
“ For the grievances told
“ Are as frequent and old
“ As any besides in the nation.

18.

“ Then on us take pity,
“ And choose a committee,
“ Let no other business prevent ye ;
“ Our request do not spurn,
“ Nor vote it to burn,
“ With a *Nemine contradicente*.

19.

" To this if you yield,
 " Our mouth shall be filled
 " With encomiums of your piety ;
 " Whose excellent fame
 " We will loudly proclaim,
 " And worship, next that of the Deity.

20.

" When thus you remove
 " What we disapprove
 " We all, down to Z from the letter A,
 " By night and by day
 " Will fervently pray,
 " As in duty bound, *et cætera*."

There is one curious instance on record of a man holding in 1690 the double commission of Chaplain and Captain in the same regiment,²²⁶³ and of his being paid as such until his clerical pay was suddenly stopped by the bureaucracy with the simple but by no means satisfying explanation "*cannot be done*"; the ridiculous part of this decision being that the man really was a clerk in orders and had only turned captain for the nonce, whereas, captains being presumably in greater demand than clergymen in 1690, the Secretary-at-War coolly deprived him of his gown by a stroke of the pen and insisted on his being a captain for ever.

It was customary²²⁶⁴ to have one chaplain to each regiment, and when field hospitals were established there were of course chaplains to them.²²⁶⁵

There was at this time no Chaplain-General to the Army, although there was a "chaplain to the General," and chaplains

²²⁶³ Petition, 1690, of C. Jenney, Clerk, complaining that although he was captain and chaplain in Col. Monroe's regiment at Londonderry and the same when re-formed, he is inserted in the list lately made up as captain only, and desiring to be paid as chaplain also: Minuted, "Cannot be done": Try. state papers.

²²⁶⁴ Est. lists.

Barry, 1634; thus writes of Chaplains; "It is very necessary for the Captain and Company to have a good Chapleyn reasonable learned, and especially vertuous, and of good life and examples; But not a friar except it be with licence of his Superiors. Above all other professions the art of war is of most danger, so the soldier is to be very earnest to be devote, and of clear conscience, for he is more nearer dangers of death than any other sort of men, and it is necessary that he always have a priest not far off, for the soul's health: to whom he may confess at all times and occasions according as time and necessity shall require. In the choosing and keeping of these priests the captains in conscience are bound to procure that they be virtuous and of good life, if otherwise it were far better not to have any at all."

²²⁶⁵ Royal Warrts. for 1 Mar., 1689/90, and 14 Mar., 1690; App. XCVIII.

Hospita^l Accts., Flanders, 1692; Harl. MSS. 7,434.

were therefore subordinate in all things to the Colonels alone. There was, however, a "chaplain-general of the Isle of Wight";²²⁶⁶ that is, a general or garrison, as distinguished from a regimental, chaplain.

When the Royal Hospital of Kilmainham was inaugurated an excellent move was made in the appointment of a "Reader"²²⁶⁷ in addition to the Chaplain; but there were no such readers appointed to regiments.

Although the contemporary portraits of the British soldier of the seventeenth century do not speak very highly for the success of the chaplains' clerical administrations, there is yet one incontrovertible fact worth recording, and that is, that for the only two full, circumstantial, and tolerably unprejudiced contemporary histories (by actual eye-witnesses) of our two great wars of the seventeenth century, we are indebted to George Story, Chaplain to Lord Drogheda's regiment, and to Edward d'Auvergne, Chaplain to the Third Foot-Guards.

²²⁶⁶ Royal Warrant, Whitehall, 27 Apr., 1681; Brit. Mus., Add. MSS. 27,277.

²²⁶⁷ Kilmainham registry books; 26 Mar., 1684.

CHAPTER XXXII.

THE CIVIL OR BUREAUCRATIC ADMINISTRATION OF THE
ARMY DURING THE PERIOD FROM 1660 TO 1700.

Necessity for connection betwixt the Military and Civil administrations.—The ancient High Treasurer.—The Secretary at War.—Duties of the Secretary at War.—Mal-administration.

[*For Illustrations, see Note on p. xiii.*]

IN every constitutional government there must be some connecting link between the Army and the Civil Government; for an established military force is regarded (at all events in England) as an excrescence consequent on the diseased state of international relations, rather than as an integral part of the body politic. Past history and an experience of human nature alike lead to the belief that it would be impolitic or even unsafe to be without a constitutional check upon the military element. The link of connection betwixt the Army on the one hand, the Parliament on the other, and the Sovereign as the apex of the Constitution, is found in the WAR-MINISTER, or as he is termed with us the Secretary of State for War.

Unfortunately this very link, necessary though it be in some shape or other, has from the first been the rock upon which the real efficiency of the British Army has ever been shattered.

The High Treasurer of the Army who was mentioned in a previous chapter as the "King's counsel-martial" used to unite in himself the later functions of Secretary-at-War and Commissary-General. The Secretary-at-War took his place about the time of the Restoration: only with this grand difference, that the High Treasurer²²⁶⁸ was "to be a man of great wisdom, expert in martial affairs (for that he is to speak his opinion in all offices as well concerning other offices as his own)," whereas, from the days of Charles the Second until now, in the appointment of Secretaries-at-War not the very remotest regard has been had to their expertness in martial affairs, men of no military experience whatever and frequently

²²⁶⁸ See Chap. XXIX.

of notoriously un-military tendencies — country gentlemen, bankers, booksellers—being often selected for the post.

There was a "Secretary at War" appointed by King Charles the Second anterior to the Restoration. Sir Edward Walker Knight was commissioned by this title in 1657;²²⁶⁹ and he was to obey the directions he might receive from the King "or from "any of Our principal Secretaries of State," to which latter he was therefore evidently inferior in position.

In 1660 Mr. Secretary Nicholes acted as Secretary at War;²²⁷⁰ but in 1661 Sir William Clarke was appointed "Secretary to the Forces."²²⁷¹ He was succeeded in 1666 by Mr. Matthew Lock as Secretary-at-War to all the Forces in England.²²⁷² In 1683 Mr. Lock sold or in official language "resigned his place to" Mr. William Blathwait, who retained it to the close of the century.²²⁷³

A very remarkable thing about these appointments is that the Secretary-at-War was by the terms of his commission or patent to obey the orders not only of the King²²⁷²⁻³ but also of the "General of Our Forces," according to the discipline of war. The Secretary-at-War was at the dates of these commissions a veritable secretary of military affairs to the King, in fact nothing more than a private secretary, having no active control whatever over military affairs. It was the Commander-in-Chief who exercised all those powers since transferred to the Secretary-at-War; he gave warrants for raising forces, issued commissions, framed the Articles of War,²²⁷⁴ and signed warrants for ex-

²²⁶⁹ Commission, Bruges, 1 Janry., 1657; App. LXXXV.

The Commission authorises fees on a graduated scale, besides small fees for his clerk.

²²⁷⁰ Letter, St. James's, 7 May, 1660, Genl. Monck to Mr. Secry. Nicholes, requesting continuance in office of certain officers of the Ordnance; Dom. state papers.

Notes by Mr. Secry. Nicholes of proposed establishments, pay, &c.; ditto. Many Commissions, 1663 upwards, are countersigned by Edward Nicholes, W.O. Com. Bks.

²²⁷¹ Royal Warrant, 28 Janry., 1660/1; Add. MSS. 11,310, to be "Secretary at "War to all our Forces" in England and Wales.

²²⁷² Commission, 5 June, 1666; Brit. Mus., Add. MSS. 19,519; and Home office records, 8 Aug., 1683.

²²⁷³ Patent, Windsor, 18 Aug., 1683; also Home office records, 8 Aug., 1683.

In W.O. records is a memorandum of the Council of War at Head Quarters, 1 Aug., 1670, which "ordered Mr. Lock, Secretary to the Forces," to prepare copies of certain existing regulations for the use of the Council.

²²⁷⁴ Monck's Commission, 3 Aug., 1660; App. I.

Heads of the late Lord General's function, 1678; App. XXI.

Commission, Apr., 1678, to Duke of Monmouth to be Captain-General of the Forces; Signet Books, State papers.

penditure of money or stores. On the Establishment lists for this period, as well as in private army lists,²²⁷⁵ the Secretary-at-War is always ranked below the General Officers including the Paymaster-General and the Commissary-General. It is instructive to compare the pay of the Secretary at War for himself and for defraying the charge of the clerks under him in 1680 with the gigantic sum spent on our War Office in this 1873; for the modest allowance of One Pound a day²²⁷⁶ used to cover the whole expense of the military bureaucracy. Prior to 1669 it was still less, for in that year ten shillings a-day was added.²²⁷⁷ In 1673 the pay of the "Secretary at War and his clerks" was made up to two pounds a-day,²²⁷⁸ but this increase lasted probably only during the war, for it stood at one pound a-day in 1680. Between 1680 and 1685 the pay of the "Secretary to the Forces" was again raised to two pounds a day,²²⁷⁹ and in 1687 an additional pound was granted in consideration of the suppression of the fees upon pay-warrants.²²⁸⁰ In 1688, however, we find the Secretary inserted in the establishment for only his two pounds,²²⁸¹ but he reverted to three again in 1689.²²⁸² These rates serve to exhibit his status as compared with military officers.

There are extant several detailed accounts of the stationery consumed in the office of the Secretary at War: one example will suffice. In 1673 its value was at the rate of less than twenty pounds a year. In nine months there were consumed ten reams and a half of Joly post paper,^{2282a} three bottles of ink, and eight best penknives, one bag of pounce, and one bag of

Various Warrants for payments, W.O. records; &c.

See also previous chap. XXVIII.

²²⁷⁵ Est. lists (see Chap. XXIV).

Chamberlayne (who is very particular in his classification).

Nathan Brooks.

²²⁷⁶ Est. list, 1680; Harl. MSS. 6,425.

²²⁷⁷ Abstract of Est., 1668/9; Brit. Mus., Add. MSS. 28,082.

²²⁷⁸ Royal Warrt., 9 Apr., 1673; Abstract of Est., 1673; ditto.

²²⁷⁹ Est. list, 1687/89; Harl. MSS. 7,018.

²²⁸⁰ R. Warrt., 10 Mar., 1686/7; App. LXXV.

²²⁸¹ Est., 5 Novr., 1688; Harl. MSS. 7,437.

Letter, Cranford to Geo. Clarke, Judge Advocate, 13 Feb., '89; that Blathwayt is retiring, recommends Clarke to get the post. "You know it is £3 per diem salary, "with good salaries for clerks, two of whom understand the business very well"; Eg. MSS. 2,618.

²²⁸² Est., 1 May, 1689; Harl. MSS. 7,437.

Est., 1687/9; Harl. MSS. 7,018.

^{2282a} R. Warrt., 13 Dec., 1673, for payment of the bill, and others similar, to 1700; W.O. records.

sand. Neither must it be supposed that this small consumption was due to economy: for the clerks were as great adepts then as since in making clerical work,—copying out order after order, commission after commission, and warrant after warrant in precisely the same words with the sole alteration of names. There were fees attaching to some of this copying also: it would be supposed that the preparation of Warrants for the Royal signature was peculiarly the work for which the pay of his “Gentlemen-Clerks” was issued to the Secretary:^{2282b} but even for this a special charge was made. We have already seen by what means the Secretary himself secured an extra £1,000 a year out of the soldiers.^{2282c}

When William the Third headed his armies himself, it was impossible but that his Secretary-at-War having, as he had, the ear of the Sovereign (in his capacity of an ordinary secretary), should acquire an influence far superior to what in theory pertained to his official status. Officers of all grades, from the Ensign to the General, were likely to beg his intercession to acquire for them some particular favour,²²⁸³ such as a change of quarters, promotion, or increased pay: as the medium for the conveyance of the King’s instructions, the Secretary would naturally often appear to be giving orders in his own right even to the General second in command: as the channel for all Commissions²²⁸³ and Pay-warrants to go before the King for signature, the Commissariat Officers naturally corresponded much with the Secretary direct instead of through the General; and from all this it arose that the mere clerical transactor of business came to be considered almost as a Secretary of State and to carry almost the weight and authority of one.

A recent writer of much authority has stated that in the Mutiny Act of 1695²²⁸⁴ the Secretary-at-War is termed the “Secretary to the Commander-in-Chief.” This is apparently an error: the Act prohibits certain payments for Commissions “other than the usual fee to the Secretary of State or the “Secretary of the Commander-in-Chief of the Army counter-

^{2282b} R. Warrt., 11 Feb., 1678, for £18 10s. to “R. Plumpton, senior, Gentleman-clerk to the Secretary of H.M.’s Forces,” “for fair engrossing for Our Royal “signature” the several Warrts., &c.; “has constantly been charged on com-“tingents”; and other instances; W.O. records.

^{2282c} See Chap. XXIX, Note 1869.

²²⁸³ Of this there are abundant instances in the Clarke and Blathwayt MSS.; Clarke was Secry. at War in Ireland, and in that capacity attended the King (or General Commanding in Chief) in the Irish War, as Blathwayt did in Flanders.

²²⁸⁴ Act 6 & 7 Wm. III, C. 8, S. 5 (see Clode).

"signing such Commissions"; and in the Establishment lists from the year 1689 there appears *besides*²²⁸⁵ the "Secretary to the Forces" one or more "Secretaries to the Commander-in-Chief," corresponding to what are now styled "Military Secretaries." Some fees for Commissions²²⁸⁶ certainly did go to the Secretary-at-War, and it is in all probability this official that is indicated by the title of Secretary of State in the Act just quoted; it is also to be inferred that the Secretary to the Commander-in-Chief likewise received certain fees if we compare his small rate of pay with that of other Staff officers who had no such perquisites. Prior to the appointment of Mr. Blathwayt, military warrants and orders were countersigned either by the Commander-in-Chief or by the Chief Secretary of State, but after 1683 we seldom, almost never, find a military document of authority countersigned by any but the Secretary-at-War, unless he was absent from head-quarters; this leads me the more to think that he is meant in the Act by the term Secretary of State.

There was a Secretary-at-War in Ireland as well as in England; and it is to be gathered from his extant correspondence²²⁸⁷ that he often accompanied the head-quarters of the Army on active service, and that he exercised considerable interference with the duties of a modern Controller besides performing those of Secretary-at-War.

From the correspondence of two Secretaries-at-War²²⁸⁸ it is quite clear that, whatever the theory of the system might be, the Secretary was primarily and actually responsible for good administration or for failures of administration. And it cannot fail to be remarked by the student of military history that from the year 1689 (the first year of serious war) our military bureaucratic administration was one tissue of shortcomings. Discontent, disgust, and even open violence, fraud, speculation, misery, starvation, and ruinous delays—these were the evidences of mal-administration. The troops were perpetually in danger

²²⁸⁵ See Chap. XXVIII, under Military Secretaries.

²²⁸⁶ Letter, Dublin, 1 Novr., 1690, R. Cox to Clarke.

Letter, Dublin, 20 Decr., 1690, Robinson to Clarke; Clarke MSS.

²²⁸⁷ Clarke MSS.

This was written in 1873. The duties then devolving upon the Controller now (1890) fall mostly on the General Staff.

²²⁸⁸ Blathwayt MSS.

Clarke MSS.

Clarke was *locum tenens* in England during the absence of the King in Flanders; Warrt., 3 Mar., 1691/2, Home office records.

of starvation or mutiny from impecuniosity: ²²⁸⁹ on active service they went barefoot ²²⁹⁰ because shoes had not been provided in good time, and the hospitals (such as they were) were crowded with patients forced thither by want of common necessities: ²²⁹¹ double-dealing in matters of pay ²²⁹² rendered the officers almost as dangerously discontented as their men. Accounts were left uncompiled, ²²⁹³ un-audited, often un-called for, for years. Pro-

²²⁸⁹ Letter, Cork, 12 Novr., 1690, Churchill to Clarke; Clarke MSS.

Letter, Cork, 29 Novr., 1690, Col. Hales to Clarke; ditto.

Letter, Clonmell, 12 Febr., 1690/1, Commissary Butts to Clarke; ditto.

Letter, 20 June, 1691, Col. Purcell (23rd Foot) to Ginckel; ditto.

Letter, Kilkenny, 10 July, 1691, Trelawney to Clarke; that if the men are not more regularly and properly paid, "if there be not some speedy care or other" taken, I fear we shall have much ado to keep our men from mutiny, there being an "example already shewn them" (*i.e.*, a mutiny elsewhere having already occurred); ditto.

And many similar letters, 1690/91, to same effect; Clarke MSS.

Letter, Dy. Commry. Genl. Cuff, from Chester, in report of Committee for Irish affairs, to Lords of Treasury, 25 April, 1690; Try. state papers.

Information, 19 Febr., 1690/1, before J. Harrison, Esq., J.P., Co. Tipperary.

²²⁹⁰ Letter, Cork, 12 Novr., 1690, Churchill to Clarke; Clarke MSS.

Letter, Cork, 11 July, 1691; Hammer (11th Foot) to Ginckel; ditto.

Memorial, Aug., 1691, Lt.-Col. Pierce (22nd Foot) to Lords of Treasury; Try. state papers.

²²⁹¹ "List of the several regiments in garrison at Cork," Novr., 1690; Clarke MSS.

				Strength.		Sick.
Princess of Denmark's	...	...	...	500	...	82
Hastings's	...	...	...	462	...	216
Hales's...	...	...	...	720	...	308
The Detachment	...	...	...	300	...	200
Totals	...	...	...	1,982	...	806

Number of sick at Kinsale, Novr., 1690:

						Sick.
Prince of Denmark's	...	...	...	...	...	220
Trelawney's	...	...	...	...	...	224
Earl of Marlborough's...	...	...	...	...	...	180
Fitzpatrick's	...	...	...	...	...	190
						814

²²⁹² Letter, Whitehall, 10 Febr., 1690/1, Blathway to Clarke.

Letter, Dublin, 14 Mar., 1690/1, Robinson to Clarke; Clarke MSS.

Letter, Dublin, 12 Apr., 1691, Robinson to Clarke; that the Warrant for payment of arrears to the broken officers does not mention whether their servants are to be included, "and they are now ripe for mutiny," &c., &c.

See also Chapter XXIX.

²²⁹³ Report, 23 Octr., 1684, to Lords of Treasury on account for victualling Tangier.

Petition, 1685, of Chas. Bowles (Depty. Commry. of the Musters in reign of Charles II), to Lords of Treasury that he might have his accounts passed.

Memorial, 14 Novr., 1683, of Sir J. Osborne to Lords of Treasury for settlement

crastination indeed was the rule,²²⁹⁴ but when the Secretary-at-War did bestir himself he meddled in other people's business, and did such foolish acts as, for instance, to contract for horse-shoes to be sent to the army without any nails.²²⁹⁵

To enumerate all the short-comings of the civilians²²⁹⁶ connected with military affairs would take a volume to itself; and the studious reader will be able to gather from what has been now said, and from previous chapters, that the mainspring of the wide-spread abuses in our army and the source of all its trailing dragging lack of system, its unsoldierly as well as unbusiness-like incapacity, in the seventeenth century, was not any faultiness in its material, but the want of a proper head with proper powers and *due experience*. It is not within the intention of this work to point out how far this evil still exists (even if in a less glaring though equally mischievous form), or to discuss the remedy; ^{2296a} it is sufficient to cast the light of history on the matter, a light so bright that he that runs may read, and may readily draw his own conclusions.

The tree may be lopped and pruned and grafted and watered; but if the mischief is at its very root, if the worm is at its very core, all this is a waste of money and labour; and the tree will continue to cumber the ground fruitlessly, and in due time a tempest will hurl it to the earth, to the ruin and confusion of those who blindly trusted in the shelter of so rotten a thing.

of his account for sick and wounded in the last Dutch war; minuted "21 April, 1684, to have a little longer patience."

Petitions, 1691, and April, 1692, to Lords of Treasury, of the distressed widows, masters, owners, and others concerned in the transport-ships employed in the reduction of Ireland, that their whole substance was exhausted in that service, praying for relief, &c.; all Try. state papers.

Representation, 1691, of the Commissioners appointed by Their Majesties for settling the accounts of the army; Clarke MSS.

What accounts are wanting in relation to the Army, 1694; Harl. MSS. 7,018.

And a host of other authorities.

²²⁹⁴ The history of the commencement of each campaign, whether in Ireland or in the Netherlands, is filled with accounts of the procrastination of the civil government.

²²⁹⁵ Letter, Camp, Cork, 29 Sept., 1690, Schravemoer to Clarke.

²²⁹⁶ See also previous Chapters, especially on Finance and Supplies.

The Treasury State Papers abound with instances of pecuniary and other mal-administration.

^{2296a} A remedy has been attempted to be applied within these two last years (1889-90) by a change of the Staff system in Districts, and by a line of delimitation between the functions of the Secy. of State and those of the Commander-in-Chief. But already the objects of the former have been balked by the endeavours of the several departments affected (Artillery, Engineers, Medical, Ordnance Stores, &c.) to free themselves from any centralised local control; while the second is beginning even now to form a battle-ground of contest between the military and civil "sides" of the War Office—the arbiter being a civilian politician.

In 1684, the offices of the Paymaster-General,²²⁹⁷ of the Commissary-General, and of the Secretary-at-War were "kept " at the Horse-Guard " in Whitehall.

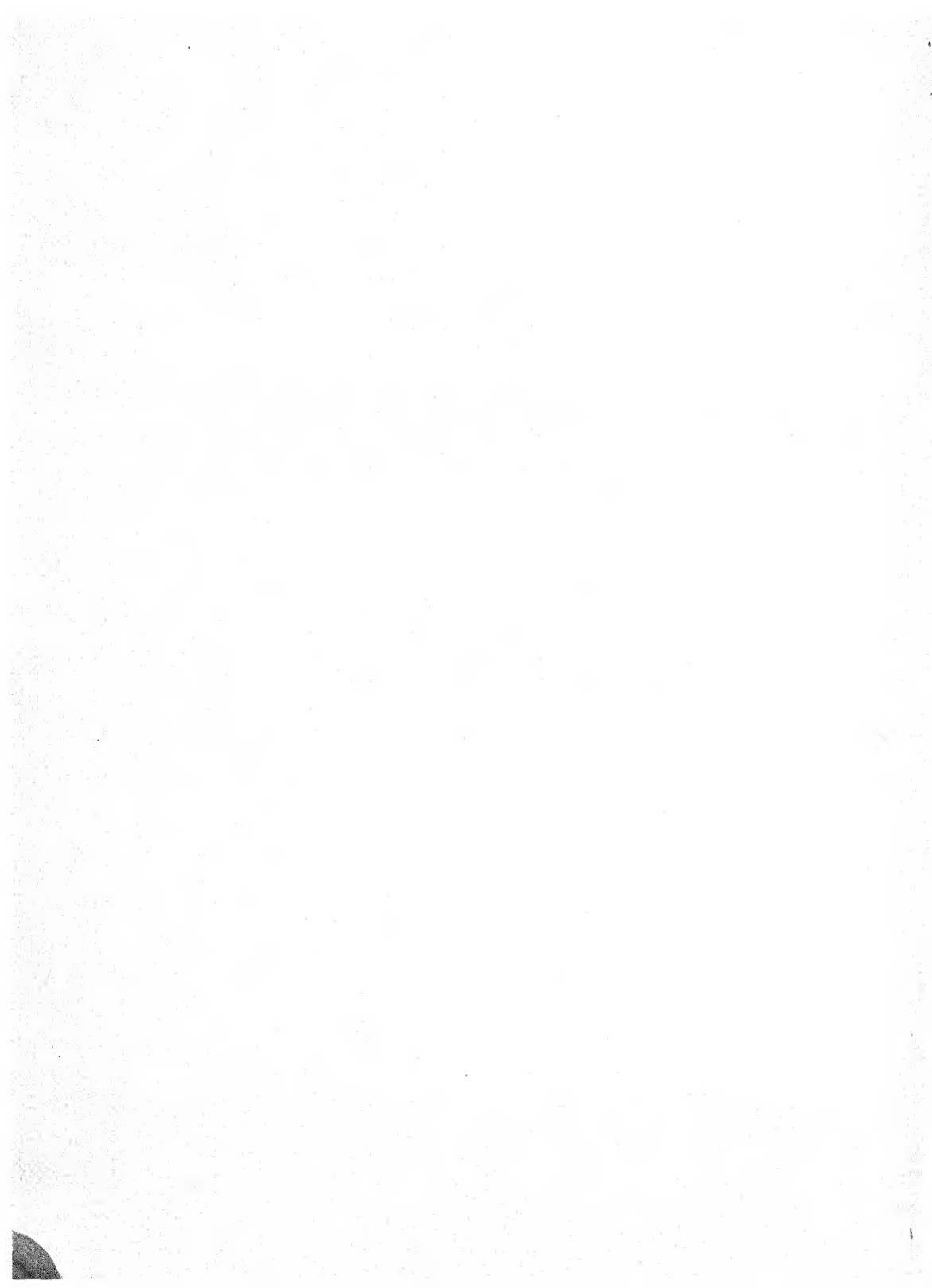
The reader must now be supposed to be thoroughly initiated into the details of all the several branches of the Service as they existed at the period to which this volume has been confined: and it will, therefore, in future volumes be necessary only to recount, in addition to the actions in the field, the different changes and modifications in administration and organisation as they occurred, without entering into such full detail as has been requisite in this opening volume.²²⁹⁸

END OF VOLUME I.*

²²⁹⁷ Chamberlayne.

²²⁹⁸ The Author will feel greatly indebted to any readers who will kindly point out to him any errors in this work.

* See fly-leaf attached to Prefatory Chapter.



APPENDIX A

COPIES OF ORIGINAL DOCUMENTS.

CHRONOLOGICAL LIST OF THE DOCUMENTS QUOTED IN THIS
APPENDIX, OR GIVEN *in extenso* IN THE TEXT.

NOTE.—Roman numerals (alone) refer to the No. of the Appendix. Roman numerals followed by figures in a parenthesis refer to the Chapter and Note where the quotation will be found.

A. D.					
1189	—	...	Royal Proclamation, Art. of War ...	...	XXVI (1436).
1518	—	...	Duties of the Master of the Ordonnance ...	...	XXX (2145).
1518	—	...	Scout-Master-General's duties ...	...	XXVIII (1790).
1518	—	...	Harbinger's duties ...	...	XXVIII (1797).
1544	—	...	Ordinances of War; National and military badges ...	...	XXII (777).
1590	—	...	Sir J. Smythe; Institution of Rations ...	...	XXIX (2023).
	Temp. Eliz.	...	Charter; Poor Knights of Windsor ...	...	LXXXIII.
1620	—	...	Ralph Smith; High Treasurer's duties ...	...	XXIX (1821).
1623	—	...	Instructions for Musters and Arms; Arma- ment ...	...	II (41).
1628	—	...	Petition of Right; Martial Law ...	...	LVIII.
1632	7 Feby.	...	R. Warrt.; English March... ..	...	L.
1634	—	...	Barry; Chaplain's duties ...	...	XXXI (2264).
1640	—	...	Articles of War ...	...	LIII.
1651	20 Aug.	...	R. Warrt.; Widows' Pensions ...	...	XXVII (1743).
1657	1 Jany.	...	Commission of Secry. at War ...	...	LXXXV.
1659	—	...	Elton; duties of the Barber-Surgeon ...	...	XXXI (2233).
1660	10 Feby.	...	Warrt.; Arms ...	...	V.
	14 Apr.	...	Warrt.; Arms ...	...	VI.
	22 June	...	Certificate of Behaviour ...	...	LXVII.
	26 „	...	Commission of Lieutenant ..	...	XV.
	3 Aug.	...	Commission of Monck as Captain-General...	...	I.
1661	June	...	R. Warrt.; Adjutants ...	...	II.
	12 Oct.	...	Commission of Judge-Advocate ...	...	LXV.
1662	28 Aug.	...	Commission of Engineer-General ...	...	LXXXVI.
	1 Oct.	...	Commission of Chaplain ...	...	LXXXIV.
	—	...	Articles of War for Tangier ...	...	LIII.
1663	—	...	Establishment 1660-63 ...	...	LXXXVII.
	5 May	...	Regulations; Musters, Arms, &c. ...	...	XXIV.
1664	23 Jany.	...	Commission of Ensign ...	...	XIX.
	3 Mar.	...	Patent; Breech-loading arms ...	...	XXI (673).
	19 „	...	Commission of Major ...	...	CV.

A.D.							
1664	26 Oct.	...	Order ; Marines	...	...	...	XXIV (1393).
1665	24 Feby.	...	Warrt. ; Arms	...	...	...	XXXVI.
	23 June	...	Commission of Adjutant	...	...	...	CVI.
	14 Aug.	...	Warrt. ; Dicing for Death	...	...	...	XXVI (1562).
1666	12 Sept.	...	R. Warrt. ; Precedence of Regts.	...	...	...	XLII.
1667	15 Apr.	...	Warrt. ; Arms	...	...	...	XI.
	1 Aug.	...	Funeral Procession, Commr. of Hon. Artill.				
			Compy.	...	...	...	XXVII (1765).
1668	18 Oct.	...	Commission of Captain	...	...	...	XCH.
1669	21 Feby.	...	R. Warrt. ; Arms	...	...	...	XXXVII.
1670	—	...	Turner ; Transport on the march	...	...	...	XXIX (2071).
	26 Mar.	...	R. Warrt. ; Court of Inquiry	...	...	...	XLIX.
	30 Apr.	...	Funeral Procession of Commr.-in-Chief	...	...	...	XXVII (1764).
	19 Aug.	...	R. Warrt. ; Vacant men	...	...	...	LXXVII.
1671	23 Mar.	...	R. Warrt. ; Billeting...	...	...	...	LXXX.
	16 Aug.	...	R. Warrt. ; do.	...	...	...
	3 Nov.	...	Regulation ; Soldiers keeping Public-Houses	...	...	...	LXXXI.
1672	—	...	Venn ; Standards and Colours	...	...	...	XXXIII (1214).
	2 April	...	R. Warrt. ; Dragoons	...	...	...	III.
	6 „	...	R. Warrts. ; Billeting	...	...	...	LXXX.
	5 July	...		...	...	...
	3 May	...	R. Warrt. ; Arms and Equipt.	...	...	...	IV.
	21 June	...	Travelling Claim	...	...	...	XXIX (2002).
	22 „	...	R. Warrt. ; Convening Court-Martial	...	...	...	LXI.
	15 Nov.	...	R. Warrt. ; Court of Inquiry	...	...	...	XLIX.
1673	—	...	Articles of War	...	...	...	LIII.
	1 Mar.	...	R. Warrt. ; Precedence of Regts.	...	...	...	XLIV.
1674	29 Apr.	...	R. Warrt. ; Arms and Accoutrements	...	...	...	XXXVIII.
1675	24 June	...	R. Warrt. ; Precedence, Household troops	...	...	...	XLIII.
	1 Dec.	...	R. Warrt. ; Precedence of Regts. and Officers	...	...	...	XVIII.
	5 „	...	Teonge ; Funeral Procession of a Boatswain	...	...	...	XXVII (1767).
1676	19 May	...	Capt. Genl.'s Letter ; Reviews	...	...	...	LVII.
	7 Sept.	...	R. Warrt. ; Capt. General's functions	...	...	...	CVIII.
	26 Oct.	...	Hyde ; Description of Polish Hussars	...	...	...	XXII (882).
1677	—	...	Articles of War	...	...	...	LIII.
	31 Jany.	...	R. Warrt. ; Recruiting	...	...	...	XVI.
	19 May	...	R. Warrt. ; Arms and Accoutrements	...	...	...	LXXXIX.
1678	—	...	Proposals for Transport in the Field by Contract	...	...	...	XXIX (2075).
	—	...	Heads of the late Lord-General's function...	...	...	...	XXI.
	14 Jany.	...	R. Warrt. ; Strength and Armament	...	...	...	XXXI.
	17 „	...	Do. ; Arms and Accoutrements	...	...	...	XII.
	1 Feby.	...	Do. ; Clothing...	...	...	...	IX.
	13 „	...	Do. ; Arms	...	...	...	XXIII.
	11 Mar.	...	Do. ; Billeting...	...	...	...	CVII.
	4 Apr.	...	Do. ; Levy-Money	...	...	...	XXXIV.
	9 „	...	Do. ; Courts of Inquiry	...	...	...	XLIX.
	9 „	...	Do. ; Dragoons	...	...	...	III.
	13 „	...	Do. ; Granadeers	...	...	...	XIII.
	6 „	...	Do. ; do.	...	...	...	XXXIV.
	13 „	...		...	...	...
	13 „	...	Do. ; Dragoons	...	...	...	III.
	28 „	...	Do. ; Billeting	...	...	...	CVII.
	12 July	...	Warrt. ; Courts of Inquiry	...	...	...	XLIX.
	Sept.	...	Commr.-in-Chief's Letter ; Precedence and Rations	...	...	...	XLV.

A.D.					
1678	15 Nov.	...	Warrt. ; New Bayonet	...	VII.
	26 "	...	R. Warrt. ; Half-pay...	...	LIV.
	Mar.-Nov.	...	Commissions of Martial Law	...	XXVI (1450).
1679	23 Feby.	...	R. Warrt. ; Orders for the Musters...	...	XXIV.
	27 Oct.	...	R. Warrt. ; Kilmainham Hospital	...	LXIX.
1680 to 1684	...	...	Abstract of Forces ; 1st Dragoons	...	{ I (36). III (93).
1681	19 Apr.	...	R. Warrt. ; Kilmainham	...	CXII.
	27 "	...	R. Warrt. ; Chaplain Stoppages	...	XXIX (1934).
1683	28 June	...	R. Warrt. ; Arms	...	XIV.
	25 July	...	Regulations ; Ordnance	...	XXX (2146).
	18 Aug.	...	Patent or Commission of Secry. at War	...	CXIII.
1684	26 Jany.	...	R. Warrt. ; Arms	...	XXX.
	6 Feby.	...	R. Warrt. ; Precedence of Regiments	...	XVIII.
	19 "	...	R. Charter ; Kilmainham Hospital...	...	LXX.
	7 Mar.	...	R. Warrt. ; Chelsea Hospital	...	XLVIII.
	17 Mar.	...	Do. ; do.	...	LXXI.
	28 Apr.	...	Do. ; Arms	...	XXIX.
	17 June	...	Do. ; Chelsea Hospital	...	LXXII.
	1 Sept.	...	Do. ; Badges of Officers	...	VIII.
	1 "	...	Do. ; Adjutants	...	LXXVIII.
	—	...	Nathan Brooks ; Uniforms and Colours.		
			See Notes to Illustrations.		
1685	—	...	Bill ; Standards and Colours	...	XXIII (1213).
	—	...	Sandford ; Colours, Foot-Guards. See Notes to Illustrations.		
	1 Jany.	...	R. Warrt. ; Chelsea Hospital	...	XCVI.
	1 "	...	Do. ; Blood-money and Pensions	...	XLI.
	10 July	...	Court Martial...	...	LX.
	21 "	...	Secry. at War's Letter, Military and Civil Law	...	LIX.
1686	—	...	Articles of War	...	LIII.
	22 Feby.	...	R. Warrt. ; Bayonets	...	XXXV.
	26 Mar.	...	Do. ; Blood-money	...	LXVIII.
	28 May	...	Do. ; do.	...	XXII.
1687	21 Feby.	...	Regulations ; Musters and Arms	...	XXXIX.
	4 Mar.	...	R. Warrt. ; Side-arms	...	NL.
	10 "	...	Do. ; Secretary at War	...	LXXV.
	12 "	...	Do. ; Musters and Perquisites	...	LXXVI.
	30 July	...	Do. ; Precedence, Household troops	...	XXIII (1149).
	27 Nov.	...	Do. ; Soldiers' Pay	...	XXIX (1908).
1688	14 Jany.	...	Do. Captain-Lieutenants	...	XVII.
	27 Feby.	...	Do. General Court or Council	...	XCV.
	11 Mar.	...			
	April-Sept.	...	Letters, Secry. of State ; Billeting	...	CIV.
	6 Nov.	...	Order ; Armour	...	XXV.
1689	—	...	Declaration, and Bill, of Rights	...	CI.
	—	...	1 Wm. and M., c. 5 ; First Mutiny Act	...	XXVI (1477).
	17 July	...	R. Warrt. ; Half pay...	...	LXXIX.
	29 "	...	Do. ; Hospital Stoppages	...	XXIX (1920).
	29 "	...	Do. ; Rations in the Field	...	XXVIII.
	18 Dec.	...	Do. ; Scotch Forces	...	CXV.
1690	—	...	List of K. James's Army in Ireland	...	VI (260).
	1 Jany.	...	R. Warrt. ; Inniskilling Regts.	...	LXXIV.
	18 "	...	Proclamation ; Swearing	...	VI (238).
	1 Mar.	...	R. Warrt. ; Field Hospitals	...	XCVIII.
	14 "	...	Do. ; do.	...	

A.D.

1690	14/22 April...	R. Warrt. ; Armament of Marines ...	CXI.
	10 May ...	Report, Secry. at War ; Audit stoppages ...	XXIX (1939).
	30 „ ...	R. Warrt. ; Musters and Clothing ...	CII.
	20 June ...	R. Proclamation ; Punishments ...	XXVI (1617).
	26 July ...	R. Warrt. ; Precedence of Officers ...	CXIV.
1691 to 1694	...	Commissions, Officers of Artillery Trains ...	LXXXIII.
1691	—	Articles of War ...	LIII.
	22 Jany. ...	Court-Martial ...	LXIII.
	22 July ...	R. Warrt. ; Precedence, Household troops ...	XLVI.
1693	—	Contract for Clothing ...	XXII (891).
	14 Feby. ...	R. Warrant ; Ordnance Perquisites ...	XXVII (1692).
	1 July ...	Do. ; Anti-Purchase oath ...	CX.
1694	1 Jany. ...	Proclamation ; Conscription in Scotland ...	XXIV (1302).
	10 June ...	R. Warrant ; Precedence of Regts. ...	CIX.
	21 July ...	Opinion of Law-Officers ; Courts-Martial ...	LXII.
1695	—	Accounts Coldstream-Guards ; Off-reckon- ings ...	XCVII.
	19 Feby. ...	R. Warrt. ; General Court or Council ...	XCV.
	26 „ ...	Ho. of Commons Address ; Pay abuses ...	XXIX (1989).
	11 Mar. ...	R. Warrt. ; Crying-down Credit ...	XXIX (2119).
	26 Apr. ...	Do. ; Half-pay ...	LV.
	30 Decr. ...	Do. ; Clothing, Badges, &c. ...	X.
1696	—	Particulars, Clothing, Horse and Dragoons ...	LI.
	—	Do. do. Foot ...	LII.
	6 Feby. ...	R. Warrt. ; Levy-money ...	LXXXVIII.
1697	13 Jany. ...	Court-Martial ...	LXVI.
	9 June ...	R. Commission ; General Court or Council ...	XCV.
	26 July ...	Proclamation ; Pay and Clothing ...	XC.
	29 „ ...	Musters Regulations ...	XLVII.
	13 Aug. ...	Order ; Remounts ...	XCI.
	23 „ ...	Do. ; Subsistence ...	XXIX (1912).
	2 Sept. ...	Do. ; Remounts and Arms ...	XCII.
	9 Oct. ...	Letter, Horse-Guards ; Quarters and Billets ...	XX.
	1 Decr. ...	R. Letter ; Reductions ...	XXXII.
	3 „ ...	R. Warrt. ; Court-Martial ...	LXIV.
1698	—	Petition of Inniskilling Horse ; Pay abuses ...	XXIX (1983).
	11 Jany. ...	R. Warrt. ; Disbandments ...	XXVI.
	7 Feby. ...	Warrt. ; Billeting ...	LXXXII.
	14 „ ...	R. Warrt. ; Disbandments ...	C.
	28 „ ...	Order ; Disbandments ...	XXIV (1353).
	16 Mar. ...	R. Warrt. ; Half-pay ...	XXIX (2005).
	28 July ...	Order ; Pikes ...	XXIII (1071).
	3 Sept. ...	Letter, Secry. at War ; Volunteer Compy. of Officers ...	LVI.
1699	14 Jany. ...	R. Warrt. ; Master of Ordnance ...	XCIX.
	16 Feby. ...	R. Proclamation ; Marks on Arms ...	XXX (2191).
	20 Mar. ...	R. Letter ; Strength ...	XXVII.
	8 Apr. ...	R. Warrt. ; do. ...	XXXIII.
1700	2 Novr. ...	Deed ; Collusive fraud ...	XXXI (2261).
1701	3 Oct. ...	Letter, Secry. at War ; Half-pay liability to service ...	XXIX (2012).
1783	(Retrospective)	Report, Commrs. of Accounts ; Perquisites ...	XXIX (1919).

APPENDIX NO. I.

GEO. MONCK, DUKE OF ALBEMARLE'S COMMISSION, 3 AUG., 1660.

(Harl. MSS. 3,319.)

"Charles, by the Grace of God, &c., &c.

"To Our right trusty and right well beloved cousin and counsellor, George, Duke of Albemarle, Master of our Horse, and Knight of the most noble Order of the Garter, greeting. Know ye, that we, reposing special trust and confidence in your approved wisdom, fidelity, valour, and great abilities, have assigned, made, constituted, and ordained, and by these our letters-patent do assign, make, constitute, and ordain you to be our Captain-General of all our armies and land forces, and men whatsoever, now levied or raised, or which hereafter shall be raised and levied, in or out of our realms of England, Scotland, and Ireland, or dominion of Wales, or any of them, or any other our dominions or territories whatsoever, and assembled or to be assembled into an army or armies.

"With them both to resist and withstand all invasions, tumults, seditions, conspiracies, and attempts, that may happen within our said realms, dominions, and territories, or any of them, to be made against our person, state, safety, crown, and dignity, and to be lead into any of our said realms, dominions, and territories, or any of them.

"And there to invade, assault, repell, resist, fight with, subdue, slay and kill, all, every, or any enemies or rebels against us, of what nation soever, that in our said kingdoms, dominions, and territories, or any of them, or any part or parts thereof, shall raise, make, cause, adhere to, or be part of any insurrection, commotion, tumult, sedition, conspiracy, or attempt whatsoever against our person, state, safety, crown, and dignity.

"And we further have assigned, made, constituted, and ordained, and by these our letters-patents do assign, make, constitute, and ordain you the said armies and land forces, and every part thereof, and all officers and others whatsoever, employed or to be employed in or concerning the same, with all such other forces, of what nation soever, as shall be hereafter joined to the said armies and land forces, or any part thereof, to rule, govern, command, dispose, and employ, in, for, or about such defences, offences, invasions, executions, and other military and hostile acts and services, as are or shall be by us, from time to time, and at any time, respectively directed, limited, or appointed, in or by these our letters-patents, or by our instructions which we have delivered unto you under our sign manual, or which shall hereafter be directed, limited, or appointed, by any instructions under our sign manual, signet, privy seal, or great seal, delivered or to be delivered unto you, or sent and received, or to be sent and received by you.

"And further, we have given and granted unto you full power and authority, and hereby do give and grant to you full power and authority, the same armies and land forces, and every or any part thereof, and the men so levied, raised, or assembled, or to be levied or assembled, or sent, conducted, or brought, or that otherwise shall come to you either by any other special order and command, or by any other commission whatsoever, given and granted by us or by authority of this commission, and according to the intent thereof as aforesaid, by yourself, or by your deputy or deputies, commander, captains, or other officer or officers as to you shall seem meet, to try, exercise, array, and put in readiness, and them and every of them after their abilities, degrees, and faculties, or according to the provision of arms appointed for them, well and sufficiently to cause to be weaponed and armed. And to take or cause to be taken the musters of them by the Commissary-General, or other commissaries or officers whom you shall assign as often as you shall see cause, as also of any of our trained bands within our said kingdoms, dominions, and territories, or any of them, and in all and every other place or places into which, by virtue of this our commission, or by virtue of any other commission or warrant from us, you shall lead or send, or in which you shall, according to the purport of this commission, find any part of the said army or armies, or men as aforesaid.

"And also the same army or armies, men and persons, so arrayed, tried, exercised, and armed, as well horsemen as footmen, of all kinds and degrees, to govern, lead, and conduct, against all and singular enemies, rebels, traitors, and all and every other person or persons attempting anything against our person, state, safety, crown, and dignity, within our said kingdoms, dominions, and territories, every or any of them.

" And our said army and land forces, and the men aforesaid, from time to time, and at any time, to divide, distribute, and dispose into parts, regiments, troops, and companies, or otherwise at your discretion; and the same army or armies, and the said parts, regiments, troops, or companies, or any of them, to convey or send, or cause to be conveyed or sent, by land or by sea, or other passage by water, to any place or places, for the service aforesaid respectively, according to your discretion.

" And with the said enemies, rebels, traitors, and other person and persons so attempting as aforesaid, to fight, and them to invade, resist, repress, pursue, and follow, in and unto any part of our said kingdoms, dominions, and territories, every or any of them to subdue, slay, and kill, and to do, fulfill, and execute all and singular other acts, matters, and things whatsoever respectively, which shall be in your discretion requisite either for leading, conducting, government, order, and rule of our said armies and land forces, and men, and every part of them, or for the conservation of us, our state, and safety, and for the suppression and subduing of such enemies, rebels, traitors, or other offenders as aforesaid.

" And further, to do, use, and execute against and upon the said enemies, rebels, traitors, and others as aforesaid, and their adherents, and every of them, as occasion shall require, by your discretion, the law martial, or law marshall, as our Captain-General.

" And of such enemies, rebels, traitors, and other offenders as aforesaid, taken, or apprehended, or being brought into subjection, to save from death or other punishment whom you shall think fit to be so saved, and to slay, destroy, and put to execution of death, or otherwise to punish such or so many of them as you shall think meet by your discretion to be put to death, or otherwise punished respectively, by any manner of means, according to the law martial or law marshall, to the terror of all other offenders.

" And we do further, by these our letters-patents, give and grant to you our Captain-General, full power and authority for us and in our name, as occasion shall require, according to your discretion, by publique proclamation or otherwise, to make tender of our regal grace and pardon to all such enemies, rebels, or traitors, as shall in our said kingdoms, dominions, and territories, or any of them, submit themselves to us, and desire to be received to our grace, mercy, and pardon, and according to your discretion to receive to our grace and mercy, and to pardon all and every such person and persons as shall so submit and desire to be received to our grace, mercy, and pardon as aforesaid.

" And we do hereby grant for us, our heirs and successors, that every such person and persons so submitting and desiring, and so admitted by you unto our grace and mercy, and pardoned by you as aforesaid, shall be by us pardoned, and shall and may have and sue out pardons accordingly.

" And further our will and pleasure is, and by these presents we do give and grant you full power and authority, that in case any invasion of enemies, insurrection, commotion, or rebellion, shall happen to be, increase or begin to arise within our said kingdoms, dominions, and territories, or any of them, that then from time to time, and at all times when any such shall be, increase, or begin to arise, you may with such power and forces as you shall think fit, either by yourself, or by others deputed and commanded by you, resist, repress, and reform the same by battle, or other kind of force; or at your discretion, by such other proceedings as by the laws of our said realms respectively, or the law martial, or laws marshal, or by the intent and purport of this commission may otherwise be used.

" And for the better execution of this our commission, we do further give and grant to you full power and authority from time to time, and at all times, at your discretion, to command and require of and from all or any of our lieutenants special, and their deputy-lieutenants of our several counties within our said kingdoms dominions and territories, and of and from every or any of them, to send to you, or to such place or places as you shall appoint, such number of able men for the wars, as well horsemen as foot-men of the Trained Bands in the said counties respectively, or others sufficiently armed and furnished, at such time and times, and from time to time, as you in your discretion shall appoint and require.

" And further also, from time to time and at all times, at your discretion, to give and grant to any person or persons as to you it shall seem meet, any commission or commissions, warrant, and authority for the levying or raising of any troops or companies of horsemen or footmen in any place whatsoever within our said kingdoms, dominions, and territories, and for the bringing or conducting of them to you, or to such place or places as you shall from time to time, or at any time in your discretion assign and appoint.

" And further also, we do give and grant to you, our Captain-General, full power and authority from time to time, and at all times by writing under your hands and seal, to appoint, ordain and constitute, one or more deputy or deputies, of what quality or condition soever, or by what name or names soever you shall think fit,

under you in your stead, to do and execute all and every, or any, the powers and authority whatsoever by these presents granted by us unto you.

"And also, we give you full power and authority to appoint all and every, or any superior officer or officers, or officer or officers in chief, of what quality or dignity soever respectively, as well of the horsemen as of the footmen, and of the ordnance, artillery, or ammunition, of or belonging to, or that shall hereafter in any wise belong to the said army or armies, or land-forces, and all and every Colonel, Captains, and other inferior officers, and all and every other Commander and Commanders, officer and officers whatsoever, which shall by you at any time, and from time to time be thought fit or requisite for the better government of the said army or armies, or land-forces, or any part thereof, and for the execution of the intent and purport of these our letters-patents.

"And further, we do give and grant unto you full power and authority to appoint within our said army or armies one Provost-Marshal, or more Provost-Marshalls, according to your discretion, to use and exercise that office in such case as you shall think requisite, And for the execution of the law-martial or law-marshal according to your discretion and warrant given to him or them, and the intent and purport of these our letters-patents, and as the law-marshal or martial requireth.

"And further also we do give and grant to you full power and authority to hold, or cause to be held within the said army or armies, or any part thereof, one or more military or martial, or marshal court or courts, from time to time, and at all times, according to your discretion or command. And also in the same court or courts, or otherwise, by yourself or by your deputy or deputies, or by or in your counsel of war, or by any other ways, and proceedings, or course as to you shall seem meetest, to hear, examine, determine, and punish all mutinies, disobediences, deptures from Captains, Commanders, and Governors, and all capital and criminal offences whatsoever.

"And we further give and grant to all and every such deputy and deputies, or superior officer and officers, and officer and officers in chief, and all and every other commander or officer, so as aforesaid by you appointed, ordained, or constituted, or otherwise, according to the purport and intent of these presents appointed, ordained, or constituted, full power and authority to do and execute whatsoever he or they respectively shall be by you so ordained or appointed, to do according to the tenor of these presents.

"And also we give and grant unto you full power and authority, at your discretion, from time to time and at all times, to make, constitute, and ordain, laws, statutes, and ordinances for the government, ordering, ruling, and military discipline of our said army or armies, and every or any part thereof, and of all and every officer and officers, person and persons, of, in, and belonging to the same, and for touching and concerning all and every the prisoners, goods, booty, or spoil that shall or may happen to be at any time by you, or any officer, or any other person of the said army or armies, or any part thereof, taken and concerning all other matters whatsoever in any wise to the said army, or this your employment belonging. And the same laws, statutes, ordinances, and every of them to cause to be proclaimed in such places, and at such times as to you shall seem meet, and the same and every of them to put in execution, and to appoint and ordain such pains and penalties, either by loss of life, or member, place, office, money or goods, or otherwise, in the said laws, ordinances, and statutes, and every or any of them, as in your discretion you shall think meet, and to cause to be attached, apprehended, and imprisoned, or pardoned, or left or set at liberty at your discretion, all and every, or any person or persons offending against any of the said statutes, laws and ordinances, and against or concerning such person or persons, to command such proceeding, and to use either such justice, or such mercy, as to you shall seem most meet. And we do hereby grant and ordain that all and every the statutes, laws, and ordinances, so from time to time and at any time to be made, constituted or ordained by you, shall have full power and force, and remain, and be in the said army and armies, and every part thereof respectively, in full power and force, according as you shall make, constitute, or ordain.

"And further, that you shall have from time to time, and at all times during the force of this our commission, full power to pardon and remit all and every crimes and offences whatsoever committed against the said laws, statutes or ordinances, or any of them, or against the laws martial or law marshal in the said army, or any part thereof, or by any officer, soldier, or other, being part thereof, or belonging thereunto.

"And we further, for us, our heirs and successors, do grant by these our letters patent, that no person or persons whatsoever shall be proceeded against, molested, sued, or in any wise impeached in any court whatsoever, or otherwise, for any crime or offence whatsoever, so as aforesaid by you pardoned or remitted, nor sued, impeached, or molested in any court whatsoever, being finally determined and sentenced according to the power and jurisdiction by these presents given and granted by us as aforesaid.

" And further we give and grant unto you power, liberty, and authority upon all occasions, when to you it shall seem meet and necessary, if you be not by us otherwise expressly commanded, to come and repair to our person, wheresoever we shall be, and there, or at, in, near, or about our court and household to remain until we shall signify to you our express pleasure for your departure or return.

" And further also we give and grant to you full power and authority from time to time, and at all times; to appoint and constitute one or more commissary or commissaries, and any other officer or officers as to you shall seem meetest, for the providing and taking up of victuals, and all or any other provision for the said army or armies, or any part thereof, and to give him or them respectively power and warrant so to do from time to time and at all times, within any part of our said kingdoms, dominions, and territories, or any of them.

" And further also by yourself, or others deputed or authorised by you, to take up and use such carriages, horses, boats, or other vessels as in your discretion, and as often as you shall think meet, shall be needful for the conveying or conducting of the said army or armies, or any part thereof, or for bringing or carrying ammunition, ordnance, artillery, victuals, and all or any other provisions necessary or requisite for the said army or armies, or any part thereof, to or from any place or places, according to the intent of these presents. And to that intent and purpose to depute and authorise, and give warrant or warrants to any person or persons whatsoever for such taking up and use as aforesaid.

" And further from time to time to give warrant and authority to our treasurer or treasurers of the said army or armies for the time being, for the issuing and paying of all and every such sums of money as are or shall be from time to time payable to any person or persons whatsoever in the said army or armies, or any part thereof, or due to any person or persons whatsoever, by reason of the same respectively.

" And we do further hereby give power and authority to you our Captain-General, for causes especially moving you, by your letters under your seal, from time to time, as often as to you it shall seem meet, to grant safe conducts, as well general as special, in all places by land or by water, to any person or persons whatsoever, generally to do and execute all and every thing and things which to the office of a Captain-General of an army under us doth belong, and which for the good and safety of us and our state and the government and discipline of our said army shall be by you thought expedient and necessary.

" And for the better execution of this our service, we do further give unto you our Captain-General full power and authority, as you in your discretion shall think meet, and for the advancement of this our service, to command all our garrisons and our forts and castles, now fortified or hereafter to be fortified, and to amove, displace, or continue the governors, captains, or other inferior officers, soldiers, and garrisons, as to your discretion shall seem meet, and the occasion of the service shall require, and to furnish the same garrisons, castles, and forts, with other governors, commanders, and soldiers, as you shall think meet for the safety and good of our army and the advancement of our service.

" To have, hold, exercise, and enjoy, all and every the powers and authorities aforesaid, by you our said Captain-General, and by your deputy and deputies as aforesaid, during our will and pleasure. And we will and command you our Captain-General, that with all speed you do execute the premises with effect.

" Wherefore we will and command all and singular lieutenants of our counties, and lieutenants special, dukes, marquises, earls, viscounts, barons, baronets, knights, sheriffs, treasurer or treasurers of our said army, mayors, bailiffs, constables, captains, and all other officers and soldiers, ministers, and all and every our loving subjects, of what estate, degree, or condition soever he or they shall be, that they and every of them respectively, with their power and servants, from time to time, according as they shall be commanded by you, or authorized according to the purport and intent of these our letters-patent and the authority and power to you herein given, be obedient to you, and attendant, aiding, assisting, counselling, and helping you, and ready at your commandment in the due execution hereof, as they and every of them tender our displeasure, and will answer to the contrary at their perils.

" And further, our pleasure is, and we do hereby give and grant for us, our heirs, and successors, that whatsoever either you or any other person or persons, of what degree, office, state, or condition soever, upon or by your commission, warrant, or command, shall do by virtue or authority of this our commission or letters-patents, or according to our instructions aforesaid, or according to the tenor, effect, or purport of this our commission, touching the execution of the premises or any part thereof, both you and the said other person or persons, upon the shewing forth of these our letters-patents, or the constat or the enrolment thereof, shall be in all and every of our courts, and elsewhere in our dominions, discharged and acquitted in that behalf, against us, our heirs and successors, and free from all impeachment and other molestation for the same.

"In witness whereof we have caused these our letters to be made patents. Witness ourself, at Westminster, the third day of August, in the twelfth year of our reign.

"By the King. BARKER.

"Charles, by the grace of God, King of England, Scotland, France, and Ireland, Defender of the Faith, &c.

"To our trusty and well-beloved General George Monck, greeting. Upon the great confidence we repose in your courage, conduct, fidelity, and affection to us and the good of our kingdoms, we, by these presents, constitute and appoint you to be Captain-General and Commander-in-chief of all forces which are or shall be raised for our service within our kingdoms of England, Scotland, and Ireland, and the territories thereunto belonging, giving you full power and authority to order, conduct, and command the same in all things, according to the laws and customs of war, and therewith to fight, kill and destroy all who are or shall be in arms against us, and to seize on any forts or places in rebellion against our authority, and to keep and defend the same for us and in our name, and to do and execute all acts and powers belonging to the duty and office of a Captain-General and Commander-in-Chief; and we hereby require all major-generals, colonels, and other inferior officers and soldiers under you, to obey you in all things as Captain-General and Commander-in-Chief of all our forces within our said kingdoms and dominions; and you are to be obedient to such orders as you shall from time to time receive from us; for all which, this our commission shall be your sufficient warrant.

"Given at our Court at, &c."

APPENDIX No. II.

ROYAL WARRANT, JUNE, 1661.—ADJUTANTS.

(W.O. records.)

"Charles R.

"Our will and pleasure is, that the several officers hereafter named, and under the salaries and entertainment herein expressed, be added to our establishment of the forces lately by us raised for the defence of our person and government, and continued in our pay from the day of their respective constitutions, until further order to the contrary, signified by us, or our right trusty and right entirely beloved cousin and counsellor, George, Duke of Albemarle, Captain General of our forces; and the Commissary General of the musters, paymaster, and all other officers and persons concerned, are to take notice hereof.

"Given under our sign manual at Whitehall, this (.).

	P. Mensm.
	£ s. d.
"One adjutant to his Majesty's regiment of foot, at 4s. per diem	5 12 0
"One adjutant to his Grace George, Duke of Albemarle's regiment of foot at 4s. per diem	5 12 0
"One Quarter-master to his Majesty's regiment of Horse at 5s. per diem	7 0 0
"One Kettle-drum for the King's Regt. of Horse at 3s. per diem	4 4 0
	<u>£22 8 0</u>

s. d.

"Col. Russell desires there may be added one sergt. to the King's company at	1 6 per diem
"A drum major at	1 6 ,,
"A marshall at	4 0 ,,

(Endorsed.)

"June, 1661. Order for adjutants, &c., to be added to the Establishment."

APPENDIX No. III.

ROYAL WARRANTS, 2 APRIL, 1672, &c.—DRAGOONS.

(W.O. records.)

“Charles R.

“Our will and pleasure is, that a Regiment of Dragoons, which we have established and ordered to be raised, in twelve Troops of fourscore in each beside officers, who are to be under the command of Our most dear and most entirely beloved cousin Prince Rupert, shall be armed out of Our stores remaining within Our office of the Ordinance as followeth; that is to say, three corporals, two serjeants, the gentlemen of arms, and twelve soldiers of each of the said twelve Troops, are to have and carry each of them one halbard, and one case of pistols with holster; and the rest of the soldiers of the several Troops aforesaid, are to have and to carry each of them one matchlock musquet, with a collar of bandaleers, and also to have and carry one bayonet, or great knife: That each lieutenant have and carry one partizan; and that two drums be delivered out for each Troop of the said Regiment”

“taking care that the arms you delivered out of our stores unto the four Barbadoes companies, (which are to be mounted and advanced to be troops of dragoons in the said regiment) be then delivered back into our stores” “And for so doing &c.

“Given at our Court at Whitehall, the second day of April, 1672, in the 24th year of our reign.

“By his Majesty’s command,

“ARLINGTON.”

To &c.

Sir Thos. Chicheley, Knt.,
Master Genl. of Our Ordnance.

Royal Warrt., 9 April, 1677–8, for armament of Prince Rupert’s (second) regt. of Dragoons, then raised, ordered per troop of 1 Capt., 1 Lt., 1 Cornet, 1 Qr.-Mr., 2 Serjts., 3 Corpls., 2 Drummers, and 80 “private soldiers”; 2 Partisans, 6 Halberts, 12 Fusils, 68 Musquets (with slings to all the firearms), 80 Cartridge-boxes, 80 Bayonets, 6 cases of pistols, 2 Drums.

Royal Warrt. of 13 April, 1678, for H.M.’s regt. of Dragoons under the E. of Feversham, orders the firearms to be all snaphances.

APPENDIX No. IV.

ROYAL WARRANT, 3 MAY, 1672.—ARMAMENT.

(W.O. records.)

“Charles R.

“Upon consideration of the annexed Certificate of Major John Miller, it is our will and pleasure that out of the stores of our Office of the Ordnance you cause ninety-one snaphance musquets, ninety-one matchlock musquets, one hundred and eighty-two collars of bandileers (suitable to the rest of their bandleeers), nine halberts, one drum, twelve barrels of powder, with a double proportion of match, to be delivered to such officer as the said Major Miller shall appoint, for the use of the nine companies here in town (as they are now to be recruited) of the Coldstream regiment of our Guards, under the command of our right trusty and right well beloved cousin and counsellor William, Earl of Craven, except the said drum, which is for the use of Captain John Huitson’s company, now in our fleet, for which this, with the indenture or receipt for them, shall be your warrant and discharge.

“Given at our Court at Whitehall, the 3rd day of May, 1672.

“By H.M.’s command,

“ARLINGTON.”

“To our right trusty and well-beloved counsellor
Sir Thomas Chichely, Knight, our Master
General of our Ordnance.

"For recruits to Captain Coke's company when he went to sea: 10 firelock musquets, 10 match locks, 20 collars of bandaleers.

"For recruiting nine companies 81 fire lock musquets, 81 match locks, 162 collars of bandaleers, broad belts, and covered with leather. One halbert for each company—9 halberts.

"Captain Huitson, one drum, broken on ship board. Twelve barrels of powder, with a double proportion of match.

"These I do hereby certify, under my hand, this 1st of May, 1672.

"JO. MILLER."

APPENDIX No. V.

WARRANT, 10 FEBRV., 1659-60.—ARMAMENT.

(W.O. records.)

"To the Officers of the Ordnance in the Tower of London.

"I desire you to exchange the old muskets and deliver new arms in their stead to my regiment.

"Given under my hand 10 February, 1659/60.

"GEORGE MONCK."

APPENDIX No. VI.

WARRANT, 14 APRIL, 1660.—ARMAMENT.

(Record office.)

"To the Officers of the Ordnance in the Tower of London.

"You are, upon sight hereof, to receive from Major Nicholls all the Match-lock musquets of the four Companies of my regt., now lying in the Tower of London, and deliver so many snaphance musquets to him or whom he shall appoint: and in so doing this shall be your Warrant.

"Given under my hand at St. James's, 14 April, 1660.

"GEORGE MONCK."

APPENDIX No. VII.

WARRANT, 15 NOVR., 1678.—BAYONETS.

(W.O. records.)

"James, Duke of Monmouth, &c., &c.,

"Captain-General of His Majesty's Land Forces, &c.

"These are to require you, out of such monies as are or shall come into your hands, to pay unto John Gibbons, or whom he shall appoint, the sum of Eight pounds eight shillings, the same being due to Philip Russell, as of His Majesty's gracious bounty to him for his invention of a new sort of Bayonett. And for so doing, &c., &c.

"Given under my hand, 15 Novr., 1678.

"MONMOUTH.

"To Lemuel Kingdon, Esqr."

APPENDIX No. VIII.

ROYAL WARRANT (BADGES), WINCHESTER, 1 SEPTEMBER, 1684.

“Charles R.

“For the better distinction of Our several Officers serving in Our Companies of Foot, Our will and pleasure is, that all Captains of Foot wear no other Corselet than of the colour of gold: all Lieutenants, black corselets studded with gold, and the Ensigns corselets of silver. And We do likewise think fit that all Lieutenants of Foot carry pikes and not partisans, which we do hereby order to be returned into the office of Our Ordnance. And We do further direct that authentic copies hereof be,” &c., transmitted to those concerned, &c., &c.

Given, &c., at “Winchester, 1 September, 1684.

“By His Majesty’s Command,

“SUNDERLAND.”

APPENDIX No. IX.

ROYAL WARRANT, 1 FEBRY., 1677-8.—CLOTHING.

(W.O. records.)

“For assuring payment for Clothes for all the new-raised soldiers and recruits in the present conjuncture.

“Charles R.

“For the new clothing with a cloth coat lined with baize, one pair of kearsey breeches, lined, with pockets, two shirts, two cravats, one pair of shoes, one pair of yarn hose, one hat, edged, and hat-band, one sash, and also one sword and belt—the Non-Commission Officers and soldiers of the new companies and recruits that shall be raised in pursuance of Our respective additional Establishments, dated the 10th and 14th January, 1677/8, Our will and pleasure is that the said clothing be satisfied for out of the off-reckonings of their pay, over and above their weekly subsistence-money, from time to time. And in case the said new-raised forces be disbanded before the off-reckonings reserved shall be sufficient to pay for the above clothing, what they fall short shall be paid out of Our treasure then remaining, or to come into, your hands, provided that the particulars before-mentioned do not exceed fifty-three shillings in the whole for each man.

Given, &c., “Whitehall, 1 Feby., 1677/8.

“To Lemuel Kingdon, Esq.,

“Paymaster of the Forces.”

APPENDIX No. X.

ROYAL WARRANT, 30 DECR., 1695.—CAPS, PIKES, BADGES.

(W.O. Records.)

“William R.,

“For the better regulating several particulars wherein alterations have been introduced in Our army contrary to Our Royal intentions, we do hereby declare Our Royal will and pleasure to be:

“First, That none of our regts. or companies of Foot do wear caps, excepting only the Royal Regiment of Fusileers, the Regt. of Scots Fusileers, and the Granadeers of each respective regiment.

“Second, That there be fourteen pikemen in each compy. of sixty men, excepting the two regts. afore-mentioned, and the granadeers; and that each company of Our Foot-Guards have likewise a proportionable number of pikes.

"Third, That each Captain of Foot, while he is upon duty, do carry a pike, the Lieutenant a partisan, and every Ensign a half-pike when he does not carry his Colours."

Continues to enjoin Commanding Officers to see these instructions obeyed.
Given, &c., "Kensington, 30 Decr., 1695."

"By His Majesty's Command,
"WM. BLATHWAYT."

(Addressed to several Colonels as well as to General Officers.)

APPENDIX No. XI.

WARRANT, 15 APRIL, 1667.—ARMAMENT.

(W.O. Records.)

Being a Warrant for the addition of two Companies to the Coldstream Guards, and for their armament with—

30 Pikes.
60 Musquets with bandaleers.
13 Firelocks.
103 Swords.
2 Halberds.
1 Partisan.
2 Drums.

APPENDIX No. XII.

ROYAL WARRANT, 17 JANRY., 1677-8.—STRENGTH AND ARMAMENT.

(W.O. Records.)

"Charles R.

"Whereas We have thought fit, for the occasion of Our services, to raise and establish eight Companies to be added to the twelve Compies. of Our Coldstream Regt. of Foot-Guards, so as to consist of twenty compies. of One hundred men in each compy., besides Officers; that is to say, One Captain, One Lieutenant, One Ensign, Three Serjeants, Three Corporals, and Two Drummers: Our will and pleasure is, that out of the stores within the office of Our Ordnance, you cause to be delivered to the regt.—

8 Partisans,
24 Halberts,
16 Drums with sticks,
550 Musquets,
274 Pikes, and
550 Collars of Bandaleers,

and for so doing," &c., &c.

Given, &c., "Whitehall, 17 Janry., 1677/8."

"By His Majesty's Command,
"J. WILLIAMSON."

R. Warrt., 11 Janry., 1677-8, is for raising the Companies of the First Foot Guards to 100 men; and similar Warrts. of the same date to similar purport for the Coldstream, and the "Holland" Regt. (Third Foot).

R. Warrt., 31 Janry., 1677-8, is for an issue of arms to various Companies in the same proportion as above.

R. Warrt., 16 Mar., 1678, is for arms to several new Foot Regts., all in the same proportions as above. All from W.O. records.

APPENDIX No. XIII.

ROYAL WARRANT, 13 APRIL, 1678.—GRANADEERS.

(W.O. records.)

Whereas, &c., we have added eight Companies of Granadeers to the "eight oldest regiments of Foot"; orders that the arms shall be per Company of 1 Captain, 2 Lieutenants, 3 Serjeants, 3 Corporals, and 100 Privates; vizt. :—

103 Fusees with Slings to each.
 103 Cartridge-boxes with Girdles.
 103 Granade-pouches.
 103 Bayonets.
 103 Hatchets with Girdles to them.
 3 Halberds.
 2 Partisans.

APPENDIX No. XIV.

ROYAL WARRANT, 28 JUNE, 1683.—ARMAMENT.

(W.O. records.)

Being an order for exchanging the arms of the 24 Companies of the First Foot Guards, each Company to receive—

" 43 Snaphance Musquets.
 20 Pikes.
 3 Large Pole-axes for Corporals.
 2 Halberds.
 2 Drums."

APPENDIX No. XV.

LIEUTENANT'S COMMISSION, 26 JUNE, 1660.

(Sloane MSS. 3,299.)

"Sir George Monck, Captain-General and Commander-in-Chief of all His Majesty's Forces in England, Scotland, and Ireland, Master of His Majesty's Horse, Knight of the Most Noble Order of the Garter, and one of His Majesty's Most Honble. Privy Council.

"To James Pembruge, Lieutenant: By virtue of the power and authority to me given by His Most Excellent Majesty Charles the Second, by the grace, &c., &c., I do hereby constitute and appoint you, James Pembruge, to be Lieutenant to Captain Annesley his Company of Foot in Colonel Allsop his regiment, under my command for the service of His Majesty. You are therefore to take into your charge and care the said Compy. as Lieutenant thereof, and duly exercise the officers and soldiers of the same in arms; and also to use your best care and endeavour to keep them in good order and discipline, commanding them to obey you as their Lieut., and you are likewise to follow and observe such orders and directions as you shall from time to time receive from His Majesty, the Parliament, Privy Council, or myself: and also you are to obey the superior officers of the regt. and army, according to the discipline of war, in pursuance of the trust reposed in you, and your duty to His Majesty.

"Given under my hand and seal, at the Cockpit, the 26th day of June, 1660, and in the twelfth year of His Majesty's reign.

"GEORGE MONCK."

Note.—There are many similar Commissions in W.O. Com. Books.

APPENDIX No. XVI.

ROYAL WARRANT, 31 JANRY., 1677.—STRENGTH.

(W.O. records.)

“ And you are likewise to give order to the respective Captains of your Regiment, and your own Captain-Lieutenant, that they recruit their troops respectively to threescore Soldiers apiece by the 1st of March next, at which time the additional establishment for them will commence; and We do bid you very heartily farewell.

“ Given at Our Court at Whitehall, the 31st day of January, 1677.

“ By his Matys. Command,

“ WILLIAMSON.

“ To Our Right trusty and Right well-beloved Cousin
and Counsellor Aubrey, Earl of Oxford, Collonell
of our Regt. of Horse Guards.”

APPENDIX No. XVII.

ROYAL WARRANT, 14 JANY., 1687-8.—PRECEDENCE.

(W.O. records.)

“ James R.

“ For the better ascertaining the rank and command of the Captain-Lieutenant in Our First Regt. of Foot-Guards; We do hereby declare Our will and pleasure that the Captain-Lieutenant of Our First Regt. of Foot-Guards shall at all times have the rank and command as youngest Lieutenant-Colonel and Captain in the said regt., according to the date of his Commission of Captain-Lieutenant in the said regt.

Given, &c., “ Whitehall, 14 Jany., 1687-8.”

“ By His Majesty's Command,

“ WM. BLATHWAYT.”

APPENDIX No. XVIII.

ROYAL WARRANT, 1 DECR., 1675, AND 6 FEBR., 1683-4.—PRECEDENCE.

(W.O. Records.)

“ Charles R.

“ For the preventing of all Questions and Disputes that might arise for or concerning the Ranks of the several Regiments, Troops and companies wch. now are or at any time hereafter shall be employed in Or. Service, and of the several Officers and Commanders of the same, as well upon Service and in the Field, as in all Councils of War, and other Military occasions, where they shall be called upon to appear in their respective Qualities, We have thought good to issue out these following Rules and Directions, viz. :—

“ 1. First, as to the Foot, the Regt. of Guards take place of all other Regts., and the Col. to be always reckoned and take place as the first Foot Col., the Coldstreame Regt. of Guards to take place next; Our most dear and most intirely beloved Brother, James, Duke of York's Regiment immediately after; and all other Colonels to take place according to the dates of their Commissions.

“ 2. That the several Regiments that are not of our Guards take place, according to their respective seniorities, from the time they were raised, so that no Regiment is to lose its precedency by the death of their Colonel.

"3. As to the Horse, That the three Troopes of Guards take place before all others; that the Captains take their Ranks as oldest Colonels of Horse: the Lieutenants, as oldest Majors; the Cornets as eldest Captains of Horse; and the Guydons, as youngest Captains of Horse. That when the Troops march with their Colours, the officers of the same degree do command according to the seniority of the Troops respectively; but when they are commanded out in Parties, the Officers of the same degree are to command according to the dates of their Commissions. That Our Own Regt. of Horse take place immediately after the Guards, and the Col. of it have precedence immediately after the Captains of the Guards, and before all other Colonels of Horse, whatever change may be of the Colonel; and all the officers thereof, of like or the same degree, do take place according to the dates of their Commissions.

"4. That the eldest Colonels do in all occasions command; and when there shall be no Colonel upon the place, then the Lieutenant-Colonel of the eldest Regt.; and in like manner, where no Lieut.-Col. the Majr., and so down to the Captains and other inferior officers.

"5. That all officers under the condition of a General officer, when they shall happen to be put into any Garrison, shall, during there being there, obey the Govr. of the same, or his deputies. And it is Our further Will and Pleasure, That our most dear and most intirely beloved Son James Duke of Monmouth, do communicate these Our Orders," &c., &c., &c.

"Given at Our Court at Whitehall the first day of December, 1675.

"By His Mats. Command,

"J. WILLIAMSON.

"To Our most dear and most intirely beloved Son,
James, Duke of Monmouth."

N.B.—The above is marginally noted in the W.O. order book "Concerning the precedence in the Guards and Forces, comprehending the purport of several orders *in being*"; so that these rules date farther back. See also App. XLII.

In 1684 appeared another Warrant, dated Whitehall, 6 Febr., 1683-4, respecting Infantry alone, in which the above Regulations are repeated almost verbatim, excepting that after mention of the Coldstream Guards it proceeds "After which Our Scotch Regiment and Tanger Regiment, Our Most Dear and Most intirely Beloved Brother James Duke of York's Regiment are to have precedence as they are here ranked.

In Clause 2 after "death of their Colonels,"—"and all Captains are to take place within their respective regiments according to the dates of their Commissions." The Warrant then concludes at once with an order for general promulgation. (W.O. records.)

APPENDIX No. XIX.

ENSIGN'S COMMISSION, 23 JANV., 1663/4.

(W.O. Com. Bks.)

"George Duke of Albemarle, Earl of Torrington, Baron Monck of Potheridge, Beauchamp and Tees, Captain-General and Commander-in-Chief of all His Majesty's Forces, Knight of the Most Noble Order of the Garter, Master of His Majesty's Horse, and one of His Majesty's Most Honourable Privy Council:

"By virtue of the power and authority to me given by His Most excellent Majesty Charles the Second &c. &c. I do hereby constitute and appoint you, Anthony Vincent, to be Ensign to my own Company of Foot in my own Regiment under my command, for the service of His Majesty: you are therefore to take into your charge and care the said Company as Ensign thereof, and duly to exercise the Officers and soldiers of the same in Arms, and use your best care and endeavour to keep them in good order and discipline, hereby commanding them to obey you as their Ensign; and you are likewise to follow and observe such orders and directions as you shall from time to time receive from His Majesty or myself; and also you are to obey the superior Officers of the said Company, Regiment, and Army, according to the discipline of war, in pursuance of the trust reposed in you, and your duty to His Majesty.

"Given under my hand and seal at the Cockpit, the 23rd day of January, 1663/4, and in the fifteenth year of His Majesty's reign.

"ALBEMARLE."

APPENDIX No. XX.

LETTER, HORSE GUARDS, 9 OCTOBER, 1697.—QUARTERS.

(W.O. records.)

“Sir,

“The King having ordered the three troops of horse, one troop of Grenadier Guards, and four battalions of Foot Guards, to come over from Flanders with the first opportunity, and be quartered in and about London, in the usual quarters of the guards, I desire you will acquaint the bench of justices with it, that they may order a review to be made of all the quarters as soon as possible, and there shall be an officer of each of the regiments of foot to go along with the constables or such other person as the justices shall appoint. You will press to have this done as soon as possible, to avoid the confusion that may otherwise happen, if the troops should come over before this matter is settled. The number of troops that are to come over you will see by the enclosed.

“I am Sir

“Your obedient humble servant

“GEORGE CLARK.”

(Secretary at War in the absence
of Mr. Blathwayt).To Mr. Crawford,
(Commry. of Musters).

Includes 3 troops of Horse-Guards; one troop of Granadeer-Guards; First Regt. of Foot-Guards; Coldstream Regt. of Foot-Guards; and “one Company of Cadees” consisting of 3 Serjts., 1 capt. of arms, 3 Corpls., 2 Drummers, and 86 Cadees.

APPENDIX No. XXI.

HEADS OF THE LATE LORD-GENERAL'S FUNCTION, 1678.

(State Paper Office.)

*Endorsed “Heads of the late Lord-General's Function,” &c. Endorsed by
Sir Joseph Williamson (1678).*

“His Majesties establishment comprizes all military officers in His Majesties guards, forces, and garrisons, with the number of each troop, regiment, and company, and their pay respectively. The officers' commissions are all entered in the office of the Commissary-General of the Musters, by which they know the names of the persons commissioned for the said military offices, and by the establishment it appears what numbers of soldiers are allowed to be under their respective commands. The Commissaries-General (thus governed in the business of the musters) do muster the forces and garrisons seven times in every year; that is to say, two musters of forty-two days each, in summer, when the days are long, and five musters of fifty-six days each for the rest of the year. Of every muster of a troop or company, three rolls are signed by ye Commissaries of ye officers, one of which rolls, written in parchment, is carried to the Paymaster-General, who thereupon audits the account of what is due upon each muster to the troops, regiments, and companies respectively, and sent certificates or debentures for the same to the late Lord-General, upon which he gave warrants to Sir Stephen Fox to pay the monies due to them accordingly, soon after the expiration of every muster. One other of the said muster rolls was still kept by ye commissaries, and the third roll was kept by ye officers of the respective troops, regiments, and companies.

“In garrisons and quarters where no allowances was settled for fire and candle for the guards kept by them in His Majesties establishment, the late Lord-General gave warrants to the Paymaster-General for twelve-pence a day for fire and candle for the guards kept by each company; and the late Lord-General likewise gave warrants to the Paymaster-General for the payment of all others needful contingent charges of His Majesties forces and garrisons, all which allowances and payments were assigned

to be paid out of the monies allowed and designed (in His Majesties establishment) for contingent charges, the same (in the present establishment) being thirteen hundred pounds per annum.

"No troops or companies removed or changed their quarters but by warrant from the Lord-General, who (but upon absolute necessity) would not appoint the same unless it were soon after ye expiration of a muster, because at these times they were usually furnished with monies to pay their quarters at the places from whence they removed.

"Armes and ammunition for the guards, forces, and garrisons was issued out by order from the Lord-General, directed to the Commissaries of His Majesties Ordinance; but where great supplies were desired of stores for garrisons, it was first brought to His Majesties or the Council's consideration, unless it were for the changing of new arms for old unserviceable arms spent or spoiled in His Majesties service. In all orders for parties to march the constables were required to be assisting for the quartering of them upon their march in Inns, victualling-houses, and ale-houses. All orders for convoyes of His Majesties treasure directed that the officers commanding those convoyes should observe such orders as should be given them by the conductor or other civil officer who had the charge of the treasure (whose names were usually sent from the Commissaries of the Treasury Chamber or the Navy Office, and were inserted in the orders) until the treasure were safely lodged at the place of its designation.

"Upon information of disobedience of inferior officers towards their superior officers or of soldiers to their officers, or other great offences, the Lord-General gave commissions to court-martials to examine such offences, and to bring such offenders to their trial and condigne punishment, provided that the same extended not to the taking away of life or limb, lesser offences being punished by regimental court-martial or court-martials of the garrisons.

"Complaints of creditors of officers or soldiers were usually referred to their superior officers to examine and compose the differences, or report the cases to the Lord-General. After reports that the debts were just, if the debtor being an officer did not satisfy his creditor by payment or security within a time limited, the General then left him to the law; and if it were the case of a private soldier, the General ordered his captain to discharge him, and to entertain another into his place. In the orders leaving officers to the law, there was a restriction that their persons should not be arrested. Whensoever His Majesty gave order for the raising of any forces, and had given commissions to the officers, the General gave orders to them for the raising of their men by beat of drum for the arming, quartering, and for the mustering of each troop and company (as soon as half the numbers established for them should be brought to be mustered), and likewise for the paying of them from the day of their first muster (as soon as conveniently might be) to the day of the then next general muster of the forces, that all the musters might commence together.

"When His Majesty gave orders for the disbanding or reducing of any of the forces, the General sent orders to the troops, regiments, or companies, for the disbanding or reducing of them accordingly (by a day limited in the orders, from which time their pay is determined), and for the delivering up of their arms into His Majesties stores, and sending the General a receipt for the same, which receipts the General sent to the Commissaries of the Ordinance. No addition was made to the establishment but by additional establishments prepared by the General, who sent, under his hand (at the bottom) five duplicates of them to his Majesties principal Secretary of State, to be humbly presented to his Majesty. After his Majesty signed them, they were distributed as followeth, to wit, one of them to the General, one of them to his Majesties Principal Secretary, one of them to the Paymaster-General, another to the Commissary-General, and one of them to the Commissaries of the Treasury; and the like course was taken about all general establishments.

"The forces in town quarter in the City and Liberties of Westminster, and in the outlets of the City of London without the walls; the justices of peace direct therein, and the quarter-masters and constables signed the billets they are all upon inns, victualling-houses, taverns, and ale-houses; complaints of quarters, or of differences between soldiers and townsmen, were by the General still referred to the Earl of Craven, whose influence with the civil magistrates always tended to the composure or according of those differences, and was always effectual in that behalf."

APPENDIX No. XXII.

ROYAL WARRANT, 28 MAY, 1686. GRATUITIES FOR WOUNDS.

(W.O. records.)

"Whereas, by the Establishment of our Forces, We have been graciously pleased to direct an allowance to be made to such Non-commissioned Officers and Soldiers as should be wounded or hurt in our service : Our Will and Pleasure is, that out of such monies as are or shall come to your hands for the contingent uses of our Guards, &c. you cause the sums following to be paid to the Non-commissioned Officers and Soldiers of Our Royal Regt. of Horse, hereunder mentioned, vitz :

	£	s.	d.
Edwd. Crooke	30	8	4
Stephen Aston	20	0	0
Price Bevins	12	0	0
Oxenbridge Harwood	30	8	4
Chas. Fisher, Trumpeter	5	0	0
Wm. Philpott	5	0	0
John Wood	9	0	0
Saml. Tibbs... ..	9	0	0
Thomas White	9	0	0
Nathaniel Ablet	20	0	0
Geo. Halgate	5	0	0
John Price	5	0	0
Rowland Lloyd	30	8	4
James Mills	5	0	0
Saml. Equisney	25	0	0
	£220	5	0

Which summes, amounting in all to two hundred and twenty pounds five shillings, are to be paid to the said persons in consideration of their wounds, received in our service during the late Rebellion ; and for so doing this, together with the Acquittances of the said persons, or their Assigns, shall be your discharge.—Given, &c. the 28th of May, 1686, in the second year of Our Reign.

"By H.M.'s Command,
"W.B.

"To our right Trusty and well-beloved Cousin and
Councillor, Richard, Earl of Ranelagh, Pay-
master-General of our Guards and Land Forces."

APPENDIX No. XXIII.

ROYAL WARRANT, 13 FEBY., 1677-8.—ARMAMENT.

(W.O. records.)

"Right trusty and well-beloved Councillor, We greet you well. We having given order for the recruiting of the respective troops of our own Regiment of Horse Guards under the command of our Right trusty and Right entirely beloved Cousin and Councillor, Aubrey, Earl of Oxford, with ten Soldiers apiece to make them up to threescore troopers apiece besides officers ; and being informed that the arms of two Soldiers in each of the said troops, who were many years since discharged (because their pay was allowed to their said Colonel which is now discontinued), are lost or mislaid, and five of the said troops having by our order furnished six men apiece, with their arms towards Captain Wind's troop, Our will and pleasure therefore is, that out of our stores belonging to the Office of our Ordnance, you cause 126 carbines, with 126 suites of arms,—to wit, Backs, Breasts, and Potts, to be delivered unto our trusty and well-beloved Sir Francis Compton Kt., Major of the said Regiment or to

such Officer or Officers as he shall appoint, for the arming of 12 troopers in each of the eight troops for the said Regiment, and for the arming of six men apiece to be taken into the said five troops in lieu of the arms of the men furnished to Captain Wind's troop as aforesaid ; for which this with the indentures or receipts for the same shall be your sufficient warrant and discharge.

"Given at Our Court at Whitehall the 13th day of February, 1677/8.

"By his Matys. Command,

"WILLIAMSON.

"To our Right trusty and well-beloved Councillor
Sir Thomas Chicheley, our Master-General of
our Ordnance."

APPENDIX No. XXIV.

REGULATIONS FOR THE MUSTERS, 5 MAY, 1663.

(Dom. State Papers.)

"Orders and Instructions to be observed by Our Commissary General of the Musters and his Deputy, and by the Officers and soldiers of Our respective Guards of Horse and Foot, and Our several garrisons in Our pay and entertainment.

"1. None shall be allowed upon any muster, who by loss of limbs or otherwise is unable for Our Service, but by order from us or Our General.

"2. No Officer or soldier shall be allowed or passed the muster that diligently attends not his duty, and is not present at the muster, except absent by permission of us or Our General, or the chief officer commanding the regt., troop, or garrison to which he belongs, and none to be absent more than two months in a year, except such as are Members of Parliament, and then during their sitting in Parliament.

"3. All passes or licenses for being absent shall be presented to the Muster-master, who is required to enter the same in a book, fairly written, to prevent collusion ; and whoever exceeds the time limited by his pass for his absence shall be respited, and not to be allowed the muster without order of Our General.

"4. None shall present himself or be presented to be mustered by a counterfeit name or surname, thereby to defraud Us of Our pay, or upon any other accompt ; and that officer or soldier offending herein, upon complaint thereof to Our General shall be casheered, and also lose his pay for such musters.

"5. No housekeeper in the usual quarters of Our Guards of Horse or Foot, or Our other regts., or in any other garrison, shall be received and entertained into Our Service and pay, and mustered as a private soldier, without order of Our General ; nor shall any officer demand or receive, directly or indirectly, any sum of money whatsoever, of or from any non-commission Officer or private soldier for admitting and entertaining him into any of Our troops, companies, or garrisons under his command.

"6. All Commissions granted by Us or Our General, to any Officer in Our pay, shall be presented to the Muster-Master, who is to enter the same in a book, fairly written ; and no Commission-Officer shall be allowed in musters who is not commissioned by Us or our General, or that refuseth or neglects to enter the same with Our Commissary-General of the Musters, or his Deputy.

"7. None shall be mustered but such as are completely armed ; vizt., Each Horseman to have for his defensive arms, back, breast, and pot, and for his offensive arms, a sword, a case of pistols the barrels whereof are not to be under fourteen inches in length, and each trooper of Our Guards to have a carbine besides the aforesaid arms. And the Foot to have each soldier a sword ; and each pikeman a pike of sixteen foot long and not under ; and each musqueteer a musquet, with a collar of bandaleers, the barrel of which musquet to be about four foot long, and to contain a bullet fourteen of which shall weigh a pound weight.

"8. No soldier shall depart from his Colours without license of his chief officer of the troop, company, or garrison to which he belongs, it being felony by the Statute of the 18th of Henry VI, Cap. 19.

"Nor shall any non-commission officer or private soldier, after enrolment and being mustered, be dismissed or casheered by any officer without order of Our General, or a regimental Court-Martial ; and in case such non-commission officer or private soldier be of Our troop of Horse-Guards, by a Court consisting of the then present Commission-Officers of the three troops of Horse-Guards ; nor out of any garrison, but by a Court-Martial as Our General shall direct, or by his order.

"9. The Muster-Master shall always give convenient notice to the Officer in chief commanding the regt., troop, or company, or garrison, before the muster-day

of the time and place for the muster, that the officers and soldiers may have time to make ready for the muster, and that three muster-rolls may be prepared of their respective troops and companies; in which rolls the names of all the private soldiers are to be written alphabetically; one of which rolls is to be in parchment for the Paymaster, and to be subscribed (with one also which the Muster-Master is to keep) by two Commission-Officers at least of their respective troops and compies., together with the Muster-Master, and the other muster-roll to be subscribed only by the Muster-Master, which the officer is to keep, and no roll to be received and allowed by the Muster-Master and Paymaster otherwise, and the said muster-rolls to be perfected forthwith after the muster.

"10. No officer or soldier shall be mustered and paid in a double capacity, except a general officer or field officer in the same regiment whereof he is a field-officer, or governor of a garrison having command of Horse and Foot for our service in the same, except by Our special warrant or order of our General; which warrant or order shall be also registered with Our Commissary-General of Musters in a book.

"11. All officers [and soldiers, together with the Muster-Masters, not duly observing these orders and instructions, or any of them respectively, shall be cashiered.

"Whitehall, May 5th, 1663.

"To Our Commissary-General of the Musters and his deputies, and to all officers and soldiers of Our respective Guards of Horse and Foot, and Our several garrisons in Our pay and entertainment.

"By His Majesty's Command,
(Signed) "HENRY BENNET."

Note.—Fresh Orders to much the same effect were issued 23 Feby., 1679: W.O. records.

APPENDIX No. XXV.

ROYAL WARRANT, 6 NOVR., 1688.—ARMAMENT.

(W.O. records.)

"Our Will and Pleasure is, that you cause our Royal Regiment of Horse, under your command, to march from Winchester on Thursday, being the eighth day of this instant November, to Salisbury, where they are to remain till further order. And you are to cause the Regiment to leave their armour at Winchester, with the Mayor or Chief Magistrate, taking a receipt for the same, to be delivered by them to the Officers of Our Ordnance, or such as shall be appointed by them.

"Given, &c., 6 Novr., 1688.

"W. BLATHWAYT.

"To our dearly beloved, &c.,

"James, Duke of Berwick.

"It is His Majesty's pleasure, that the several Officers may carry their own armour with them if they think fit."

APPENDIX No. XXVI.

WARRANT, DUBLIN, 11 JANY., 1697-8.—DISBANDMENTS.

(Dub. State papers.)

To Denny Muschampe, Esqr., Muster-Master-General; with reference to Royal Letters of 1 Jany. and of 31 Decr.

Disbanded soldiers may carry away their clothes, cloaks and accoutrements.

"Troops of Horse and Dragoons to be reduced to 46 private soldiers per troop, the servants included."

Horses to be the property of the men if paid for out of the levy-money, and the soldier having a year's service: otherwise the horses to be sold, and the money retained for the present.

Troopers with horses to receive seven days' full pay; those without, fourteen days'.

APPENDIX No. XXVII.

ROYAL LETTER, 20 MAR., 1698-9.—STRENGTH.

(Dublin State Papers.)

Reductions to assigned strength Horse Foot and Dragoons.

"Vizt. each troop of our *Light Horse* to two Corporals, one Trumpeter, and thirty-six Private men besides Officers; each troop of Dragoons to one Serjeant, two Corporals, one Drum, one Hoboy and thirty-six Private men besides Officers; and our several regiments of Foot to eleven Companies of two Serjeants, two Corporals, one Drum and thirty-six Private men in each company besides Officers, Our Royal Regiment only excepted," which on arrival in Ireland is to be reduced to twenty-two Companies of like numbers.

(Signed) BLATHWAYT.

APPENDIX No. XXVIII.

ROYAL WARRANT, HAMPTON COURT, 29 JULY, 1689.—SUPPLY OF RATIONS IN THE FIELD.

(Harl. MSS. 7,439.)

"Whereas we have given directions to John Shales Esqre., Our Commissary General of the provisions" to issue provisions to Irish Army in "such quantities and sorts as the General or Commander in Chief of said forces should direct":

Commissary General to furnish Paymaster General with statement of the rates and prices of supplies of provisions to troops and latter to withhold subsistence money until repaid "any sum that shall be due for the said provisions, not exceeding four pence per diem from Privates and Non-commissioned Officers of Foot and twelve pence from Privates and Non-commissioned Officers of Horse and sevenpence farthing from Privates and Non-commissioned Officers of Dragoons."

APPENDIX No. XXIX.

ROYAL WARRANT, 28 APRIL, 1684.—ARMAMENT.

(W.O. records.)

"Charles R.

"Right trusty and well-beloved Counsellor, We greet you well. Having thought fit to establish two Companies of Granadeers on foot to be established to Our two Regts. of Guards, consisting of one Captain, two Lieutenants, three Serjeants, three Corporals and fifty Private soldiers in each of them: Our will and pleasure is that out of Our stores remaining in the office of Our Ordnance you cause to be delivered to such officer or officers as the respective Colonels or chief officers of the said regts. shall appoint to receive the same, two drums, fifty-three light fuseses with slings, fifty-three cartouch-boxes with girdles, three halberds, two partisans, fifty-three granado-pouches, fifty-three bayonets, fifty-three hatchets with girdles, for each of the two compies., as soon as they shall have delivered their present arms into the office of Ordnance.

"And for so doing this," &c., &c.

Given, &c., "Windsor, 28 April, 1684.

"By His Majesty's Command,

"SUNDERLAND."

APPENDIX No. XXX.

ROYAL WARRANT, 26 JANY., 1683-4.—ARMAMENT.

(W.O. records.)

Being an Order for exchanging the arms of Twelve Compies. of the Coldstream Guards, each Compy. to have

43 Snaphance Musquets (of the newest pattern).
20 Pikes.
2 Halberds.

APPENDIX No. XXXI.

ROYAL WARRANT, 14 JANY., 1677-8.—ARMAMENT.

(W.O. records.)

Being an order for increasing the strength of the Coldstream Guards by 480 men, the arms to be issued for them being

320 Musquets.
320 Collars of Bandaleers.
160 Pikes.
12 Halberts.

APPENDIX No. XXXII.

ROYAL LETTER, 1 DECR., 1697.—DISBANDMENTS.

(Dublin State Papers.)

Ordering reduction of Foot Companies to 42 Privates, servants included, 2 Sergts., 3 Corpls., 1 Drum; companies of Granadeers only excepted. Each Private and Drummer to be paid three shillings for his sword, and (as well as Serjeants) to be allowed "as of His Majesty's Royal Bounty ten days' subsistence from the time of their discharge to carry them home" "that is, to each Private 3s. 4d." The swords to be put into the stores of war.

The instructions to the Muster Master General upon this Warrant, dated 18 Decr., 1697, desire him to see that a settlement of accounts is effected between the soldiers and their officers; and adds that the soldiers may carry away their "clothes, belt, and snapsack."

The above was promulgated by Order, Dublin, 18 Decr., 1697.

APPENDIX No. XXXIII.

ROYAL WARRANT, 8 APRIL, 1699.—REDUCTIONS.

(Dublin State Papers.)

Two Companies of every regt. of Foot to be reduced. All regts. to consist of 11 Companies of 2 Serjts., 2 Corpls., 1 Drum, and 36 Privates.

Care to be taken that the "youngest companies" (Granadeers excepted) be the ones reduced.

APPENDIX No. XXXIV.

ROYAL WARRANT, 14 APR., 1678.—LEVY-MONEY.

(W.O. records.)

“Charles R.

“We having thought fit and accordingly ordered that there shall be 100 men raised besides Officers, to serve as a Company of Granadeers under Captain Wm. Rigg’s command, which Compy. We have thought fit to add to the Coldstream Regt. of Our Foot-Guards under your command; and We having allowed the sum of One Hundred Pounds to be put into your hands as levy-money for the raising of the said Company; We do hereby declare that the said levy-money is to be paid unto you upon condition that you shall be answerable unto Us for the making and completing of the said levy of the said Compy. within six weeks next after that you shall have received the said levy-money in order to the paying of it to the said Capt. Rigg.

Given, &c., “Whitehall, 4 Apr., 1678.

“By H.M.’s Command,

“To Our, &c., &c.,

“J. WILLIAMSON.

“William, Earl of Craven,

“Col. of the Coldstream Regt. of Our Foot-Guards.”

R. Warrt., same date, for adding Granadeer Companies to Littleton’s (Marine) Regt.

R. Warrt., 6 Apr., 1678, to similar purport, for First Foot-Guards.

R. Warrt., 13 Apr., 1678, ditto, for “Holland” Regt. (Third Foot).

R. Warrt., 18 Mar., 1678, ditto, for Sir Chas. Wheeler’s Regt.

APPENDIX No. XXXV.

ROYAL WARRANT, 22 FEBY., 1685/6.—BAYONETS.

(Home Office records.)

“James R.

“Right trusty and well-beloved Counsellor we greet you well.

“It being necessary that all the musqueteers in Our two regts. of Guards should, for their more complete arming, be furnished with bayonets: Our will and pleasure is, that you cause to be delivered to the respective officers of Our said regts. the number of such bayonets as Our said stores (of the Ordnance) afford, proportionable to the said musqueteers in each of them. And for so doing this shall be your Warrant.

“Given, &c., Whitehall, 22 Feby., 1685/6.

“By His Majesty’s Command,

“SUNDERLAND.

“To Our trusty and well-beloved Cousin,

“Lord Dartmouth.”

APPENDIX No. XXXVI.

WARRANT, 24 FEBY., 1664/5.—ARMAMENT.

(W.O. records.)

“To the Right Hon. John Berkley and the rest of the Commissioners for managing the Office of His Majesty’s Ordnance.

“These are to desire you to cause to be delivered out of His Majesty’s stores in the Tower of London, unto Capt. John Huitson, 500 Matchlocks with 500 Collars of Bandeliers for the use of 500 men, which are to be raised by His Majesty’s order, and added to my regt. for sea-service.

“Given under my hand, 24 Feby., 1664/5.

“ALBEMARLE.”

APPENDIX No. XXXVII.

ROYAL WARRANT, 21 FEBY., 1669.—ARMAMENT.

(W.O. records.)

Being an order to the Commissioners of the Ordnance to issue to parties of the Foot-Guards and the Admiral's Regt., going for sea-service

"136 fire-arms, 11 barrels of powder, 1,100 lbs. of match with bullet proportionable, and 136 Collars of bandaleeres (a third part of which said fire-arms are to be snap-hances)."

APPENDIX No. XXXVIII.

ROYAL WARRANT, 29 APRIL, 1674.—ARMAMENT.

(W.O. Records.)

Extract :

"In regard that 50 soldiers a piece of the three companies of the King's regiment and Coldstream regiment of Foot Guards, which were in the service of the King of France, together with their arms, were delivered for the recruiting of Colonel John Churchill's regiment ; our will and pleasure is that out of the stores of the Ordnance you cause 150 soldiers' arms, in the usual proportion of matchlock and snaphance musquets and pikes, with collars of bandaleers to the fire arms, to be delivered in lieu of so many left with the soldiers aforesaid, and further to exchange for serviceable arms 34 arms of Captain Skelton's company, 38 of Captain Sackville's, and 40 of Captain Huitson's."

Dated 29th April, 1674.

APPENDIX No. XXXIX.

REGULATIONS FOR MUSTERS, WHITEHALL, 21 FEBRY., 1686/7.

Extract :

"The Musqueteers of our regiment of Foot-Guards to have Snaphance Musquets, with bright barrels, of three foot eight inches long in the barrel, with good swords, bandoliers, and bayonets ; and the Pikemen (as also the Pikemen of all other regiments) to have pikes sixteen feet long, with good swords.

"Musquetiers of all other regiments of Foot (excepting our Regiment of Fusiliers, the Granadiers, and the company of Miners) to have Matchlock and Snaphance Musquets ; the barrels whereof to be three foot six inches long, good swords, and bandoliers.

"Our Royal Regiment of Fusiliers to have Snaphance Musquets, strapped, with bright barrels of three foot eight inches long, with good swords, cartouch boxes, and bayonets.

"All the Foot Granadiers of Our Army, both regimented and non-regimented, to have long carbines, strapped ; the barrels whereof to be three foot two inches long, cartouche boxes, bayonets, granade pouches, and hammer hatchets.

"The Company of Miners to have long carbines, strapped ; the barrels to be three foot two inches in length, cartouche boxes, bayonets, and extraordinary hammer hatchets.

"The Dragoons to have Snaphance Musquets, strapped, with bright barrels of three foot eight inches long, cartouche boxes, bayonets, granade pouches, buckets, and hammer hatchets."

APPENDIX No. XL.

ROYAL WARRANT, 4 MAR., 1686/7.—SIDE-ARMS.

(W.O. records.)

"For the preventing of mischief that may happen by the carrying of Bayonets, We do hereby strictly forbid all officers and soldiers of what quality soever, within our pay and entertainment, to carry a Dagger or Bayonett at any other time than when such officers or soldiers shall be upon duty, or under their arms, upon pain of being punished at the discretion of a Court Martial."

Proceeds to direct the Warrant to be read at the head of each regiment, troop, or company.

"Whitehall, 4 Mar., 1686/7.

"By H.M.'s Command,

"WM. BLATHWAYT."

APPENDIX No. XLI.

ROYAL WARRANTS, 1 JANRY., 1685, AND 1 MAY, 1689.—BLOOD MONEY AND PENSIONS.

(Harl MSS. 7,018 and 7,436.)

Abstract :

Establishment and Regulation of Rewards and other provisions to be made for H.M.'s Land Forces.

For the Commission Officers wounded in fight.

H.M.'s bounty is to be distinguished by the quality or degree of the person wounded, and of the regt., troop, or compy. to which he belongs, whether of the Guards, Horse, or Foot, or Dragoons ; and the same to be bestowed in ready money and not by pension, which is to be one year's pay where the wound shall occasion the loss of an eye or limb or the total loss of the use of any limb, or be such as shall, upon a search made by the Chirurgion Genl. of the Forces, be by him certified to be in all effects thereof of equal prejudice to the health of the body with the loss of a limb. Where the wound shall not extend to the loss of a limb, H.M. will order a proportionable reward to the person in full satisfaction according to the nature of the wound and merit of the officers.

All N.C.O. and soldiers that are or shall be wounded or disabled in fight or any other accident in the service of the Crown, are to be provided for in the Royal Hospital at Chelsea in such manner as H.M. shall hereafter direct, and are in the meantime to receive the allowances following out of the monies appointed for the use of the said Hospl., vizt. :

	Per diem.	
	s.	d.
To a private Soldier	0	5
„ „ Drummer	0	7
„ „ Sergt.	0	11
„ „ Corpl.	0	7
„ one of the troop of Guards	1	6
„ one of the light horse	1	0
„ a Corpl. of ditto	1	6
„ a Drs. Corpl.	0	9
„ a Master Gunner	1	2
„ another Gunner	0	7
„ a Dragoon... ..	0	6

Which daily allowances and future provisions in Chelsea Hospls. are also to be made to such N.C.O. and soldiers as having served the Crown 20 yrs. shall become unfit for service. If not disabled by their wounds from future service, the Colonels to certify a fit reward for the person wounded in full satisfaction.

The Colonel, Chirurgion General, or Chief Commander, to certify also in the other cases.

Eleven months' pay allowed to the widow of any person slain in fight.

The proportion of the said bounty to each Orphan of the person slain is to be one-third of what is allowed to the widow.

But not to the Orphan married at the time of his or her father's death.

If no widow, and the mother of the slain be indigent, above fifty years old and a widow (and not otherwise), she shall have a right to the same bounty as is provided for the widow, with further directions for securing the money allotted hereby to Orphans.

Regulations, or Royal Warrant (to the same purport), for Rewards and Pensions, are given in Harl. MSS. 7.436.

Not dated but signed { Rochester } and entered between 19 Apl., 1686, and the
 { Sutherland }
 last entry (12 March, 1686/7); and must have been prior to 5 Nov., 1688.

APPENDIX No. XLII.

ROYAL WARRANT, 12 SEPR., 1666.—PRECEDENCE.

(W.O. records.)

“ Charles Rex,

“ For the prevention of all questions and disputes that might arise for or concerning the ranks of the several regiments, troops and companies, which now are or at any time hereafter shall be employed in our service, and of the several officers and commanders of the same, as well upon Service and in the field, as in all Councils of War and other military Occasions.—Where they shall be called to appear in their respective qualities, We have thought good to issue these following rules and directions.

“ First, as to the Foot, That the regiment of Guards take place of all other regiments, and the Colonel be always reckoned, and take place as the First Foot Colonel; the General's regiment to take place next, the Admiral's immediately after, and all other regiments and Colonels to take place according to the date of their Commissions.

“ Secondly. As to the Horse, That the three troops of Guards take place before all others, that the Captains take their rank as eldest Colonels of Horse, the Lieutenants as eldest Majors, and the Cornets as eldest Captains of Horse.

“ That the King's Regiment of Horse take place immediately after the Guards, and the Colonel of it to have precedency immediately after the Captains of the Guards, and before all other Colonels of Horse; all other Colonels of Horse to take their rank according to the date of their commissions.

“ Thirdly. That the eldest Colonel do in all occasions command; and when there shall be no Colonel upon the place, then the Lieutenant-Colonel of the eldest regiment, and in like manner where no Lieutenant-Colonel, the Major, and so down to the Captains and other inferior officers.

“ Fourthly. That all officers under the condition of a General Officer, when they shall happen to be put into any garrison, shall, during their being there, obey the Governor of the same or his deputies.

“ Given at our Court at Whitehall this 12th day of September, 1666.

“ By H.M.'s Command,
 “ ARLINGTON.”

N.B.—See also Apps. CIX, and XLII to XLIV, and XVIII.

APPENDIX No. XLIII.

ROYAL WARRANT, 24 JUNE, 1675.—PRECEDENCE OF THE HOUSEHOLD TROOPS.

(W.O. records.)

“Charles R.

“Our Will and Pleasure is, That these following Orders be duly observed by the respective Officers of the three Troops of our Horse Guards, and of the Troops of our Regiment of Horse Guards, commanded by Our right trusty and right well-beloved Cousin and Counsellor, Aubrey, Earl of Oxford, as followeth :—

“1. When the Troops march with their Colours, That then the Officers of the same degree do command according to the seniority of the Troops respectively.

“2. When they are commanded out in Parties, the Officers also of the same degree are to command according to the date of their Commissions.

“3. That Our own Regiment of Horse Guards above-mentioned do keep its post, whatever change may be of the Colonel ; and all the Officers thereof, of like same degree, do take place according to the dates of their Commissions.

“And it is Our further Will and Pleasure that Our most dear and most intirely beloved Son, James Duke of Monmouth do communicate these Orders” &c. &c. &c.

Given at Our Court at Whitehall, the 24th day of June, 1675.

By His Majesty's Command,
J. WILLIAMSON.

To our most dear and most intirely beloved Son,
James, Duke of Monmouth.

APPENDIX No. XLIV.

ROYAL WARRANT, 1 MAR., 1672-3.—PRECEDENCE.

(W.O. records.)

“Charles Rex,

“For the preventing of all questions and disputes for or concerning the ranks of our several regiments of foot, We have thought fit to issue these following rules and directions :—

“First. The Captains of our own regiments of Foot Guards take place of all other Captains of Foot, and command accordingly ; and in the town or other quarters where they come to do duty, they are to have the main guard without dispute as being their fixed post : and upon all drawings-up they are to have the right, and upon all marches to be in the van.

“Secondly. That the Captains of the Coldstream Regiment of our Foot Guards be ranked and command next to the Captains of our own Regiment of Foot Guards, and to have preference of other regiments in having the main-guards ; the right-hand in drawing up, and the van in marches accordingly.

“Thirdly. That Captains of other regiments of Foot shall be ranked and command according to the seniorities of the regiments they are of, and not otherwise.

“Fourthly. That when the eight companies which we sent out of several regiments into France shall be in the field, that then they make a battalion apart, and draw up on the right hand of our dear and entirely beloved son James Duke of Monmouth's regiment.

“Given at our Court at Whitehall this 1st day of March, 1672/3.

By H.M.'s Command,
“ARLINGTON.”

APPENDIX No. XLV.

LETTER. EARL OF MONMOUTH TO E. OF FEVERSHAM,
SEPTR., 1678.

Monmouth's Entries ; State paper office.

" September, 1678.

" My Lord,

" I have received Your Lordship's of the 6th and 9th. The King doth not think fit to make any alterations in the Commissions of the Officers of the Guards, but they must stand as they now are to content themselves with a precedence before all others of the same degree.

" As to the march of the Guards it is my opinion that they should always march in the centre of the Brigade they are in, and camp there too.

" The King is not yet come to any resolution concerning the quantity of bread to be allowed to the Officers, for which reason there hath been none ordered as yet.

" As to their subalterns who have taken care of the sick at Brussels, the King is pleased to consider their extraordinary charge in that place, as Your Lordship represents it, and would have an account kept of those that have done their duty there, to whom there will be something ordered as a gratuity.

" Your Lordship will likewise order exact account to be kept of what is due for bread more than the stuyver per diem ordered to be stopt, from the time you had notice to make the deduction according to the Contract, which overplus the King will have paid by easy deductions from the soldiers when they are out of the field and have no bread furnished them ; and in making up the said account it is to be remembered that the bread given at first was only rye-bread for some days, and was to be paid for at the Hollanders' price, which is, I suppose, less than a stuyver a ration," &c., &c., &c.

" I am,

" Your Lordship's humble servant,

" MONMOUTH.

" To the Earl of Feversham."

APPENDIX No. XLVI.

ROYAL WARRANT, 12/22 JULY, 1691.—RANK.

(W.O. records.)

" Whereas by His Majesty's Warrant under his Royal sign-manual bearing date at Gembours the 9/19 day of July, 1691, in the third year of his reign, giving for the time to come the rank and command of Captains of Foot to the Lieutenants of his First and Second Regts. of Foot-Guards, and has thereby directed and authorised one of his principal Secretaries of State to issue out, under his hand and seal, particular significations of his pleasure therein to all and every of the present Lieutenants of the said regts., thereby authorising and empowering them to take their rank and command as Captains of Foot accordingly ; These are therefore, by virtue of the authority aforesaid, to authorise and empower you to take your rank and command as Captain of Foot ; and hereof all officers and soldiers, whom it may concern, are required to take due notice and pay obedience to His Majesty's pleasure accordingly.

" Given at the Camp at Gerpynes, the 12/22 day of July, 1691.

" SYDNEY."

(To the several Lieuts. of the 1st and 2nd Foot-Guards.)

APPENDIX No. XLVII.

ORDERS, RULES, AND INSTRUCTIONS FOR THE MUSTERS,
29 JULY, 1697.

(Dublin State Papers.)

(Extracts.)

Provides that ;

1. All troops, "and the Officers and Artificers of the Train of Artillery," to be mustered by the Muster Master General or his Deputies at least four times a year or oftener if directed.

2. No Commissary to go the same circuit twice successively, or to omit mustering in passing through a place.

3. Commissary to arrive late in the evening, and give notice for Muster early next morning. Muster Rolls to be alphabetical, and in columns to show Age, place of birth, complexion, and time of entrance, according to the *method observed here before the late wars*.

4. One copy of the Rolls to remain with Officer Commanding regiment signed by the Commissary only ;

One signed by all the Commanding Officers present to the Muster Master Genl. and to the Comptroller of the Musters.

6. No leave except from Lords Justices.

7. } Certificates of Commanding Officers to men on detach., deserters, death, or
8. } discharge, to be countersigned by a Justice of the Peace and the Commissary.
9. }

10. No men under 17 years of age or over 40 years.

No frauds by Officers.

11. No officer to make agreement with soldiers for less than their proper pay, nor to take money for enlisting men.

12. No borrowed arms, horses, or furniture : Commissaries responsible for the efficiency of all these.

14. The allowed number of servants not to be in the ranks but at the head of each troop or company, and such as do not so appear to be chequered.

20. The Comptroller of Musters and Muster Master General distinct.

APPENDIX No. XLVIII.

ROYAL WARRANT, NEWMARKET, 7 MAR., 1683-4.—CHIESEA
HOSPITAL.

" Charles R.

" Whereas, out of our great care for the maintenance of such as have, or shal have served in Our Land Forces, We have given order for the building and finishing a Royal Hospital, and it being also reasonable that such Officers as receive Our Commissions should contribute to so good and charitable a work, Our Will and pleasure is that when any Governor of Our Forts or Garrisons, or any Commission Officer of Our Land Forces shall obtain leave from Us to surrender his Commission, Command, or Employment, and that at his humble request We shall grant the same to any other, That in such case the person so surrendering his Command shall pay twelve pence out of every twenty shillings that shall be given him in case of such surrender, And that the person likewise to whom the said surrender shall be made shall also pay twelve pence for every twenty shillings given to the person so surrendering as aforesaid," &c. The Warrant then directs this tax to be applied to the use of the Royal Hospital (at Chelsea).

APPENDIX No. XLIX.

ROYAL WARRANT, 15 NOV., 1672.—COURTS OF INQUIRY.

(W.O. records.)

“ Charles R.

“ Some quarrel or misdemeanours having lately happened between Lieut. George Lascells and Ensign Robert (Roger) Kirkby, two Officers of the Coldstream Regt. of our Foot Guards, under the command of our right trusty and well-beloved cousin and counsellour William Earl of Craven, at the Foot Guards of the said regiment, our will and pleasure is, that there be a court-martial, to consist of six captains of our regiment of Guards under the command of our right trusty and well-beloved Colonel John Russell, and of six captains of the said Coldstream regiment (of which court-martial Lieut.-Colonel Edward Grey is to be president), to hear and examine the business aforesaid. You are therefore to give directions to the martial of our said regiment of Guards to attend the said colonels respectively, for their nominations of the captains of their regiments respectively, to sit at the said court-martial, and to summon the said president and twelve captains to meet and hold the said court-martial for this business, and to give notice to the parties concerned for the time and place of such court-martial, the martial of the said regiment being hereby required to observe such directions therein, and to attend the said court-martial. And we do hereby authorise and require the said court-martial to hear and examine the aforesaid matter, and (after full examination and hearing thereof) to give judgment and sentence therein according to military discipline, or according to such rules as we have given in matters of that nature, which they are hereby authorised to cause to be put in execution. For which this shall be sufficient warrant. Given at our Court at Whitehall, the 15th day of Novr., 1672.

“ By H.M.’s Command,

“ ARLINGTON.

“ To our trusty and well-beloved

“ Doctor Samuel Barrow, Judge-Advocate to our Forces.”

A similar Warrant of 26 Mar., 1670, respecting a quarrel between a Cornet and Corporal in Oxford’s Horse; to consist of six captains.

A similar Warrt. of 9 Apl., 1678, respecting a quarrel between a Capt. and two Lieuts. of the Coldstream Guards.

Warrt., 12 July, 1678, by Capt.-General to Commanding Officers of the Duke of York’s regt. of Horse, “ from time to time as you shall see cause ” to “ call and hold “ regimental Courts-Martial to consist of five or more Commissioned Officers ” of the Regt., to investigate any misdemeanours, &c., and to proceed to sentence and punishment, “ provided that it extend not to the taking away of life or limb.”

Similar Warrts., 10 Sept. and 1 Novr., 1678, to Commanding Officers of Sir J. Talbot’s and Earl of Feversham’s Dragoons, all these being newly raised regts. (All from W.O. records.)

APPENDIX No. L.

ROYAL WARRANT, 7 FEBR., 1632.—THE ENGLISH MARCH.

(From the MS. of E. of Huntingdon, as given by Walpole in C. of royal and noble authors.)

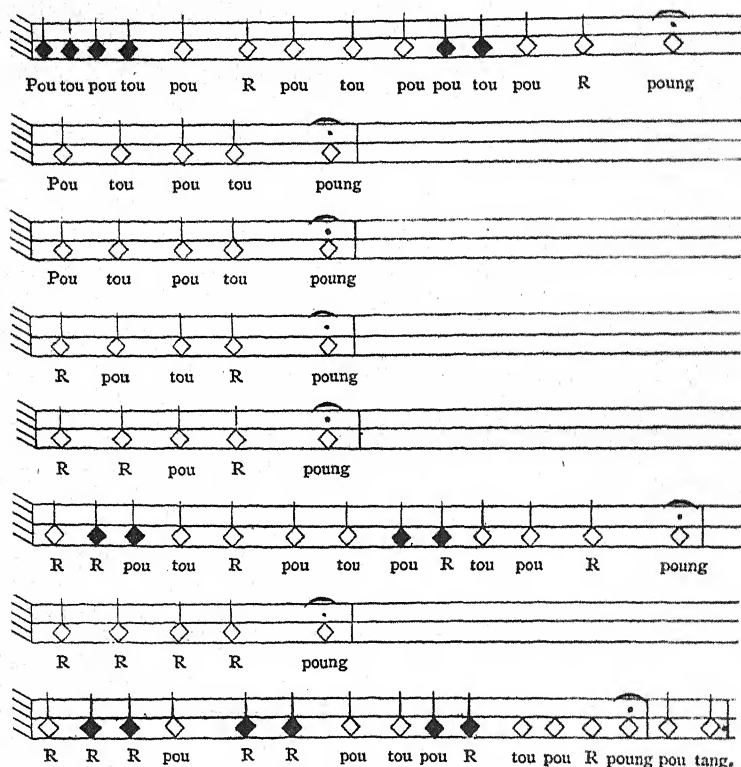
“ Charles Rex,

“ Whereas the ancient custom of nations has ever been to use one certain and constant form of march in the wars, whereby to be distinguished one from another. And the march of this our English nation, so famous in all honorable achievements and glorious wars of this our Kingdom, in foreign parts (being by the approbation of strangers themselves, confessed and acknowledged the best of all marches) was, through the negligence and carelessness of drummers, and by long discontinuance, so

altered and changed from the ancient gravity and majesty thereof, as it was in danger utterly to have been lost and forgotten.

"It pleased our late dear brother Prince Henry to revive and rectify the same by ordaining an establishment of a certain measure, which was beaten in his presence at Greenwich, anno 1610. In confirmation whereof we are graciously pleased, at the instance and humble suit of our right trusty and right well beloved cousin and counsellor Edward Viscount Wimbleton, to set down and ordain the present establishment hereunder expressed, willing and commanding all drummers within our Kingdom of England and principality of Wales, exactly and precisely to observe the same, as well in this our Kingdom as abroad in the service of any foreign prince or state, without any addition or alteration whatsoever. To the end that so ancient, famous, and commendable a custom may be preserved as a pattern and precedent to all posterity.

"Given at our palace of Westminster, the 7th day of February, in the 7th year of our reign of England, Scotland, France and Ireland.



"Subscribed Arundel and Surrey.

"This is a true copy of the original signed by His Majesty,

"E. D. NORGATE WINDSOR."

APPENDIX No. LI.

PARTICULARS OF CLOTHING FOR A REGIMENT OF HORSE]
(CIRCUM. 1696.)

Harl. MSS. 7,018.

(See remarks at end of Appendix No. LII.)

					Former Prices.				Prices now proposed.		
					£	s.	d.		£	s.	d.
" 300	Coats of Crimson Cloth	...	...	...	3	10	0	...	2	10	0
18	Coats of Crimson Cloth, Corporals'	...	...	...	4	10	0	...	3	0	0
318	Cloaks of red cloth...	...	...	...	2	5	0	...	1	8	0
318	Hats edged with silver	...	...	...	0	15	0	...	0	11	0
318	Swords	...	...	...	0	10	0	...	0	7	6
318	Shoulder belts	...	...	...	0	10	0	...	0	6	0
318	Carbine belts	...	...	...	0	7	0	...	0	4	0
318	Cloth Waistcoats	...	...	...	0	1	5	...	0	1	6
318	Pr. Buff Gloves	...	...	...	0	7	6	...	0	5	6
318	Hoose and Caps, embroidered	...	...	...	1	5	0	...	0	18	0
318	Pr. Jack boots	...	...	...	1	6	0	...	1	1	0
318	Cartouch boxes	...	...	...	0	2	6	...	0	1	8

"Memo. : Each Captain clothes his own trumpeter and the Kettle drum is clothed by the Colonel."

OF A REGIMENT OF DRAGOONS.

					Former Prices.				Prices now proposed.		
					£	s.	d.		£	s.	d.
" 411	Coats and breeches...	...	...	...	2	2	0	...	1	6	0
483	Cloaks	...	...	...	2	0	0	...	1	6	0
467	Hats	...	...	...	0	8	6	...	0	4	4
467	Caps	...	...	...	0	5	0	...	0	3	0
467	Neckcloths	...	...	...	0	1	6	...	0	1	0
483	Pr. Boots	...	...	...	0	12	0	...	0	10	0
467	Waist belts	...	...	...	0	4	6	...	0	2	4
467	Swords	...	...	...	0	7	6	...	0	4	6
483	Leather Bags	...	...	...	0	4	0	...	0	2	6
467	Hoose and caps, embroidered	...	...	...	0	12	0	...	0	7	6
411	Daggers	...	...	...	0	2	6	...	0	1	6
411	Cartouch boxes	...	...	...	0	2	6	...	0	1	6
467	Pr. Stockings	...	...	...	0	2	0	...	0	1	4
16	Sergeants' coats and breeches	...	...	...	3	10	0	...	2	10	0
16	Hats...	...	...	...	0	15	0	...	0	10	0
16	Caps...	...	...	...	0	10	0	...	0	6	0
16	Cravats	...	...	...	0	2	6	...	0	1	8
16	Swords	...	...	...	0	10	0	...	0	7	0
16	Belts	...	...	...	0	6	0	...	0	3	0
16	Pr. Stockings	...	...	...	0	6	0	...	0	3	6
16	Hoose and caps	...	...	...	0	18	0	...	0	12	0
24	Corporals' suits	...	...	...	2	10	0	...	1	15	0
16	Drummers' suits	...	...	...	2	10	0	...	1	15	0
16	Hoboys' suits	...	...	...	3	10	0	...	2	10	0"

APPENDIX No. LII.

THE COMPLETE CLOTHING OF A REGIMENT OF FOOT.
(CIRCUM. 1696.)

Harl. MSS. 7,018.

(See remarks herewith.)

1st Year.			2nd Year.		
	s.	d.		s.	d.
" 144 Coats and breeches ...	36	0	Surtouts and breeches...	23	6
686 Hats ...	7	0			
1,488 Neckcloths ...	5	0			
1,488 Shirts ...	3	6			
744 Pr. Shoes...	4	6			
1,488 Pr. Stockings ...	2	0	... 744		
58 Granadeers Caps...	9	6			
744 Waistbelts ...	4	6			
546 Bayonett swords ...	4	6			
140 Pikemen's swords ...	5	0			
58 Granadeers' Hangers ..	6	6			
140 sashes for pikes ..	2	6			
546 Collars of Bandaleers ...	5	6			
58 Cartouch Boxes ...	2	6			
58 Match Boxes ...	1	0			
58 Granadeer Bags ...	6	0			
770 Snapsacks ...	3	6			

SERGEANTS.

1st Year.			2nd Year.		
	s.	d.		s.	d.
39 Coats and breeches ...	45	0	Surtouts and breeches...	60	0
36 Hats ...	15	0			
3 caps ...	15	0			
78 Shirts ...	6	0			
78 Neckcloths ...	2	0			
78 Pr. Stockings ...	6	0	... 39		
39 Pr. Shoes...	4	6			
39 Swords ...	10	0			
39 Belts ...	6	0			
Drum Carriages for Drummers ...	...	...	...	10	0
Swords for Drummers...	...	...	...	4	6
Waistbelts for Drummers ...	...	...	...	4	6

N.B.—I have fixed the date of this manuscript at about 1696, a period when the question of the clothing of the troops was being agitated. The subject seems to have been stirred up by City's representation (Harl. MSS. 7,018), evidently of the date 1695 (Internal evidence).

Then we have "proposals for the clothing," &c., dated 1696, and a number of papers on the same subject of the same date.

In the "Complete Clothing for a regt. of Foot" appear "Bayonet Swords," fixing the date at between 1692 and 1702.

APPENDIX No. LIII.

ARTICLES OF WAR, 1660-1700.

1. "Laws and Ordinances of War established for the better conduct of the Service in the Northern parts. By His Excellence the Earl of Northumberland, Lord General of His Majesty's Army and Fleet. (By the King's Printer) 1640."

There were also similar laws for Essex's Army, 1642. (Harl. MSS. 7,018.)

The Articles of 1673 and 1677 are almost entirely founded on these two.

2. Some sort of Articles or disciplinary Regulations were issued in 1660; as is evident from R. Warrt. 10 May, 1676, which enjoins casheering for Officers by sentence of Courts-Martial, and authorises Colonels and Governors to convene Courts accordingly: and which refers to "Our Orders for regulating of our established Forces in the year 1660." (W.O. records.)

3. 17 March, 1662-3, Military "Orders and Articles made by His Majesty for the better ordering and government of H.M.'s troops and regiments of Guards, and other regiments," &c. (Record office). These are of very limited scope; and there is extant a letter of Clarges to the Secretary of State, that these articles referred chiefly to loss of pay and place "because my Lord General is wary of going further" until Parliament had made a law in the case.

4. In 1666 my Lord General seems to have gone a little farther, for there were in that year "Orders and Articles of War composed and corrected by the advice of the Duke of Albemarle Captain General of H.M.'s Armies," 9 April, 1666. In these Cl. 3 authorised Regimental Courts-Martial, and Cl. 2 General Courts (from time to time as necessary) for trials of more serious offences involving punishments affecting life or limb. Cl. 4 ordered pecuniary mulcts to go towards relief of the sick and wounded.

5. "Laws and Ordinances of War established for the better governing H.M.'s Forces in the kingdoms of Sus, Fez, and Morocco, under the command of H.E. the Earl of Peterborough." The E. of Peterborough was Governor of Tangier from Jany. to Decr., 1662.

(Tangier State papers.)

6. "Articles and Rules for the better government of H.M.'s Forces by land during this present war. Published by H.M.'s command: London, 1673." With an index entitled "The contents of the Articles of War."

7. For Articles of 1674, *see* Notes below.

8. "Rules and Articles for the better government of His Majesty's Land Forces in pay"; attached to the "Abridgment of English Military Discipline, Printed by special command for the use of His Majesty's Forces; London, 1686."

9. There were also Articles published in 1677. They are almost identical with those of 1673, excepting that (being provided under the immediate prospect of war) the punishments are exceptionally severe, resembling in this respect the code of 1692. The articles were also especially intended for Ireland, being "Given at H.M.'s Castle of Dublin, 14 Jany., 1677."

10. "Rules and Articles for the better government of Their Majesties' Land Forces in the Low Countries and Ports beyond the seas," &c., 1692.

A copy of these is now appended in full: and the marginal notes shew where the previous Articles, of 1662, 1673, and 1686, are practically the same. Any differences of importance are noted at the end. Although the Articles of 1692 were nominally local, they were made generally applicable: Letter 28 Novr., 1698, Secty. at War to Colonel Fowkes (in England) about a Court Martial, sending him "the Articles of War, and are the only ones which are in force, though the title expresses their being intended for the Forces in Flanders" (W.O. records). *See* also App. LXVI for an instance of death inflicted in England under these articles.

11. There were Articles published in 1695, at greater length than those of 1692, but I have not seen a copy.

RULES AND ARTICLES FOR THE BETTER GOVERNMENT OF THEIR MAJESTIES LAND-FORCES IN THE LOW COUNTRIES AND PORTS BEYOND THE SEAS.

Published by Their Majesties Command.

London :

Printed by Charles Bill, and the Executrix of Thomas Newcomb, deceased; Printers
to the King's and Queen's most Excellent Majesties. MDCXCII.

ART. I.

All Officers and soldiers (not having just impediment) shall diligently frequent Divine Service and sermon in such places as shall be appointed for the Regiment, Troop, or Company to which they belong, and such as either wilfully or negligently absent themselves from divine service or sermon, or else being present do behave themselves indecently or irreverently during the same, if they be officers they shall be severely reprehended at a Court Martial: But if private soldiers they shall for

1662.
1673-I.
1686-I.

every such first offence forfeit each man twelpence to be deducted out of their next pay ; and for the second offence shall forfeit twelpence, and be laid in irons for twelve hours ; and for every like offence afterwards shall suffer and pay in like manner.

ART. 2.

1662.
1673-2.
1686-2. If any sutler or seller of ale, beer, wine, or any sorts of drinks, bread, victuals or other commodities or Merchandize whatsoever attending his Majesties forces, shall during the time of divine service or sermon set any such thing to sale, he shall forfeit the full value thereof for the use of the Poor.

ART. 3.

1662.
1673-3.
1686-3. Whosoever shall use any unlawful Oath or Execration (whether Officer or soldier) shall incur the penalties expressed in Art 1.

ART. 4.

1662.
1673-4.
1686-4. If any Officer or soldier shall presume to blaspheme the Holy and Undivided Trinity, or the persons of God the Father, or God the Son, or God the Holy Ghost, or shall presume to speak against any known article of the Christian Faith, he shall have his tongue bored through with a red hot iron.

ART. 5.

1662.
1673-5.
1686-5. If any Officer or soldier shall abuse or profane any place dedicated to the worship of God, or shall offer violence to any Chaplain of the army, or any other Minister of God's Word, he shall receive such corporal punishment as shall be inflicted on him by a Court-Martial. And whosoever shall take any of the utensils or ornaments belonging or dedicated to God's worship in any church or chapel, shall suffer death for the fact.

ART. 6.

1662. If any officer shall be found drunk the day of his guard, he shall be cashiered for it ; and if any soldier be found drunk when he is upon duty, he shall receive such corporal punishment as a Court-Martial shall think fit ; nor shall any officer or soldier be allowed to excuse himself for any fault committed by him upon pretence of his being drunk at any time whatsoever.

ART. 7.

1662.
1673-6.
1686-6. All Officers and soldiers of what quality or condition soever, shall take the following oath, which shall be administered to them by such person or persons, and in such places as His Majesty, his General, Lieutenant-General, or Commander-in-Chief of the Forces for the time being, shall appoint.

The Oath of fidelity to be taken by every Officer and soldier in the army.

This oath differs from the previous ones.

"I swear to be true to our Sovereign Lord and Lady, King William and Queen Mary, and to serve them honestly and faithfully in the defence of their persons, crown and dignity, against their enemies and opposers whatsoever, and to observe and obey His Majesty's orders, and the orders of the Generals and Officers set over me by Their Majesties."

So Help me God.

ART. 8.

1662.
1673-7.
1686-7. No officer or soldier shall use any traitorous words against the sacred persons of the King and Queen's Most Excellent Majesties upon pain of death.

ART. 9.

1662.
1673-8.
1686-8. Whosoever shall hold correspondence with any rebel or enemy of Their Majesties, or shall give them advice or intelligence either by letters, messages, signs, or tokens, or any manner of way whatsoever, shall suffer death. And whatever regiment, troop, or company shall treat with such rebels or enemies, or enter into any condition with them without Their Majesties leave, or leave of the General, Lieutenant-General, or of the Chief Commander in his absence, the officers and soldiers of such regiment, troop, or company who are found guilty, or consenting thereunto shall die for it ; but whatsoever officers or soldiers can prove that they did their utmost to resist and avoid such a treaty, and were no partakers of the crime, they shall not only go free, but shall also be rewarded for their constancy and fidelity.

In 1673 and 1686, the soldiers to be decimated by lot.

ART. 10.

Whosoever shall go about to entice or persuade either officer or soldier to join or engage in any traitorous or rebellious act either against the Royal persons of Their Majesties or their government, shall suffer death: and whosoever shall not reveal to his Superior Officer such a conspiracy so soon as ever it shall come to his knowledge shall be judged equally guilty with the contrivers of such a plot or conspiracy, and consequently shall suffer the same penalty.

1673-9.
1686-9.

ART. 11.

If any Officer or soldier shall behave himself disrespectfully towards the General, Lieutenant-General, or other Chief Commander of the Army, or speak words tending to his hurt or dishonour, he shall be punished according to the nature and quality of the offence by the judgment of the General Court-Martial.

1662.
1673-11.
1686-10.

ART. 12.

Whosoever shall presume in the presence of the General, Lieutenant-General, or other Commander-in-Chief to draw his sword with a purpose to do any officer, or any of his fellow-soldiers, mischief shall suffer death.

1662.
1673-12.
1686-11.

ART. 13.

Whosoever shall presume to violate any safe conduct of protection given by His Majesty, the General, Lieutenant-General, or other Commander-in-Chief, shall suffer death.

1673-^{10.}
13.
1686-12.
In above "or
such other," &c.

ART. 14.

No man shall presume so far as to raise or cause the least mutiny or sedition in the army, upon pain of death; and if any number of soldiers shall presume to assemble to take counsel amongst themselves for the demanding their pay, or shall at any time demand their pay in a mutinous manner, any inferior officers accessory thereto, shall suffer death for it, as the Heads and Ringleaders of such mutinous and seditious meetings; and the soldiers shall be punished with death, and if any Captain, being privy thereunto, shall not suppress the same, or complain of it, shall likewise be punished with death.

1662.
1673-14.
1686-13.

ART. 15.

No officer or soldier shall utter any words tending to sedition or mutiny upon pain of death. And whosoever shall hear any mutinous or seditious words spoken, and shall not with all possible speed reveal the same to his superior Officers shall likewise be punished with death.

1662.
1673-15.
1686-14.
Court-Martial in
both.

ART. 16.

If any inferior Officer or soldier shall refuse to obey his superior officer he shall be punished with death.

1662.

ART. 17.

If any Officer or soldier shall presume to resist any Officer in the execution of his office, or shall strike, or lift up his hand to strike, or shall draw, or offer to draw, or lift up any weapon against his superior officer upon any pretence whatsoever, he shall suffer death.

1662.
1673-16.
"Casheered or
such other," &c.
1686-15.
Court-Martial.
1673.
Death or other
punishment.

ART. 18.

Every soldier shall keep silence when the Army is marching, embattelling, or taking up their quarters (to the end that their Officers may be heard, and their orders executed), upon pain of imprisonment, or such other punishment as a Court-Martial shall think fit, according to the circumstance and aggravation of the fact.

1662.
1673-17.
1686-16.

ART. 19.

All murders and wilful killing of any person shall be punished with death.

1686-17.

ART. 20.

All robbery and theft committed by any person in or belonging to the Army shall be punished with death.

1686-18.
Death or other-
wise.

1662.

1673-18.

1686-19.

Both Court-Martial.

ART. 21.

Whosoever shall in anger draw his sword whilst his colours are flying either in Battel, or upon the march, unless it be against the enemy, shall be punished with death.

1662.

Further than aannon-shot."

1673-19.

1686-20.

Both Court-Martial.

ART. 22.

When any march is to be made, every man who is sworn shall follow his colours, and whosoever shall without leave stay behind, or depart above a mile from the camp or out of the Army without license shall die for it.

ART. 23.

1673-21.
Death or
G. C. M.

All Officers or soldiers that shall desert either in the field, upon the March, in quarters, or in Garrison, shall die for it; and all soldiers shall be reputed and suffer as deserters who shall be found a mile from their garrison or camp without leave from the Officer commanding in chief.

ART. 24.

No Officer or soldier shall leave his Colours and List himself into any other regiment, troop, or company, without a discharge from the Commander-in-Chief of the regiment, troop, or company, in which he last served, upon pain of being reputed a deserter, and suffering death for it, and in case any officer shall receive, or entertain any Non Commission Officer or soldier who shall have so deserted or left his colours without a discharge, such Officer shall be immediately cashiered.

ART. 25.

1662.

1673-20.

1686-21.

No person shall extort free quarter, or shall commit any waste, or spoil or deface walks of trees, parks, warrens, fishponds, houses, or gardens, tread down or otherwise destroy standing corn in the ear, or shall put their horses into meadows without leave from their superior Officer upon pain of severe punishment. But if any Officer or soldier shall exact money, or wilfully burn any house, barn, or stack of corn, hay, or straw, or any ship, boat, or carriage, or anything which may serve for the provision of the army without order from the Commander-in-Chief, he shall suffer death for it.

ART. 26.

1662.

1673-21.

1686-22.

Whosoever shall run from his colours, or doth not defend them to the utmost of his power shall suffer death.

ART. 27.

1673-22.

1686-23.

Both C. M.

If any Officers or soldiers, regiment, troop, or company, or commanded party shall not behave themselves in fight against an enemy or a garrison as they ought to do, or shall quit their posts at any fort, breach, or trench, without order, or shall surrender any town or fortification which they are commanded to defend, or speak words or make any show towards a surrender, or dispute the order of the Garrison, they shall die for it.

ART. 28.

1673-23.
1686-24.

When it shall please God that Their Majesties' forces shall beat the enemy, every man shall follow his officer in the chase, but whosoever shall presume to pillage or plunder till the enemy be entirely beaten, he shall suffer death, or such other punishment as shall be pronounced against him by the General Court-Martial, and the pillage so gotten shall be forfeited to the use of the sick and maimed soldiers.

ART. 29.

1673-25.

1686-25.

In what place soever it shall please God that the enemy shall be subdued or overcome, all the Ordnance, Ammunition, and Victuals that shall be there found, shall be secured for Their Majesties' use, and for the better relief of the army; and one-tenth part of the spoil shall be laid apart towards the relief of the sick and maimed soldiers.

ART. 30.

1662.

1673-28.

1686-26.

All Officers whose charge it is, shall see the quarters kept clean and neat upon pain of severe punishment.

ART. 31.

1662.

1673-29.

1686-27.

No Officer shall lie out all night from the Camp, Quarters, or Garrison without his superior Officer's leave, upon pain of being punished for it as a Court-Martial shall think fit. Nor shall any soldier or Officer go any by-way to the Camp,

or other than the common way aid out for all, upon pain of being punished as aforesaid.

ART. 32.

No soldier shall presume to make any alarm in the quarters by shooting off his musket after the watch is set, unless it be at an enemy, upon pain of suffering such punishment as a Court-Martial shall inflict.

1662.
1673-30.
1686-28.

ART. 33.

No soldier shall in anger draw his sword in any camp, post, or garrison, upon pain of such corporal punishment as a Court-Martial shall inflict upon him for the same.

1662.
1673-31.
1686-29.
Both C. M.

ART. 34.

When warning is given for serving the watch, by beat of drum or sound of trumpet, if any soldier absent himself without reasonable cause, he shall be punished by riding the Wooden Horse, or otherwise, at the discretion of the Commander. And whosoever shall fail at the beating of the drum, or sound of a trumpet, or upon an alarm given, to repair to his colours with his arms decently kept and well fixed (unless there be an evident necessity to hinder him from the same), he shall either be put in irons for it, or suffer such other punishment as a Court-Martial may think fit.

1673-32.
1686-30.

ART. 35.

Whoever makes known the Watchword without order, or gives any other word but what is given by the Officer, shall suffer death.

1662.
1673-33.
1686-31.
Both, or G. C. M.

ART. 36.

A Sentinel who shall be found sleeping in any post, garrison, trench, or the like (while he should be upon his duty), shall suffer death. And if a Sentinel or Perdue shall forsake his place before he be relieved or drawn off; or upon discovery of an enemy shall not give warning to his Quarters, according to direction, he shall suffer death.

1662.
1673-34.
1686-32.
Both, or G. C. M.

ART. 37.

Whoever shall do violence to any who shall bring victuals to the Camp or Garrison, or shall take his Horse or Goods, shall suffer death. If any shall presume to beat or abuse his host, or the Wife, Child, or Servant of his Host, where he is quartered, he shall be put in Irons for it: And if he do it a second time, he shall be further punished; and the party wronged shall in both cases have amends made him.

And whoever shall force a woman to abuse her (whether she belong to the enemy or not) and the fact be sufficiently proved, shall suffer death for it.

1662.
1673-35.
1686-33.
Both death or
G. C. M.
1673-35.
1686-33.
1662.
1873-24.
"Shall certainly
suffer death for
it."
1686-33.

ART. 38.

No soldier or officer shall use any reproachful or provoking speech or act to another upon pain of imprisonment, and of asking Pardon of the person offended; as also of such further punishment as a Court-Martial shall think fit. Nor shall any officer or soldier presume to send a challenge to another officer or soldier to fight a duel; neither shall any soldier or officer upbraid another for refusing a challenge: and we do acquit and discharge all men that have quarrels offered, or challenge made to them, of all disgrace or opinion of disadvantage since they but do the duties of soldiers who ought to subject themselves to discipline, and they that provoke them shall be proceeded against as breakers of discipline, and enemies to our Service. And whosoever shall offend in either of these cases, if he be an officer he shall be cashiered, and if a private soldier he shall ride the Wooden Horse, and be further punished as a Court-Martial shall think fit. And if any Corporal or other Officer commanding a guard shall willingly or knowingly suffer either soldiers or officers to go forth to duelling, he shall be punished for it with death. And all officers of what condition soever have power to part and quell all quarrels, frays, or sudden disorders between soldiers and officers though of another company, troop, or regiment, and commit the disorderly person to prison until their proper officers be acquainted therewith. Whoever shall resist such an officer (though of another company, troop, or regiment), or draw his sword upon him shall be severely punished as the General Court-Martial shall appoint. And if two or more going into the field to fight a duel, shall draw

1662.
1673-36.
1686-34.

their swords, or other weapons, and fight, though neither of them fall upon the spot, nor die afterwards of any wound there received, they shall be punished with death. And lastly, in all cases of duels, the seconds and carriers of challenges shall be taken as principals, and punished accordingly.

ART. 39.

All passes and licenses for being absent shall be brought to the Muster-Master who is required to enter the same into a book fairly written, to prevent collusion; and whosoever is absent longer than the time limited in his pass for his absence, shall be respited, and not allowed the Muster, without order from his Majesty, the General, or other Commander-in-Chief of Their Majesties forces.

ART. 40.

1673-46.
1686-36. If any soldier be sick, wounded or maimed in Their Majesties' Service, he shall be sent out of the Camp to some fit place for his recovery, where he shall be provided for by the officers appointed to take care of sick and wounded soldiers, and his wages or pay shall go on and be duly paid, till it does appear that he can be no longer serviceable in the Army, and then he shall be sent by Pass to his country, with money to bear his charges in his Travel, or such other Provision shall be made for him, as his Majesty shall direct.

ART. 41.

1662.
1673-48.
1686-37. All Commissions granted by His Majesty, the General, or Commander-in-Chief of his Majesties forces, to any officer in Pay, shall be brought to the Commissary of the Musters, and Secretary at War, who are to receive and enter the same in a Book fairly written; and no Commission-officer shall be allowed in Muster, without a Commission from his Majesty, or the Commander-in-Chief for the time being, and the same entered with the Commissary-General of the Musters, or his Deputies, and Secretary at War.

ART. 42.

1673-49.
1686-38. No commission officer after enrollment and being mustered shall be dismissed or cashiered without order from His Majesty; the General, or Commander-in-Chief for the time being, or a General Court-Martial. But the Captains with the approbation of their Colonels or of the Governors of the Garrison, where they are, may discharge any non-commission Officer or private soldier when they find cause, taking other non-commission officer or private soldier in their places: Provided that such Colonel or Governor shall forthwith certify the same to the Commissary-General of the Musters, that (by their approbation) such non-commission officers or soldiers were discharged, and others taken into their places respectively, and in Quarters and Garrisons where they are only single troops, or Companies, the Captains' Certificates are forthwith to be sent and accepted by the Commissary-General, expressing the day of each non-commission officers and soldiers discharge or death, and who hath been entertained in his place.

ART. 43.

1662.
1686-39. All Captains shall use their utmost endeavours to have their Troops and Companies complete and full, and no soldiers duty, either of Horse or Foot shall be done by any other than the soldier himself; But in case of sickness or disability, or other necessary cause, his Captain may dispense with his absence, without obliging him to find another to serve in his stead.

ART. 44.

1662.
1673-52.
1686-40. If any Trooper or Dragoon shall lose or spoil his Horse, or any foot-soldier his arms, or any part thereof by negligence or gaming, he shall remain in the quality of a Pioneer or Scavenger, till he be furnished at his own Charge, with as good as were lost; and if he be not otherwise able, the one half of his pay shall be deducted, and set apart for the providing of it till he be refurnished. Nor shall any soldier sell, or negligently or wilfully break his arms, or any part thereof, or any hatchets, spades, shovels, pickaxes, or other necessities of War, upon pain of severe punishment at the discretion of the General Court-Martial. And where Arms or other necessities aforesaid shall be pawned, they are to be forfeited and seized on for his Majesties' use.

ART. 45.

1673-53.
1686-47. All Officers and soldiers not duly observing these orders and every of them respectively shall be cashiered or liable to such other punishments as His Majesty, or Commander-in-Chief of the Forces, or a Court-Martial shall appoint.

ART. 46.

None shall presume to spoil, sell or convey away any ammunition delivered unto him; upon pain of suffering death, or such other punishment as the General Court-Martial shall think fit.

1662.
1673-54.
1686-42.

ART. 47.

No Officer, Provider or Keeper of the Victuals or Ammunition for Their Majesties Forces shall imbezzle or willingly spoil, or give a false account of any part thereof to whom he is to make his account, upon pain of suffering death, or such other punishment as the General Court-Martial shall think fit.

1662.
1673-55.
1686-43.

ART. 48.

No Commissary or Victualler shall bring or furnish unto the Camp any unsound or unsavory victuals of what kind soever, whereby sickness may grow in the Army, or the Service be hindered, and if upon examination before the General Court-Martial he shall be found guilty, he shall suffer such punishment as they shall direct.

1662.
1673-56.
1686-44.

ART. 49.

No officer or soldier shall be a victualler in the army upon pain of being punished at discretion.

1673-57.
1686-45.

ART. 50.

No victualler or seller of beer, ale or wine belonging to the army shall entertain any soldier in his house, booth, tent or hut after the Warning Piece, tattoo, or beat of the drum at night, or before the beating of the reveilles in the morning: Nor shall any soldier within that time be anywhere but upon his duty or in his quarters, upon pain of punishment both to the soldier and entertainer at the discretion of a Court-Martial.

1662.
1673-58.
1686-46.

ART. 51.

The Commission Officers of every regiment may hold a Court-Martial for that regiment upon all such matters as the General or Commander-in-Chief of the Forces shall allow of as proper for their determination. The Provost-Martial of every regiment shall have the same privilege in his own regiment as the Provost-Martial General hath in the army, or camp, and such fees also as the Court-Martial shall allow.

1673-59.
1686-47.

ART. 52.

Such who are judges in a General Court-Martial or in a regimental Court-Martial shall hold the same rank in those Courts as they do in the army for Orders sake, and shall take an oath in the words following:—

1673-60.
1686-48.

I, A. B. do swear that I will duly administer Justice according to the Rules and Articles made by His Majesty for the better Government of His Forces in the Low Countries, and parts beyond the Seas, without any partiality, favour or affection, and (where the said Articles do not assign any especial punishment) according to my conscience, the best of my understanding, and the Custom of War in like cases; And I do further swear that I will not receive any present or gratuity, directly or indirectly from any person whatsoever, concerned, or to be concerned in any Trial at any Court Martial whereof I am, or shall be a Member, nor will I divulge the Sentence of the Court until it shall be approved by his Majesty, the General, or Commander-in-Chief; neither will I upon any account at any time whatsoever disclose or discover the Vote, or opinion of any particular member of the Court Martial.

So Help Me God.

They shall likewise demean themselves orderly in the hearing of Causes, and before giving of sentence every judge shall deliver his note of opinion distinctly, and the sentence is to be according to the plurality of votes, and if there happen to be an equality of votes the President is to have a casting voice.

No sentence shall be pronounced until report be made of the whole matter by the President to His Majesty, the General, or Commander-in-Chief for the time being, in order to receive their respective directions therein, and when sentence shall be pronounced, the Provost-Martial shall have a Warrant to cause execution to be done according to sentence.

ART. 53.

At a General Court-Martial there shall be a clerk who is to be sworn to make true and faithful records of all the proceedings of that Court, and there shall be also

1673-61.
1686-49.

such other officers appointed both for that, and also for the regimental Courts-Martial, as shall be necessary ; and the General Court-Martial may appoint and limit the fees of the Provost-Martial-General as they shall think fit.

ART. 54.

1662. All Controversies either between soldiers and their Captains or other officers or
1673-62. between soldier and soldier relating to their Military Capacities, shall be summarily
1686-50. heard and determined at the next Court Martial of the Regiment.

ART. 55.

1673-63. If in any Matter which shall be judged in any of the aforesaid regimental Courts-
1686-51. Martial, either of the parties shall find himself aggrieved, he may appeal to the
General Court Martial, who are to take care that if the Party appealing make not
good his Suggestion, recompense be made to the other for the trouble and charge of
such an appeal.

ART. 56.

1673-64. In all criminal causes which concern the Crown, His Majesty's Advocate-General
1686-52. or Judge Advocate of the Army shall inform the Court and prosecute on His Majesty's
behalf.

ART. 57.

1662. No officer or soldier shall presume to hinder the Provost-Martial, his Lieutenant
1673-65. or servant in the execution of their office upon pain of death, or such other punish-
1686-53. ment as a Court-Martial shall think fit : And all captains, officers, and soldiers shall
do their utmost to apprehend and bring to punishment all offenders and shall assist
the officers of His Majesty's army or forces therein, especially the said Provost-
Martial, his Lieutenant, and servants ; and if the Provost-Martial or his officers
require the assistance of any officer or soldier in apprehending any person, declaring
to them that it is for a Capital Crime, and the party escape for want of aid and
assistance, the party or parties refusing to aid or assist shall suffer such punishment as
a Court-Martial shall inflict.

ART. 58.

1662. If any Officer or soldier shall presume to draw his sword in any place of judicature
1673-66. while the court is sitting, he shall suffer such punishment as shall be inflicted on him
1686-54. by a Court-Martial. And the Provost-Martial of Their Majesties' Army is hereby
empowered and directed by his own authority to apprehend such offenders.

ART. 59.

1673-66. If any soldier being committed for any offence shall break prison, the said Provost-
1686-55. Martial-General shall by his own authority apprehend him, and the offender shall
suffer death.

ART. 60.

1686-56. If any fray shall happen within the camp or place of Garrison in any of the
soldier's lodgings, or where they meet, it shall be inquired into by the officers of the
regiment, and the Beginners and Pursuers thereof punished according to the quality
of the offence.

ART. 61.

1673-68. If any inferior officer of either Horse or Foot be wronged by his officer, he may
complain to his colonel or other superior officer of the regiment who is to redress the
same, upon due proof made of the wrong done him. But if he fail therein, the party
grieved is to apply to the General Officer for redress : and if the accusation be false,
the complainant is to be punished at the discretion of a Court-Martial.

ART. 62.

1673-69. If any Colonel or Captain shall force or take anything away from a private soldier,
1686-57. such Colonel or Captain shall be punished according to the quality of the offence, by
1686-58. the judgment of a General-Court-Martial. And if a soldier shall be wronged, and
shall not appeal to the Court or to his superior Commander, but take his own
satisfaction for it, he shall be punished by the judgment of a Court-Martial.

ART. 63.

1673-70. If any soldier die no other shall take or spoil his goods, upon pain of restoring
1686-59. double the value to him to whom they belong, and of such further punishments as a
Court-Martial shall think fit. But the Captain of the Company of which such a

soldier was, shall take the said goods into his custody, and dispose of them for paying his Quarters, and keep the overplus (if any be) for the use of those to whom they belong, and who shall claim the same within three months after his death. And if any Captain or officer die, the Chief Commander shall take care of reserving his estate in like manner.

ART. 64.

No Provost-Martial shall refuse to receive or keep a prisoner committed to his charge by Authority or shall dismiss him without order, upon pain of such punishment as a Court-Martial shall think fit. And if the offence for which the prisoner was apprehended deserve death, the Provost-Martial failing to receive and keep him as aforesaid shall be liable to the same punishment.

1662.
1673-71.
1686-60.

ART. 65.

If any person be committed by the Provost-Martial's own authority without other command, he shall acquaint the General or other Chief Commander with the cause within twenty-four hours, and the Provost-Martial shall thereupon dismiss him unless he have order to the contrary.

1673-72.
1686-61.

ART. 66.

No man shall presume to use any braving or menacing words, signs, or gestures, where any of the aforesaid Courts of Justice are sitting upon pain of suffering such punishments as the Court-Martial shall think fit.

1662.
1673-73.
1686-62.

ART. 67.

Whatever is to be published or generally made known, shall be done by beat of drum, that no man may pretend ignorance thereof; and if afterwards any one shall be found disobedient or transgressing what is so published, he shall be punished according to these Articles, or the quality of the fact.

1673-74.
1686-63.

ART. 68.

All other faults, misdemeanours, disorders and crimes not mentioned in these articles, shall be punished according to the Laws and customs of War, and discretion of the Court Martial.

1662.
1686-64

ART. 69.

Lastly, all the foregoing Rules and Articles shall be read and published at the Head of every regiment, troop or company, once every month at farthest: whereof all majors and adjutants of each regiment are to take care at their Perils.

1662.

FINIS.

It will be seen that the Articles are mainly founded one upon the other, from 1640 upwards. It will also be observed that, with the exception of those of 1686 (when James II was preparing to forcibly impose civil and religious despotism upon his subjects) the Articles were framed for special places or occasions. (See, however, the note at the end of this Appendix.)

The Articles of 1673 contain the following additional provisions:—

Art. 26. Soldiers taking General Officers prisoners, to present them to the General, "who will reward them." Other Officers and Volunteers taken may be kept, their names to be given to the "Martial-General"; but not to be put to ransom without leave. All private soldiers to be sent to the Martial-General for custody.

Art. 27. Soldiers drunk in presence of the enemy, "if hurt or mischief ensue," Death or General C. M. "If no damage ensue thereby, they shall be laid in irons, and live on bread and water" for three days. (Compare 1692 Art. 6.)

Art. 29 imposes a fine of one month's pay for absence of an Officer for a week without leave; if longer "to be discharged of his command."

Art. 37. None shall be mustered but such as are completely armed, vizt.: each Horseman to have Back, Breast, and Pott; a sword not under three feet long in the blade, and a case of pistols the barrels whereof to be fourteen inches long: "and each Trooper of Our Guards to have a carbine beside the aforesaid arms." And "the Foot to have each soldier a sword, or dagger for their musquets, and each pikeman a pike of sixteen foot long": and each musqueteer a musquet, the barrel four feet long and to contain a bullet of fourteen to the lb.: and a collar of bandoleers.

Assigns punishments for borrowing arms for passing musters.

Art. 38. Prohibits the mustering of any "who by loss of limbs or otherwise is unable for our Service, but by order from us or our General."

Art. 39. No Housekeeper or inhabitant in the usual quarters of a regiment to be received into the Service, and mustered as a soldier without special order.

Officers receiving money for taking a man as a recruit, to be casheered and never employed again.

Art. 40. Enacts same penalty for mustering servants or any but proper persons. Persons presenting themselves or horses at muster with intent to defraud, General C. M.

Art. 41. Mustering under a false name, G. C. M.

Art. 42. No absence from muster without leave. No absence of Officer or soldier to exceed two months in the year. Two "Commission Officers" at least to be always present with each troop or company.

Art. 43. Those absent without leave from Muster "shall be respited and not allowed the muster" without special authority.

Art. 44. Muster-master conniving at false musters "to lose his place."

Art. 45. Subaltern Officer discovering fraudulent muster on the part of his captain, to have his place, the captain being casheered. Serjts. and Corpls. £50 reward.

Art. 50. Soldiers forbidden to find substitutes to do their duty.

Arts. 47 and 51. Within two days of the muster, muster-rolls to be rendered to the General "if he requires it." Notice of muster to be given to the regt. the night before, and rolls prepared.

Art. 67. Regimental Courts of Inquiry into frays.

The Articles of 1686 contain only one remarkable difference from those of 1673 and 1692.

Art. 64. Provides for "all other" faults and misdemeanours; but with the proviso, "Provided that no punishment amounting to the loss of life or limb be inflicted upon any offender in time of peace, although the same be awarded for that offence by these articles and the laws and customs of war."

The Code of 1677 contains the following provisions :—

Art. 25. No soldier to answer for another at muster, nor to take two pawns on a muster, in a false name.

Art. 39. Adultery or Fornication; banishment from the army, or such other punishment as a C. M. may award (this is in addition to Art. 35, awarding death for rape).

Art. 41. "No soldier serving on Foot shall carry any boy" (presumably the Horse had boy-servants); and no women to follow the army.

Art. 43. Punishment for affronts and challenges, "on pain of public disarming; and banishment from the army as men for ever disabled to carry any arms."

Art. 54. Goods of dead men to be disposed of according to Will; "if they make no Will, they shall be distributed to the hurt, sick, and poor of the companies whereof the soldier was, or shall go to the Hospital of the Army."

Art. 56. Loss of Horse, Arms, &c. Reduction to "pioneer."

Art. 61. Officers not to casheer (discharge) soldiers "without our privilege and allowance, and our special Warrant, unless it be by the privy and allowance of the Officer of the Musters and upon the public days of muster."

Ordered to be read at the head of every regt.; and "Given at His Majesty's Castle of Dublin, 14 Janry., 1677"; (signed) W. Ellis.

In the Articles of 1692 the following are singular :—

Art. 6. Against drunkenness.

Art. 24. Against double enlistments.

Art. 33. Specifying "Corporal punishment."

Art. 39. Against overstaying leave.

Art. 69. Periodical reading to the troops.

A Royal Warrt., Windsor, 3 Augt., 1674, is really a brief code of Articles of War; W.O. records. It promulgates "certain military orders":—

Art. 1. Prohibits drunkenness and swearing.

Art. 2. Against false musters.

Art. 3. Against with-holding pay.

Art. 4. Against summary discharge of N.C.O. or Men without approval of the Colonel or of the Governor.

Art. 5. Certifying of vacancies occurring between musters.

- Art. 6. Keeping companies complete and well armed.
- Art. 7. Provides for discharge of men on application.
- Art. 8. Calls attention of the C.G. of Musters to these orders.
- Art. 9. To be generally promulgated by D. of Monmouth.

The Articles of 1662 for the garrison of Tangier are very detailed and are in some ways peculiar. They are given in full in the appendix to the first volume of Colonel Davis's Hist. of the Second Queen's, to which the curious are referred.

Article 3—V forbids tumult "if the monthly entertainment be not paid on the very day," and enjoins soldiers to be content "with a reasonable loan until the money be come."

Articles 3—X, XI, enjoin reporting all spoil, "that it may be recorded, and after sold in the camp or place of garrison."

Article 4—II is against quarrelling with superior officers; but III decrees specially "No man shall violently assault the Commissary of Musters upon pain of death." 4—V. Soldiers not to resist Offrs. *correcting* them.

Article 5—VI. "He that is found drunk, or convicted of frequent swearing, shall forfeit half a day's pay."

Articles 6—I to IV, are stringent against duelling; death "without mercy" to an Officer for sending a challenge; and for private soldiers, "the same punishment, at the discretion of a Court-Martial." Art. IV, "He that shall give anyone a box on the ear, shall in presence of the same company take the like box of the party so wronged, and, besides, be disarmed and banished the Company." Officers fighting to lose their places until restored by the Lord General. Private soldiers to be punished with the Wooden Horse.

Article 7—II. "If a trooper shall lose his horse or hackney, or a Footman any part of his arms by neglect, or lewdness by dice or cards, he or they shall remain in quality of Pioneers, till they be furnished with as good as they lost, at their own charge." IV. "If any soldier shall spoil his horse willingly, on purpose to be rid of the Service, he shall lose his horse, and remain in the camp for a Pioneer."

Article 9—XVIII. "He that absents himself when the sign is given to set the Watch, shall be punished at discretion, either by bread and water imprisonment, or with wooden Horse."

Article 9—XXIV. Against abusing, beating, or frightening landlords in quarters, or their families, punishment at the discretion of a Court-Martial."

Article 10—IX. "If any shall call for money as they are marching in the face of the enemy, or upon any enterprise, they shall die without mercy."

Article 10—XIV. "A regiment or party of horse or foot that chargeth the enemy, and retreats before they come to handy stroke, shall answer it before the Council of War; and if the fault be found in the Officers, they shall be banished the Camp, and have their swords broke over their heads; and if in the soldier, every tenth man shall be punished at discretion, and the rest serve for Pioneers and Scavengers till a worthy exploit take off that blot."

Article 11—XVI. Against presenting at the Muster any "but real troopers and soldiers," or presenting "to mislead the Muster Master, any townsman, countryman, victualler, freebooter, interloper, or soldier of any other troop or company."

Article 12—I. "No Muster Master shall willingly let pass in Muster any but such as are really of the troop or company presented, upon pain of forfeiting his place; nor shall he receive any money by way of bribe."

Article 14—I. "All controversies between the soldiers and their captains, and all others, shall be summarily heard and determined by the next Council or Court of War."

Article 14—III. Persons sending prisoners to the Marshal to "deliver unto the Marshal within four and twenty hours the cause and reason of the imprisonment."

14—IV. "When a prisoner is committed to the charge of the Marshal-General, the information of the crime which he standeth committed for is to be delivered to the Advocate of the Army within forty-eight hours," or the prisoner may be released.

Article 14—VI. Deceased soldier's property to be disposed of according to his Will; if intestate, to go to his Wife or next kindred; if no such appear within a year, to be disposed of by the Lord General "according to laws civil and military."

Article 14—IX. "All other faults, disorders, and offences not mentioned in these Articles shall be punished according to the general custom and laws of War."

Note.—Harl. MSS. 7,018 contains "Orders and Articles to be observed by such Captains and soldiers as are under the commandment of the Rt. Honble. the Erle

of F Wm (*sic*, apparently), Lord General of Your Majesty's Forces in Normandie, upon the pains and penalties annexed unto every Article." These are mostly death, some imprisonment, some whipping, and one "death and torment."

APPENDIX No. LIV.

ROYAL WARRANT, 26 NOVR., 1678.—HALF-PAY.

(W.O. Records.)

This Warrant authorises the Paymaster to the Forces that "out of such of Our monies as are or shall come into your hands for the use and service of a war against the French King, you pay half-pay, that is to say four shillings a day to each captain, two shillings a day to each lieutenant, and one shilling and sixpence a day to each ensign, as are already come over from that (the French) service to serve us, for their present subsistence, until such time as we shall dispose of them into employment military, for the use and service of a war against the French King, and no longer."

Given, &c., 26 Novr., 1678.

APPENDIX No. LV.

ROYAL WARRANT, 26 APRIL, 1695.—HALF-PAY OFFICERS.

(W.O. Records.)

Extract.

"And We, being graciously pleased to allow Half-pay to such of the Commission Officers as are hereby reformed" (*i.e.*, reduced, on reduction of the strength of Holt's regiment) "during such time as they shall continue with and actually serve in the said regiment, and having also given orders that the said reformed officers (be?) so replaced in the regt. upon the first vacancies according to their respective quality and seniorities in the list hereunto annexed, exclusive of all others until they shall be first provided for; Our Will and Pleasure is, and We do hereby accordingly direct, that upon the death or removal of any of the standing officers of the said regiment, you admit of none others upon the muster-rolls in their places, until all the said officers, or such of them as shall actually attend their duty in the said regt., be first provided for within the same."

APPENDIX No. LVI.

CIRCULAR LETTER, SECY. AT WAR, 3 SEPTR., 1698.—HALF-PAY OFFICERS.

(W.O. records.)

"Sir,

"3 Septr., 1698.

"His Majesty having been pleased to order that a Company be formed out of the Officers of the regts. that have lately been broke, which are to march at the head of the First Regt. of Foot-Guards; if any of the Officers are willing to enter into this service, you will send them to Colonel Shrimpton, Major of the said regt., as soon as may be convenient.

"I am, &c.,

"GEORGE CLARKE."

(Secy. at War in the absence of Mr. Blathwayt.)

Addressed to the Colonels of the several regts. recently disbanded.

APPENDIX No. LVII.

CAPT.-GENERAL'S LETTER, 19 MAY, 1676.—REVIEWS.

(W.O. records.)

“Sir,

“His Majesty having appointed a rendezvous of several of His Majesty's Horse and Foot Guards in Hyde Park on Tuesday next, being the 23rd of this instant; I desire you to cause Eight field-pieces, vizt. 4 demiculverings, and 4 saker brass ordnance, and 2 mortar-pieces, with all their carriages and furniture thereunto belonging, together with 2 wagons, 2 tumbrells, and 4 tents, attended with a competent number of gunners, fifty pioneers, with their respective officers in their best equipage, to attend the exercise of the said forces, on the day above mentioned, and that they fail not to be there by eight of the clock in the morning at farthest.

“I am,

“Your Most humble Servant,

“MONMOUTH.

“Cockpit, 19 May, 1676.

“To The Rt. Hon. Sir Thos. Chicheley, Knt.,
Master-General of H.M.'s Ordnance; or,
in his absence, to the Lieut. Genl. and the
principal Officers of the same.”

Note.—The order for this review, signed by Monmouth, is dated 10 May.

APPENDIX No. LVIII.

THE PETITION OF RIGHT (3 CAR. 1).

(Ho. of Com. Proc.)

Extract.

After reciting that by an Act of 25 Edw. III “no man shall stand forejudged of life or limb against the form of the Great Charter” &c.;—the Petition continues thus; “Whereas no offender of what kind soever is exempted from the proceedings to be used, and punishments to be inflicted by the laws and statutes of this your Realm; Nevertheless, of late divers Commissions, under Your Majesty's Great Seal, have issued forth, by which certain persons have been assigned and appointed Commissioners, with power and authority to proceed, within the land, according to the justice of Martial Law, against such soldiers and marines or other dissolute persons joining with them, as should commit any murder, robberies, felony, mutiny, or other outrage or misdemeanour whatsoever; and by such summary course and order as is agreeable to Martial Law and is used in armies in time of war, to proceed to the trial and condemnation of such offenders, and them to cause to be executed and put to death according to the Law Martial:—By pretext whereof some of Your Majesty's subjects have been, by some of the said Commissioners, put to death, when and where, if by the laws and statutes of the Land they had deserved death, by the same laws and statutes also they might, and by no other ought to have, been judged and executed:

“And also sundry grievous offenders, by colour thereof claiming an exemption, have escaped the punishment due to them by the laws and statutes of this your Realm, by reason that divers of your officers and ministers of justice have unjustly refused or forborne to proceed against such offenders according to the same laws and statutes, upon pretence that the said offenders were punishable only by Martial Law and by authority of such Commissions as aforesaid, which Commissions and all others of like nature are wholly and directly contrary to the said laws and statutes of this your Realm:

“They do therefore humbly pray Your Most Excellent Majesty &c. that the aforesaid Commissions for proceeding by Martial Law may be revoked and annulled; and that hereafter no Commissions of like nature may issue forth to any person or persons whatsoever to be executed as aforesaid, lest by colour of them any of Your Majesty's subjects be destroyed or put to death contrary to the laws and franchise of the land.”

APPENDIX No. LIX.

LETTER FROM MR. BLATHWAYT SECY. AT WAR, WHITEHALL,
21 JULY, 1685 (MILITARY LAW).

(W.O. records.)

“Whitehall, 21 July, 1685.

“To Col. Kirke,

“Sir,

“I have received His Majesty's pleasure upon the particulars mentioned in your letter, concerning plundering and murder by soldiers in pay, and I am ordered to signify this general direction : That in all cases where any difficulty arises between a soldier and any person not in His Majesty's pay, the decision be left to the Common Law, which is to be done in all matters where any person not in pay shall be concerned ; and that in all cases whatsoever, where the punishment is to be loss of life or limb, the Trial of any offender in His Majesty's pay be left to the Common Statute Law, the Articles of War being only to take place during the rebellion which has now ceased.

“I am &c.

“W. B.”

APPENDIX No. LX.

ROYAL WARRANT, AND COURT MARTIAL, WHITEHALL,
10 JULY, 1685.

Signed “by H.M.'s Command, SUNDERLAND.”

(W.O. records.)

Convoques a “General Court Martial” and empowers the Court to sentence, and to “cause the sentence to be put into execution.”

Proceedings of the said Court are dated Whitehall 20 July, 1685 ; from which it appears that the Court found Peter Teat and Peter Innes “guilty of the breach of the 7th article of the Rules and Articles for the better government of His Majesty's Land Forces in pay during the present rebellion” “and do accordingly order that the said Peter Teat and Peter Innes be hanged by the neck on Friday the 24th of this instant July, 1685, between the hours of nine and twelve in the morning, at the head of the three Scotch Regiments in the camp.”

Donald Rosse was also found “guilty of the breach of the 14th Article” : “In pursuance whereof this Court does order that the said Donald Rosse shall receive 39 stripes on the bare back standing under the gallows with a rope about his neck, at the head of the three Scotch regts. in the camp, on Friday the 24th of this instant July, and be forthwith cashiered.”

(N.B.—The 7th Article was speaking traitorous words against the king ; the 14th speaking or concealing mutinous or seditious words.)

APPENDIX No. LXI.

ROYAL WARRANT CONVENING A COURT MARTIAL, WHITEHALL,
22 JUNE, 1672.

(W.O. Records.)

“Charles R.

“Whereas Alexr. Ellis, a soldier of Captain John Peters's Company in the Coldstream Regt. of Our Guards under the command of Our trusty and right well-beloved cousin and counsellor William Earl of Craven, is now in the custody of the Martial of the said Regt. for mutinous and offensive words and demeanour towards his Captain, the said Ellis pretending some of his pay to be due unto him : Our Will

and Pleasure therefore is that there be a Court-Martial to consist of six Captains of Our Regt. of Guards under the command of Our trusty and well-beloved* Col. John Russell, and of six Captains of the said Coldstream Regt. (of which Court Lieut.-Col. Edward Gray† is to be President) to hear and examine the business aforesaid. You are therefore to give directions to the Martial of Our said Regt. of Guards to attend the said Colonels respectively, to nominate the Captains for the said Court-Martial, and to summons the said President and twelve Captains to meet and hold the said Court-Martial for this business, and to give notice to the parties concerned of the time and place of such Court-Martial; the Martial of Our said Regt. being hereby required to observe your directions therein, and to attend the said Court-Martial. And We do hereby require and authorise the said Court-Martial to hear and examine the business aforesaid and (after full examination and hearing thereof) to give judgment and sentence therein, according to military discipline, or according to such rules as we have given in matters of that nature, which they are hereby authorised to cause to be put into execution. For which this shall be sufficient Warrant.

“Given at Our Court at Whitehall, 22 June, 1672.

“By His Majesty’s Command,

“ARLINGTON.

“To Our trusty and well-beloved Dr. Samuel Barrow,
Judge Advocate to Our Forces.”

APPENDIX No. LXII.

OPINION OF LAW OFFICERS (COURTS-MARTIAL), 21 JULY, 1694.

(W.O. records.)

“We are humbly of opinion that in the case of punishment of false Musters or other offences not being Mutiny, Desertion or change from one regiment or troop to another, That a Court-Martial may consist of a lesser number of Officers than thirteen, so as the Court-Martial do consist of such a number of Officers as by Law-Martial do constitute such a Court.

“EDW. WARD.

“THOS. TREVER.

“21 July, 1694.”

APPENDIX No. LXIII.

PROCEEDINGS OF GENERAL COURT MARTIAL, CORK,

22 JANY., 1690/1.

(Clarke MSS.)

“Civit Cork.

“At a General Court Marshall held at Cork on the 22nd day of January, anno. dom. 1690, by virtue of an order from Lieutenant-General Ginkell, held by a President and 12 Captains of Their Majesties’ Army belonging unto this and other garrisons whose names ensue.

“The Honble. Colonel Ferdinando Hastings, President, Guilty.

“Captain Chichester Ray, Guilty.

Captain John Aspin, Guilty.

“Capt. Henry Waldron, Guilty.

Capt. Ralph Nedley, Guilty.

“Capt. Edward Woodstock, Guilty.

Capt. John Pinkney, Guilty.

“Captain Jas. Sympier, Guilty.

Capt. John Ruthven, Guilty.

“Capt. Christopher Worthefield, Guilty.

Capt. Charles Carr, Guilty.

“Capt. Thomas Jones, Guilty.

Capt. John Graham, Guilty.

“At which Court Richard Hobson Quartermaster to Captain Rogers in Colonel Villier’s regiment being charged and tried on the sixty-eighth Article of War which says that all faults, misdemeanours, &c., not mentioned in the Articles of War shall

* i.e., The 1st Ft. Gds.

† Lt. Col. Gray belonged to the 1st Ft. Gds.

be punished according to the laws and customs of War and discretion of the Court Martial. The crime laid against him which was likewise fully proved was that he should tell his Captain to his face Dog, Villain, Rascal, &c. with many other provoking and menacing words and unbecoming actions. Wherein the Witnesses and Evidences for Their Majesties being fully heard and the said Quarter-master Richard Hobson being likewise heard what he could say in his own defence and all duly weighed and considered, on calling over the Court to give their votes whether the aforesaid Richard Hobson were guilty as he stood charged, or not guilty, by the whole votes of the Court *nem. con.* he was found guilty and the punishment thereupon assigned unto him by the Court was that he should immediately be broken and for ever made incapable of serving Their Majesties in a military capacity; and forasmuch as it appeared unto the Court that he had dropt words of revenge against his Captain whenever he should be discharged it was then superadded into his punishment that he should remain committed until he found security for his good behaviour."

(Signed) F. HASTINGS.

22 Janry., 1690/1.

APPENDIX No. LXIV.

WARRANT FOR A COURT-MARTIAL, DUBLIN, 3 DECR., 1697.

(Dublin State Papers.)

"Whereas We received further information that Nicolas Eldrington Private Trooper in Colonel Wolseley's regiment of Horse, has misdemeaned himself and acted contrary to his duty, These are therefore to require you to cause a Court Martial to be summoned as in such cases is usual, for the trial of the said trooper upon such information as shall be given against him by Lieutenant Colonel Berry of the said regiment and to proceed therein according to the Articles of War and Military Discipline, giving us an account of the judgment of such Court before the same be put in execution, For which this shall be your Warrant.

"Given, &c., Dublin, 3 Decher., 1697.

"H. MAY.

"To Sir John Topham Knt.

"Advocate General of the Army."

APPENDIX No. LXV.

JUDGE-ADVOCATE'S COMMISSION, 12 OCTR., 1661.

(Harl. MSS. 6,844.)

"Henry Earl of Peterborough &c., General and Commander-in-Chief of His Majesty's forces raised or to be raised in the kingdom of Fez, &c. &c., Governor of the City of Tanger &c.

"To (blank) Advocate to the Army, By virtue of the power and authority to me given by His Most Excellent Majesty Charles the Second, &c. &c., we do hereby constitute and appoint you Advocate as well in causes civil as criminal in the Army raised or to be raised for His Majesty's service in the kingdom of Fez and Marocco; Requiring and authorising you by all good and lawful means, and by oaths of parties, to inquire of and examine all persons accused, delated, suspected, or defamed for any crime or offence committed, or duties omitted, which are against the laws civil and Ordinances of War received or established, and after all such inquiry and examination you are to pursue all such offenders to a condign punishment before myself or a Counsel of War appointed, in pursuance of the truth (trust?) in you reposed and your duty to His Majesty.

"Given under my hand and seal at arms the 12th day of October, 1661, in the thirteenth year of His Majesty's reign.

"PETERBOROUGH."

(N.B.—There is also a Commission of Judge Advocate General in W.O. Com. Bks., Vol. I.)

APPENDIX No. LXVI.

COURT MARTIAL PROCEEDINGS, 13 JANV., 1696-7.

(W.O. records.)

"At a Court Martial held at the Guildhall in the city and county of Exon by virtue of an order directed to Major Thomas Carew of Colonel Northcote's Regt. of Foot for trying mutineers and deserters in Major-General Stewart's Regt. of Foot, bearing date the 13th Janv., 1696-7, by virtue of which order the Court Martial sat on Thursday the 28th of the same instant upon the trials of Elias Mundon, William Russell, Anthony Johnston, Vincent Collonge, and Michall Roberts, deserters from the said Regt., and then adjourned to the 9th of February following, and then proceeded to the trials of the above-mentioned.

" Major Thomas Carew, President.	
" Captn. John Stewart	Captn. (C.D.)
" (A.B.)	" &c.
" &c.	" &c.
" &c.	" &c.
" &c.	" &c.
" &c.	" &c.

"It is the opinion of this Court Martial that Elias Mundon, William Russell, and Anthony Johnston are guilty of the 23rd Article,* for which they are sentenced to be shot to death at the head of the Regiment upon some field-day.

"It is the opinion of this Court-Martial likewise that Vincent Collonge and Michall Roberts are likewise guilty of the same Article* in leaving their garrison without leave from their Officers, but it appearing by several that were produced on behalf of the prisoners above mentioned that they left their clothes behind them with a design to return, the Court has thought fit to sentence the said Vincent Collonge and Michall Roberts to kneel by the above prisoners during the time of their execution, and three field-days successively afterwards to be tied to a post at the head of the Regiment, and there to receive twenty stripes apiece each day from a drum-beater upon the naked back, and then to return to the Regiment as usual."

"William R.

"His Majesty approves of the proceedings of this Court-Martial, but being graciously pleased to extend his mercy to two of the prisoners, is pleased to order that the three condemned soldiers do draw lots, and that he only on whom the lot of death do fall be executed, and does think fit hereby to pardon the two others.

"Given at Our Court at Kensington this 10th March, 1696-7."

APPENDIX No. LXVII.

CERTIFICATE OF BEHAVIOUR, 22 JUNE, 1660.

(Sloane MSS. 3,299.)

"These are to certify all whom it may concern, that the bearer hereof John Michael was a Trooper in His Majesty's Service in Scotland several years and marched a soldier in the Troop of Major Bontine under the Command of Major General Montgomery at the last Wortr. fight and there received several wounds, was pillaged of all his goods, and has approved himself a faithful soldier.

"Given under our hands and seals the two and twentieth day of June, 1660.

" R. MONTGOMERIE.

" J. BONTINE."

* It will be observed that these men were sentenced under the 23rd Article of the Articles of War of 1692, which, however, were applicable only to Forces "in the Low Countries and Ports beyond the seas."

APPENDIX No. LXVIII.

ROYAL WARRANT, 26 MAR., 1686.—BLOOD-MONEY.

(W.O. records.)

“James R.

“Whereas by the Establishment of Our Forces, We have been graciously pleased to direct an Allowance to be made to such Non-Commission-Officers or soldiers as should be wounded or hurt in Our Service ; Our will and pleasure is that out of such monies as are or shall come to your hands for the contingent uses of Our Guards, &c., you cause the sums following to be paid to the Non-Commission-Officers and soldiers of Our Coldstream Regt. of Foot-Guards hereunder mentioned ; vizt.,

						£	s.	d.
“ To — Friend, Sargeant	...	...	...	...	...	5	0	0
„ Wm. Robinson	...	...	...	...	...	2	0	0
„ Wm. Baugh	...	...	...	...	...	7	0	0
„ Robt. Lindsey	...	...	...	...	...	3	0	0
„ Benj. Sumner, Sargeant	...	...	...	...	...	10	0	0
						27	0	0

Which sums amounting to Twenty seven Pounds are to be paid to the said persons in satisfaction for their wounds received in Our Service during the late rebellion. Provided none of them be already admitted to the allowance appointed for Our Royal Hospital near Chelsea. And for so doing, this, together with the acquittance of the said persons or their assigns shall be your discharge.

“Given, &c., 26 March, 1686.

“By His Majesty's Command,

“WM. BLATHWAVE.

“To Charles Fox, Esq.”

APPENDIX No. LXIX.

ROYAL WARRANT, 27 OCTR., 1679.—KILMAINHAM.

(Kilmainham Records.)

“Charles R.

“Right Trusty and Right entirely Beloved Cousin and Counsellor, We greet you well.—Whereas many of the Soldiers in our Army in Ireland, who are grown aged, or otherwise unserviceable, are yet continued in our Pay for want of some other fitting Provision for their livelihood and maintenance ; and we conceive it unreasonable, that such Persons who have faithfully served us in our Army, whilst their health and strength continued, should, when by Age, Wounds, or other Infirmities, they are disabled from serving us any longer, be discharged without any care to be taken for their future subsistence ; we thought it necessary for us to consider of some way whereby our Army may be freed from such unserviceable persons, and how such of them who shall be dismissed from our Service, may be afterwards provided for ; and we calling to mind, that upon a contract made by us with Robert and William Bridges, Gentlemen, for the advance of the sum of Thirty-six Thousand, Five Hundred, Sixty-five Pounds, Four Shillings, and Eleven Pence, Sterling, or thereabouts, to be made by them towards the discharge of some arrears of Pay due to our Army ; We were pleased to allow to the said Robert and William Bridges, the sum of Twelve Pence in the Pound, to be deducted out of all the Pay that should grow due by our Establishment to our Military List in our said Kingdom, for eighteen months, from the 29th day of March last : We have thought fit that the said deduction of Twelve Pence in the Pound be not continued for any longer time, than the same hath been already granted to the said Robert and William Bridges ; and that from and after the said 29th day of March last, there shall only be deducted Six Pence in the Pound out of all the Pay that afterwards shall grow due by our Establishment to our Military List, and that the same shall be wholly applied towards making a Provision for such aged and maimed officers and soldiers of our said Army, as shall not

be thought fit to be any longer continued in our Service. Our will and pleasure therefore is, and we do hereby authorize and require you, to cause a deduction of Six Pence in the Pound to be from time to time made out of all the Pay that from and after the 29th day of March last, shall grow due by the present, or any future Establishment, to any Person or Persons whatsoever upon our Military List in our said Kingdom; and to take care that the same be paid into the hands of such Person or Persons as you shall appoint for the receipt thereof. And we do hereby give unto you full power and authority from time to time, to issue and employ the same towards the building and settling an Hospital for such aged and maimed Officers and soldiers as shall at any time be dismissed out of our Army as unserviceable men, and for making provision for their future maintenance, in such way and manner as you shall think fit: It being our express will and pleasure, that none of the said money shall upon any occasion or pretence whatsoever be diverted to any other use, than whereunto the same is hereby designed. And you are also to take care that such Person or Persons as shall be so by you appointed to receive the said money, do first give unto us good and sufficient security for his or their giving a true account of all the said money, so to be received by him or them, whensoever he or they shall be thereunto required: and for the Payment thereof, from time to time, according to such Warrants as shall from time to time be by you given concerning the same. And also that he or they do at least once every year, or oftener, as you shall see cause, give an exact and true account of such receipts and payments, either to you, or such Persons as you shall appoint to take and audit his said Accounts. And we do hereby further declare our royal will and pleasure to be, That no Persons who were either aged, or otherwise unserviceable, when they were first taken into our Army, shall be taken to be comprehended within the provision hereby intended, but only such Persons, who by reason of Age, Wounds, or other Infirmities, since their first coming into our Army, are grown unfit to be any longer continued in our service. And our further pleasure is, that you prepare a draught of such Rules and Orders for the constitution and government of the said Hospital, as you shall think fitting, which you are to transmit unto us, for our Royal consideration and approbation; and for so doing, these our Letters shall be your Warrant."

Given at our Court at Whitehall, the 27th day of October, 1679, in the One and Thirtieth year of our Reign.

By H. M.'s Command,
COVENTRY.

To our Right Trusty, &c., James Duke of Ormonde,
Lord Lieutenant General of Ireland, &c., &c.

APPENDIX No. LXX.

ROYAL CHARTER, KILMAINHAM, 19 FEBRUARY, 1684.

(Kilmainham Records.)

"Charles the Second, by the Grace of God, of England, Scotland, France, and Ireland, King, Defender of the Faith, &c., To all to whom these Presents shall come, Greeting; Whereas We judging it fit and necessary, that some Provision should be made for such Officers and Soldiers of Our Army of Ireland, as by reason of their Age, Wounds, or other Infirmities, contracted in Our Service, are or shall become unfit to be any longer continued therein; and also unable otherwise to maintain themselves: We direct an Hospital to be erected near our City of Dublin, for the reception and entertainment of such antient, maimed, and infirm Officers and soldiers; to the end, that such of the said Army, as have faithfully served, or hereafter shall faithfully serve us, Our Heirs, or Successors, in the Strength and Vigour of their Youth, may in the Weakness, and Disaster, that their old age, wounds, or other misfortunes may bring them into, find a comfortable retreat, and a competent maintenance therein. And Whereas we of our pious and charitable inclination, to so good a Work, have set a-part and given Sixty-Four Acres of Land, Plantation Measure, of our own Demesne Lands, formerly enclosed in our Park, called the Phoenix Park, and being part of the lands of Kilmainham, in our County of Dublin and County of the City of Dublin, or one of them, for erecting the said Hospital therein, and for making fitting and convenient walks and gardens thereunto, and other uses, for, and toward the support of the said Hospital: The said Sixty-four Acres of land being bounded on the east and south with a stone-wall, being formerly the said Park Wall,

and on the north, with the river Liffey, and on the west, with the lands being part of the said lands of Kilmainham, now belonging to William Robinson, Esq. ; from which the same are now divided, in part thereof by a ditch, and in other part thereof by a stone wall, reaching from the Highway leading from Dublin to Kilmainham, to the river Liffey. And we have also caused the sum of sixpence in the Pound for several years last past, to be deducted out of the Pay of all officers and soldiers of our said Army, and other persons placed upon the military list of our establishment, in our said Kingdom, towards the charge of building the said Hospital, which hath hitherto been wholly employed therein. And we think it fit to have the said deduction still continued towards the finishing the said Building, and providing such utensils, household-stuff, and other furniture as shall be necessary, or useful for the same : as also for the maintenance of such persons, as shall be hereafter placed therein, until the said Hospital shall, by the charity of well-disposed persons, or by some other ways, be provided of, and endowed with a sufficient revenue in lands for the support thereof. In order whereunto, we find it necessary to have a corporation erected, to consist of such persons as may in succession for ever hereafter, be Governors of the said Hospital, and may be enabled to purchase and hold such Lands, Tenements, and Hereditaments, to them and their successors, as may at any time hereafter, be given to so good a use.

“ Know ye therefore, that we of our special grace, certain knowledge and meer motion, by and with the advice and consent of our right trusty and right well-beloved cousin and counsellor, Richard Earl of Arran, our deputy of our said Kingdom of Ireland, and according to the tenor of our several letters, under our Privy Signet, and Sign Manual ; the one bearing date at Our Court at Whitehall, the eighteenth day of November, and the other the seventh day of January, in the five and thirtieth year of our reign, and in the year of our Lord, one thousand six hundred and eighty-three, now enrolled in the rolls of our High Court of chancery in our said Kingdom of Ireland : have ordained, declared, and established, and we do by these presents, for us, our Heirs and Successors, ordain, declare, and establish, that the building lately erected, and now standing upon the Lands of Kilmainham, on the south side of the river Liffey, containing one large quadrangle enclosed with a stone wall, and all the houses, edifices, buildings, orchards, gardens, lands, tenements, and hereditaments within the same, and within the site, circuit, or precinct thereof, or of the said sixty-four acres of land above mentioned, shall be from henceforth, and shall for ever hereafter continue and be an Hospital in deed and in name, for the receipt, abiding, and dwelling, of such a number of poor, aged, maimed and infirm officers and soldiers of the army of us, our heirs and successors in our Kingdom of Ireland, as shall by the Governors thereof hereafter mentioned, and their successors, be named, limited, or appointed to be lodged, harboured, abide, and be relieved therein ; and also for the dwelling and necessary use, of one Master to govern all the persons of, in, or belonging to the said Hospital ; and one Chaplain to instruct all the persons that shall reside in the said Hospital, in the knowledge of God, and his word, and of such other officers as shall be found to be requisite, or necessary for the use or service of the said Hospital ; and that the same shall and may for ever hereafter be named and called, The Hospital of King Charles the Second, for ancient and maimed officers and soldiers of the army of Ireland.

“ And further, we have granted, ordained, declared, constituted, and appointed, and we do by these presents, for us, our heirs and successors, grant, ordain, constitute, declare, and appoint, that the Lord-Lieutenant, Lord Deputy, or other chief Governor, or Governors of our said Kingdom of Ireland, for the time being ; Michael, Lord Archbishop of Ardmagh, Primate and Metropolitan of Ireland, and Lord Chancellor of the same, and his successors Arch-bishops of Armagh, and all such as shall succeed after him to be Lord Chancellors or Lord Keepers of the Great Seal of Ireland, for and during the time they shall continue in the same Office ; Francis Lord Arch-bishop of Dublin, and his successors Arch-bishops there ; James Duke of Ormond and such of the heirs male of the body, to whom the Dukedom of Ormond shall successively descend or come ; Richard Earl of Arran, our now Lord Deputy of our said Kingdom, and Colonel of our regiment of Guards there, and such as shall succeed after him, to be Colonels of the said regiment of Guards, for and during the time that they shall continue in the said office ; Arthur Lord Viscount Granard, Marshal of our Army in our said Kingdom of Ireland, and such as after him shall succeed to the Marshals of the Army there, for and during the time they shall continue in the said Office ; Francis Earl of Longford, Master of our Ordnance, in our said Kingdom of Ireland, and such as after him shall succeed to be Masters of the Ordnance there, during the time they shall continue in the said office ; Sir William Davis, Knight, Chief Justice of our Court of King's Bench there, and his successors, Chief Justices of the said Court there ; John Keating, Esqre., Chief Justice of our Court of Common Pleas, and his successors, Chief Justices of the said Court there ; Henry Hene, Esqre. ; Chief Baron of our Court of Exchequer there, and his Succes-

sors, Chief Barons there; Sir John Davis, Knight, Secretary of State, and his successors, Secretaries of State there; Cary Dillon, Esq.; Commissary General of the Horse of our Army there, and such as after him shall succeed to be Commissaries General of the Horse of our Army there, during the time they shall continue in the said office; Sir Thomas Newcommen, Knight, Major-General of the Foot of our Army there, and such as shall succeed after him to be Major General of the Foot of our Army there, during all the time they shall continue in the said Office; Abraham Yarner, Esq.; Muster-Master-General of our Army there, and such as after him shall succeed to be Muster-Master-General of our Army there, during the time they shall continue in the said Office; Colonel Thomas Fairfax, Captain of the Yeomen of our Guard in our said Kingdom, and such as shall succeed after him to be Captain of the Yeomen of the Guard there, for and during the Time they shall continue in the said Office; Anthony Hungerford, Esqre.; Captain of our Troop of Guards there, and such as shall succeed after him, to be Captains of our Troop of Horse Guards there, during the time they shall continue in the said Office; Sir Charles Fielding, Knight, Lieutenant Colonel of our regiment of Guards there, and such as after him shall succeed to be Lieutenant Colonels of our regiment of Guards there, for and during the time they shall continue in the said Office; Lieutenant Colonel Henry Brenn, Quarter-Master-General of the Horse of our Army in our said Kingdom of Ireland, and such as after him shall succeed to be Quarter-Master-General of our Horse of our Army there, during the time they shall continue in the said Office; Major Rupert Billingsley, Major of our regiment of Guards there, and such as after him shall succeed to be Majors of our regiment of Guards there, for and during the time they shall continue in the said Office; and the Master of the said Hospital for the time being, shall and may be the Governors of the said Hospital, and of the members, goods, lands, revenues, and hereditaments of the same, at all times hereafter for ever: and that the same Governors, and their successors, shall for ever hereafter stand and be incorporated, established, and founded, in name and in deed, a body politic and corporate, to have a continuance for ever, by the name of, The Governors of the Hospital of King Charles the Second, for ancient and maimed officers and soldiers of the Army of Ireland: and them the said Governors, by the name of, The Governors of the Hospital of King Charles the Second, for ancient and maimed officers and soldiers of the Army of Ireland, into one body politic and corporate, really and fully, for us, our heirs, and successors, we do erect, make, ordain, and create by these presents; and that by the same name they may have a perpetual succession.

“And further, of our like special Grace, certain knowledge, and mere motion, by and with the advice and consent aforesaid, we have given, granted, and confirmed, and by these presents, for us, our heirs and successors, we do give, grant, and confirm to the said Governors of the said Hospital, and their successors, the said site, circuit, and precinct of the said Hospital, and the aforesaid sixty-four acres of land, bounded as aforesaid, being part of the said lands of Kilmainham, and all the houses, buildings, edifices, orchards, and gardens, that are or shall be erected and made thereupon, To Have and To Hold, all and singular the premises, together, with their, and every of their rights, members, and appurtenances, to them the said Governors of the said Hospital, and their successors, for ever: to be held of us, our heirs and successors, in Frank-Almoigne, without paying or performing any rent, duty, or service to us, our heirs or successors, out, of, or for the same. And we do further, for us, our heirs and successors, grant to the said Governors of the said Hospital, and their successors, that they, the said Governors, and their Successors, shall and may for ever hereafter, have hold, and enjoy the said site, circuit, and precinct of the said Hospital, and the aforesaid 64 Acres of Land, bounded as aforesaid, being part of the said lands of Kilmainham; and all the houses, buildings, edifices, orchards, and gardens, that are, or shall be erected, or made thereupon; and all the Household stuff, furniture, plate, money, revenues, goods, and Chattels that have been, or shall be given unto or purchased, for the use of the said Hospital, or of the persons residing, or to reside therein, or belonging, or that shall hereafter belong thereunto; and that by the same name of Governors of the Hospital of King Charles the Second, for ancient and maimed officers and soldiers, of the Army of Ireland; they be, and shall be for ever, persons able and capable in law, to have, take, purchase, hold, receive, possess, and enjoy, as well any manors, lands, tenements, liberties, franchises, rents, reversions, privileges, and other hereditaments, in fee to them and their successors for ever, to the value of six thousand pounds per ann. (notwithstanding the statute of *Quia Emptorum Terrarum*, or any other Statute, to the contrary). As also all and singular, goods, chattels, and other things, whatsoever, and the same lands, tenements, and hereditaments, and every or any of them (other than the said Hospital-House, and the out-houses, orchards, gardens, walks, and back-sides, that are, or shall be set apart or used, for the habitation, or use of the Master, Chaplain, soldiers, or officers, or attendants, of the said Hospital (or any of them), to demise, set and let, for the

term of Thirty-one years or under, in possession, and not in reversion, or for one, two, or three lives, or for any number of years determinable upon one, two, or three lives in possession, and not in reversion; and whereupon such yearly rent, or more shall be reserved, to the said Governors of the said Hospital and their successors, during the continuance of every such lease, as at the time of making such lease, shall have been reserved upon any demise thereof, or otherwise, at the true yearly value thereof: and to seal and execute all deeds, evidences, and writings of, for, and concerning the same, and every parcel thereof, in that behalf needful or convenient to be had or made; and by the same name of Governors of the Hospital of King Charles the Second, for ancient and maimed soldiers of the Army of Ireland, they shall and may be persons able and capable in law, to plead and be impleaded, answer and be answered; defend and be defended, in any Our Courts, and other places whatsoever, and before any Judge, Judges, Justices, or any other person or persons whatsoever, in all and all manner of suits, complaints, pleas, causes, matters, and demands, whatsoever kind, nature, or form they be, in the same manner and form as others of our liege people, of this our realm in Ireland, being persons able and capable in Law, may implead and be impleaded, answer and be answered, defend or be defended, or may have, purchase, receive, take, possess, or enjoy any lands, tenements, or hereditaments, or goods, or chattels, by any lawful ways and means whatsoever. And also, that the said Governors of the said Hospital, and their successors, shall and may have, and use for ever, a common seal, for them and their successors, to serve for the en sealing, making and executing such demises, leases, deeds, and other things, matters, and affairs, touching, or in any wise concerning the said Incorporation, with such a stamp, and inscription, to be ingraven and made therein, as to the said Governors, or the major part of them, shall be thought fit; and that it shall and may be lawful to and for the said Governors, and their successors, the same seal, at their will and pleasure, from time to time, to break, deface, alter, and make new, as to them, or the major part of them shall seem meet, fit, and expedient. The said Common Seal to remain in the custody of such person or persons, as the said Governors, or the major part of them, shall think fit; but not to be affixed to any deed, writing, or other instrument, without the consent of the said Governors, or the major part of them, under their hands thereunto first had and obtained.

“And Further, of our special grace, certain knowledge and mere motion, by and with the advice and consent aforesaid, we will, and by these presents, for us, our heirs and successors, we do grant, that from henceforth for ever there be, and shall be one Master of the said Hospital, and also one Chaplain, and such other Officers, in and belonging to the said Hospital, as the said Governor, or the major part of them, shall think fit and necessary to appoint for the Service thereof: and for the good rule and government of the said Hospital, we have assigned, named, ordained, and constituted, and by these presents, for us, our heirs and successors, we do assign, name, ordain, and constitute, our trusty and well-beloved John Jeffreys, Esq.; to be the first master of the said Hospital, willing that the said John Jeffreys be and continue master of the said Hospital, during his good behaviour in the said Hospital; and that all succeeding masters of the said Hospital, and the first Chaplain thereof, and his successors, and all such other Officers as shall be thought fit by the said Governors of the said Hospital, or the major part of them, to be appointed for the service thereof, be chosen and constituted by the said Governors, or the major part of them, by instrument under their hands and common seal. And that the said John Jeffreys and all succeeding masters of the said Hospital, and the said Chaplain, and all other Officers, in or relating to the said Hospital, shall take the oaths of allegiance and supremacy; and also such an oath, for the due execution of their respective offices, as by the Governors of the said Hospital, or the major part of them, shall be set down and prescribed before the Governors of the said Hospital, or any three of them, whom we do empower and authorise to administer the said oaths, before they or any of them do enter upon the execution of the said respective offices; and that the said Master, Chaplain, and other Officers have such fees, salaries, and allowances out of the revenues of the said Hospital, for and towards their respective support and maintenance, as by the said Governors, or the major part of them, shall be thought fit to be granted, assigned, or allowed to them; and shall also observe and perform all such rules, orders, and directions, in, or relating to the due execution of their respective offices, as by the said Governors, or the major part of them, shall be from time to time agreed on, ordered, and prescribed, to, or for them respectively; and shall also be subject and liable upon any neglect or miscarriage in their respective offices and employments, to be removed, displaced, and suspended from the execution of their said respective offices, by the said Governors, or the major part of them, who are hereby also empowered thereupon, to put others in their respective places in such a manner as they shall think fit.

“And our further will and pleasure is, and we do hereby grant and declare, that whosoever the said office, or place of Master of the said Hospital, shall next become

vacant, no person shall be chosen Master of the said Hospital, but such a person as shall be of the Protestant religion, as by law established in the church of Ireland, and a Gentleman by descent, and of above fifty years of age, and an unmarried man, and one that hath served our Royal Father, for us, or shall have served us, our heirs or successors in the army of us, our heirs or successors in the Army of Ireland, in the capacity of a Captain at least, and shall have been of the said Army, for the space of ten years, and never bore arms against us or any of our predecessors, and that shall not have, of his own estate, to the value of one hundred pounds per Annum, at the time of his election, and who shall then immediately quit his command in the Army (if any he shall then have in the said Army): but if no fitting person shall be found to be chosen Master of the said Hospital, who shall have all the said qualifications; then and in such case the said Governors, or the major part of them, shall choose such a fit person as they shall think fit, who shall have as many of the said qualifications, as they or the major part of them, can find in any person, who shall be by them judged to be fit for the said office. But if no person shall be chosen by them to be Master of the said Hospital within two months after the said office of Master of the said Hospital shall hereafter become vacant; that then and in every such case, it shall and may be lawful, to and for the Lord Lieutenant, Lord Deputy, or other chief Governor or Governors of our said realm of Ireland, by any writing under his hand, to nominate and appoint some such meet and fitting person, as is herein above-mentioned, to the said office of Master of the said Hospital, that shall be so void of such default of the said Governors and their successors for the time being, or the major part of them, as aforesaid, with such qualifications as are mentioned for him to have, in case he had been chosen by the Governors of the Hospital; or if no fit person can be found with all the said qualifications, then to appoint one with as many of them as he shall find in any person, fit for the said place.

“And Further, our will and pleasure is, and we do hereby for us, our heirs and successors, grant, ordain, and declare, that the Master of the said Hospital, shall have the Military and Civil Government of the said Hospital, and shall have power to administer an oath to any person or persons, in any cases relating to the affairs of the said Hospital, or any of the Officers or Members thereof. And also that upon every vacancy of the said office of Master of the said Hospital, whether by death, deprivation, resignation, or otherwise, the government of the said house, during such vacancy, and until a new Master shall be chosen or appointed, shall devolve on the next Military Officer residing in the said Hospital, according to the dignity and priority of his commission, who shall govern the affairs of the said Hospital in all such matters as shall be necessary to be done, during such vacancy, and cannot without prejudice be deferred, until the appointment of a new Master thereof. And also that the Master of the said Hospital, shall constantly inhabit and reside in the lodgings appointed for him in the said Hospital, and shall eat constantly in the Common Hall there, at a table to be provided for himself (except in case of sickness, or other just occasion) together with the Chaplain, and such gentlemen of the said Hospital, as shall have born our or our successors commission, and such other officers of the said Hospital, as he shall admit thereunto; and shall not be absent from the said Hospital, above the space of one month, in any year, without the license of the said Governors, or the major part of them, under their hands, and shall have power and authority, by writing under his hand and seal, to depute and appoint some commissioned Officer residing within the said Hospital to be Deputy-Master thereof, during such his absence from the same.

“And Further, Our will and pleasure is, and we do hereby for us, our heirs and successors, grant, ordain, declare, and appoint, that the said Governors and their successors for the time being, or the major part of them, shall have full power and authority to do, perform, and execute, all and every such lawful acts and things, good, necessary, and profitable for the said Hospital, and the several persons therein, to be from time to time, placed in as large, full and ample manner and form, to all intents, constructions, and purposes, as any other body politick or corporate, in Our Kingdoms of England or Ireland, fully and perfectly founded and incorporated, may do; and shall, and may have full power and authority to nominate and appoint, when and as often as they shall think good, such a number of Officers and Soldiers of the said Army, who during their continuance therein, have been or shall be maimed; or who having served seven years at least in the said Army, have been or shall become aged, infirm, or unserviceable, to be placed, lodged, and maintained in the said Hospital, as the lodging and revenue of the said Hospital shall hold out, to maintain and provide for, and to appoint, increase, and lessen their number, and their salaries, and allowances; as also the respective allowances and salaries of the said Master, Chaplain, and other Officers and Servants of the said Hospital accordingly, as the revenue of the said Hospital shall from time to time lessen or increase, or otherwise as they shall think fit: And when any of their places, by death, resignation, depriva-

tion, or otherwise, shall become void, shall and may, within two months next after such avoidance, by writing under their said common seal, nominate and appoint other like Officers and Soldiers, who have so served in the said Army of Ireland, in the places of them, and every of them so deceasing, resigning, or otherwise becoming void; and that in case the said Governors and their Successors for the time being, or the most part of them, shall not within two months after such avoidance, make such nomination and appointment as aforesaid, that then, and so often, and in every such case, it shall and may be lawful, to and for the Lord-Lieutenant, Lord Deputy, or other chief Governor or Governors of our said realm of Ireland, for the time being by any writings under their hands respectively, to nominate and appoint some such Officers and soldiers, who have so served in the said Army of Ireland, in and to the places void by such default of the said Governors and their successors for the time being, or the most part of them, as aforesaid. And that it shall and may be lawful to and for the said Master, Chaplain, Officers, and Soldiers, that shall be from time to time placed in the said Hospital, to remain, assemble and cohabit together in the said Hospital. And that the said Governors and their successors for the time being, or the major part of them, shall and may have full power and authority under their common seal, to make, ordain, set down, and prescribe such orders, rules, statutes, and ordinances, for the order, rule and government of the said Hospital, and every member thereof, and for and concerning the naming and electing of such person and persons as shall succeed into the place and room of any the said Governors, in case any of the offices, commands or employments, with which the office of one of the Governors of the said Hospital, is hereby appointed to go in succession, should at any time hereafter be laid aside, or no longer continued; and for and concerning the election, order, rule and government of the Master, Chaplain, and all the members, officers, and servants of the said Hospital, in their several places, offices, rooms and employments; and for and concerning their, and every of their stipends, and allowances, for and towards their, or any of their maintenance and relief, as to the said Governors, and their Successors for the time being, or the major part of them, shall seem meet and convenient. And that such Orders, Rules, Statutes and Ordinances so by them to be set down and prescribed as aforesaid, shall be, stand, and remain in full force and virtue in Law, and be executed in all things according to the true intent and meaning thereof, under the several pains, forfeitures and penalties, that shall be expressed and contained in the same ordinances, statutes and Rules.

“Provided Always, That the said rules, statutes and ordinances, or any of them, be not repugnant or contrary to the laws and statutes of our said realm of Ireland, or to any ecclesiastical canons or constitutions of our church of Ireland, that shall be then in force, or use, nor against the purport or true intent of these our letters patents. And also that the said Governors and their Successors for the time being, or the major part of them, shall have full power and authority from time to time, and as often as they shall think fit and convenient, to visit the said Hospital, and to order, reform, and redress all disorders and abuses, in and touching the government thereof, and the manners of the several officers, and members relating thereunto: and further, to punish, censure, suspend, and deprive the Master, Chaplain, and other Officers and Members of the said Hospital, as to them shall seem just, fit and convenient.

“And Further, of our like special grace, certain knowledge, and meer motion, by and with advice and consent aforesaid, we have ordained, declared and established, and by these presents, for us, our heirs and successors, we do ordain, declare and establish, that the said Governors and their Successors, shall be, and are hereby wholly and utterly disabled in law, to make, do, levy, or suffer any act or acts, thing or things, whereby or by means whereof, the site or circuit, or precinct of the said Hospital, or the said sixty-four acres of land, above mentioned, that are hereby granted by us to the said Governors and their Successors, for the use of the said Hospital, or any part thereof, or any the Houses or Buildings erected, or to be erected thereupon, shall, or may be aliened, assured, given, granted, demised, charged, or in any sort conveyed or come to the possession of us, our heirs, or successors, or of any other person or persons, bodies politick or corporate whatsoever, or to any other use or uses than what the same are hereby intended for and designed; and that the whole residue and remainder of the said sixty-four acres of land that is not inclosed within the walls and precinct of the said Hospital, now built thereupon, shall be for ever hereafter employed in building such out-houses thereupon, and making such yards, gardens, and walks therein, and to such other uses, as shall be necessary or convenient for the said Hospital, and for the support, maintenance and more comfortable residence of the members thereof. And that all alienations, assurances, gifts, grants, leases, charges, and conveyances, whatsoever to be done, suffered, or made, to us, our heirs or successors, or to any other person or persons, bodies politick or corporate whatsoever, of the site, circuit or precinct of the said Hospital, of the said sixty-four acres of land herein abovementioned, or any part thereof, or of

any the houses, or buildings erected or to be erected thereupon, or of, or out of any part or parcel of them, or any of them, shall be utterly void, and of none effect, to all intents, constructions, and purposes, any matter or thing to the contrary, notwithstanding.

"And our Will and Pleasure is, and we do hereby for us, our heirs and successors, ordain, declare, constitute and appoint, that whensoever any of the said Governors herein above-mentioned, or any of them, or their or any of their Successors shall die, or be removed from such their offices, commands or employments, whereunto such place or places of Governor or Governors of the said Hospital, is hereby annexed, or voluntarily shall relinquish such their offices, and employments, that then and in such case, the remaining Governors shall still continue and remain incorporated, as fully and amply, to all intents and purposes, as the said Governors herein above-mentioned are hereby incorporated: and that in all such cases, wherein the said office or place of Governor is hereby annexed to any office or employment, the same shall go in succession to such as shall next succeed in such office or employment; but in case any of the said place or places of Governor or Governors of the said Hospital, shall become void, by reason that any of the said offices or employments, whereunto the same is hereby annexed, shall be laid aside, or not any longer continued; that then and in such case, the major part of the surviving or remaining Governors, shall have full power and authority at any time, within three weeks after such place shall so become void, to name and elect choose and appoint, some other fit person or persons to be Governor or Governors of the said Hospital, in the place and room of such Governor or Governors that shall so become void; and in case no such election shall be made by the said Governors or the major part of them, within three weeks after such vacancy, it shall and may be lawful, to and for the Lord Lieutenant, Lord Deputy, or other chief Governor or Governors of our said realm of Ireland, for the time being, by writing under their respective hands, to nominate any other fit person or persons to succeed in the place or places of Governor and Governors of the said Hospital, in the place and room of such Governor or Governors.

"And our further will and pleasure is, and we do hereby ordain and appoint, that where the said office or place of Governor is hereby appointed, to go in succession with any of the offices, commands, and employments, whereunto the same is hereby annexed, that such persons shall continue no longer Governors, but only during such time as they shall continue in their said respective offices, commands and employments. And that upon their or any of their removal out of the said offices, or commands or employments, they shall from thenceforth no longer continue Governors of the said Hospital; and in case any of their said offices or commands in the said army shall be laid aside, or no longer continued, that no person or persons shall be elected or admitted to succeed in their place or places of Governor or Governors of the said Hospital, that such person or persons only at the time of such election or admission shall have been for ten years a commissioned officer in the said army of Ireland.

"And our further will and pleasure is, and we do hereby for us, our heirs and successors, ordain, declare and appoint, that the Governors of the said Hospital, and their successors, or the major part of them, shall have, keep, and constantly observe, four several set days and times of their meeting, for and about the affairs and concerns of the said Hospital, either at the said Hospital (if conveniently it may be), or at any other place by themselves to be appointed for that purpose, on such days as by the said Governors of the said Hospital, or the major part of them, or in their default, by the chief Governor or Governors of our said Kingdom of Ireland, shall be appointed; and at the said quarterly meeting, shall take an account of the quarterly receipts and payments relating to the said Hospital, and shall and may then also treat on, and dispatch any other affairs concerning the said Hospital; and shall also hold one other annual meeting on such day, as in like manner shall be (as aforesaid) appointed to take the year's account, ending the 25th day of March next preceding such annual meeting, of the receipts and payments relating to the said Hospital, and to view and inform themselves of the estate thereof; and that the said Governors and their Successors, or the major part of them, may also hold and keep such other occasional meetings, as upon any emergent accident shall be found necessary for the affairs of the said Hospital, notice being first given to all the Governors that be then residing in or near our said city of Dublin, of the time and place of such meeting; and that the said Governors, or the major part of them, then assembled at such occasional meeting, shall and may treat, resolve of, and determine such matters relating to the said Hospital, as shall be fit or necessary for their debate, judgment, decision, or resolution, and that what shall be resolved and agreed upon by the major part of the Governors present on such quarterly, annual, or occasional days of meeting, shall stand good, firm and effectual, until the same shall be altered, or changed, at some succeeding meeting of the said Governors or the major part of them: And that at every, and any such meeting of the said Governors, each of the Governors then

assembled, shall have but one single vote, notwithstanding that any of them may have two several offices or employments, by reason of each whereof he may, by virtue of these our letters patents, be constituted one of the Governors of the said Hospital; and that the orders and resolutions of every such assembly shall be fairly entered in a book to be kept for that purpose, by such register as by the said Governors and their Successors, or the major part of them, shall be appointed to attend them on such occasions, who is always to be present at such meetings, and shall also be signed by such of the Governors as shall be present at such meeting, or the major part of them, within the space of one month next following the holding of every such assembly.

“And our further will and pleasure is, and we do hereby declare and appoint, that in case any doubt or controversy shall happen or arise amongst the said Governors, or their Successors concerning the sense, or meaning of any clause, article, or sentence, in these our letters patents contained, in the interpretation whereof the said Governors or the major part of them shall not agree, that then and in such case they may apply themselves to the Lord Lieutenant, Lord Deputy, or other chief Governor or Governors of our said Kingdom of Ireland, whose resolution or determination therein being had in writing, and entered in the public registry of the said Hospital, shall be final and conclusive therein: and also that in case any controversy or differences shall arise between any the officers and members of the said Hospital, that they shall be heard and determined by the Master of the said Hospital, or by the Deputy Master during his sickness or absence.

“And our further will and pleasure is, and we do hereby grant, and ordain for us, our heirs and successors, that the Governors of the said Hospital, or the major part of them, shall be, and are hereby authorised to administer an oath to any person or persons relating to any the affairs of the said Hospital; and that their sentence of determination therein, being entered in the public registry of the said Hospital, shall be final and conclusive to all parties.

“And our further will and pleasure is, and we do hereby declare, ordain and appoint, that the said Hospital, and the said sixty-four acres of land thereunto belonging, and hereby granted by us for the use of the said Hospital, and all the buildings erected, or to be erected thereupon, shall for ever hereafter be and continue freed and discharged from the payment of all, and all manner of rents, taxes, subsidies, chimney-money, and all other charges and payments whatsoever that are, or at any time hereafter shall or may be due or payable to us, our heirs or successors, or shall or may be charged or imposed thereupon, either by act of Parliament, or otherwise howsoever.

“And our further will and pleasure is, and we do hereby, for us, our heirs and successors, ordain, declare, establish and appoint, that the aforesaid deduction of sixpence in the pound, out of the pay of our said army, and other persons placed upon the military list of our Establishment, in our said kingdom of Ireland, be continued for the use of the said Hospital, and be also constantly paid to such person or persons, as by the Governors of the said Hospital; or the major part of them, shall be from time to time appointed to receive and account for the same.

“And lastly, our will and pleasure is, and we do hereby further for us, our heirs and successors, ordain, and declare that the Master Gunner, and other officers of the Ordnance in our said army, in our said kingdom of Ireland, shall and may from time to time, make such use of the Gun-yard, house, and butt, lately erected on part of the aforesaid sixty-four acres of land, and the ground staked out, lying east from the said Gun-Yard, containing from thence about two thousand six hundred feet in length, and about one hundred feet in breadth, to exercise the Gunners of our Train of Artillery there, in such manner as by the chief Governor or Governors of our said kingdom of Ireland, shall be thought fit.

“And further, our will and pleasure is, that these our letters patents, and every clause, sentence, and article therein contained, or the enrollment thereof, shall be in all and everything and things, firm, good, valid, sufficient, and effectual in the law, unto the said Governors of the said Hospital, and their Successors, according to the purport and tenor thereof, without any further grant, license, or toleration, from us, our heirs or successors, to be had, procured, or obtained.

“Provided always, that these our letters patents be enrolled in the rolls of our High Court of Chancery, in our said kingdom of Ireland, within the space of six months next ensuing the date of these presents; although no express mention be made of the true yearly value or certainty of the premises, or of any gifts, or grants heretofore made, by us, or any of our progenitors, to them the said Governors of the said Hospital, of the premises in these presents: any statute, act, ordinance, provision, or restriction, or any other cause, matter, or thing whatsoever, to the contrary hereof in any wise notwithstanding.

“In Witness whereof we have caused these our letters to be made patents; witness, our aforesaid Deputy General of our said kingdom of Ireland, at Dublin, the nineteenth day of February, in the six and thirtieth year of our reign.”

"Trot' decimo tertio die Martii, Anno Regni Regis Caroli Secundi Tricesimo sexto. Copia Vera :

"THO. CARTER, D.C. &c. C. Rot'."

APPENDIX No. LXXI.

ROYAL WARRANT, 17 MAR., 1683/4.—STOPPAGES.

(W.O. records.)

"Charles R.

"Whereas by agreement in August, 1662, betwixt the officers of our guards and garrisons and Sir Stephen Fox, then Paymaster-General of our Forces, there hath been a deduction of twelve pence out of every twenty shillings drawn from the pay of all our said Forces, to enable the said Paymaster to advance their pay by weekly subsistence, and within a short time after the end of every muster to complete the full pay thereof both to officers and soldiers, which agreement hath proved of great advantage to our service in the constant payment of our said forces, and hath since been humbly resigned up unto us, by the said Sir Stephen Fox, with the deduction thereunto belonging; and we, thinking it absolutely necessary that our Forces be constantly paid by way of advance, as they have hitherto been; and having referred it to the care of the Commissioners of our Treasury to see it punctually observed, we do hereby direct, that the same deduction of twelve pence out of every twenty shillings shall be, as formerly, drawn out of the pay of our said Forces; whereof one-third shall be applied for Exchequer fees, and to the Paymaster of our Forces for the time being, and the other two-thirds shall remain in the said Paymaster's hands upon account, to be disposed of either towards the erecting, building, and maintaining our Royal Hospital at Chelsea, for aged, maimed, and infirm land soldiers, or towards the payment of the Establishment of our Forces, as we shall from time to time direct, by the Commissioners of our Treasury, who are hereby appointed to take and examine the accounts of the said building, and of all monies expended towards the said hospital; and the said Paymaster is hereby authorised and directed to apply out of the said deduction what is necessary for the said hospital for three years, to commence from the end of December, 1682, and to be accountable for the same to the Commissioners of our Treasury, so as what shall be undisposed of towards the use of the said Hospital be applied to the lessening the charge upon the Establishment of our said forces.

"Given at our Court at Newmarket, the 17th day of March, 1683/4, in the thirty-sixth year of our reign.

"By his Majesty's command."

APPENDIX No. LXXII.

ROYAL WARRANT, WINDSOR, 17 JUNE, 1684.—STOPPAGES.

"Charles R.

"Having out of Our Royal disposition towards the relief of old maimed soldiers thought fit to erect an Hospital for their support, and being graciously inclined by all fitting means to direct a further supply towards the perfecting and maintenance thereof, Our Will and Pleasure is that one day's pay be drawn and deducted from Our Guards and Garrisons every year, and two days every leap year, towards the building of Our Royal Hospital, and maintenance of such soldiers as, having served Us by land, shall be provided for therein; and of these Our directions the Paymaster and Commissary-General of Our Forces, and all other persons whom it may concern, are to take notice," &c.

APPENDIX No. LXXIII.

CHARTER. ANNO PRIMO ELIZ. (30 AUG.)—THE POOR KNIGHTS OF WINDSOR.

(Ashmole.)

The Preamble sets forth that the Queen, mindful of the Foundation by Edward III. and of the general intentions of her predecessors respecting the Most Noble Order of the Garter, and especially of the knowledge given her of the last mind and will of her Father K. Henry VIII, to make a special foundation and continuance of thirteen poor men, decayed in Wars, to be called Thirteen Knights of Windsor, and having also expressed certain Rules for their government, and set aside certain lands of the yearly value of £600 for their maintenance, desires that the Dean and Canons shall for ever cause the following Rules and Orders to be observed: vizt.—

1. Establishes "13 Poor-Knights, whereof one to be Governor of all the residue. The same 13 to be taken of Gentlemen, brought to necessity, such as have spent their times in the service of the Wars, Garrisons, or other service of the Prince, having but little or nothing whereupon to live, to be continually chosen by Us, and our Heirs, and Successors.

"2. Item, we ordain that the Governor and Knights shall be chosen of men unmarried, and shall continue, except in special case, when it shall please Us to dispense with any person to the contrary. Provided, nevertheless, if any of them will marry, he may do so, losing his place at the day of his marriage.

3. No man "defamed and convicted of Heresy, Treason, Felony, or any notable crime" to be admissible.

4. "Item, the same knights to have yearly for their liveries, each of them one gown of 4 yards of the colour of red, and a mantle of blue, or purple cloth, of five yards at six shillings eight pence the yard.

"5. Item, the Cross of St. George in a scutcheon, embroidered without the Garter, to be set upon the left shoulder of their mantles."

6. The charges of cloth, making, &c., to be paid out of the revenue of the foundation.

"7. Item, the said 13 Knights to come together before noon and after noon daily, at all the Divine service, said within the College, in their ordinary apparel, and to continue to the end of the same service, without a reasonable lett, to be allowed by the Governor."

8. To dine in the Common Hall, out of the common purse, unless licensed to do otherwise for a period not exceeding 20 days in the year, or for sickness.

"9. Item, the said 13 Knights shall not haunt the town, the ale-houses, the taverns, nor call any woman into their lodgings, without it be upon a reasonable cause, and that with the license of the Dean or his Deputy."

10. Obedience to the Governor, and to the Dean and Chapter.

"11. Item, the said 13 Knights shall be placed within the church, where the Dean and Canons shall think best, to hear the Divine service together, where they shall least trouble the Ministers of the church."

12. To be present at services on certain festivals and holy days.

13. Disobedience to the Governor, to be by him reported to Dean and Chapter, who shall inflict forfeiture at their discretion: they may also warn the offender, and after two such registered warnings a Knight "shall, immediately upon the third offence, be expelled for ever out of that Company." The Governor may be similarly dealt with.

14. Such forfeitures to "be employed, by the discretion of the Dean and Chapter, upon any of the Ministers or Choristers of the Church where they think best."

"15. Item, When it shall please God that We, or Our Successors, Kings of this Realm shall repair to the Castle of Windsor, the said 13 Knights shall stand before their doors in their apparel, to do their obedience unto Us, there, at the coming and going away.

"16. Item, Yearly at the keeping of the feast of St. George, they shall stand likewise in their apparel, before their doors, at the coming and going out of the Lieutenant, and of the other Knights of the Order, chosen for the keeping of that Feast.

"17. Item, When any feast of St. George is kept within that Castle of Windsor, the Governor and Knights at the dinner, shall sit together in their apparel, as

aforesaid, at one table, and have allowance of meat and drink, at the charges of Us, our Heirs, and Successors.

" 18. Item, the said 13 Knights shall daily in their prayers, pray for Us the Sovereign, our Heirs and Successors, and for the Companions of Our said Order of the Garter."

19. Not to lie out of their lodgings upon pain of "losing for every time twelve pence."

" 20. Item, If any of the Poor Knights, after his admission into that room, shall have lands or revenues fall unto him to the yearly value of £20 or upwards, he shall immediately upon the coming of such lands or revenues unto him, be removed and put from his said room of a Poor Knight, and another, such as aforesaid, taken into his place.

21. To receive each twelve pence a day, to be paid as the other Ministers of the Chapel are paid, at Divine service: absence from service without leave to involve forfeit of the twelve pence.

22. The Governor to keep a record of such absences, or other faults.

23. To assemble once a year to hear the Statutes read, upon pain of forfeiture of six shillings and eight pence.

24. To take Oath of Fidelity on admission.

25. Some at the time of these Statutes, "not certainly known gentlemen,"—"we are pleased to dispense with all such, as are presently placed, being Not Gentlemen born, and hereafter mean, in that point, not to have any admitted contrary to the said Order."

APPENDIX No. LXXIV.

ROYAL WARRANTS (BLANK DATES) 1689-90.—EST. OF INNISKILLING AND LONDONDERRY REGTS.

(Harl. MSS. 7,439.)

The one R. Warrt. establishes from 1 Jany., 1689-90, "out of Our Inniskilling Forces" one regt. of Horse, two regts. of Dragoons and three of Foot; the rates of pay being given.

Note.—The regt. of Horse was Wolseley's.

The two regts. of Dragoons were Cunningham's (6th Drs.) and Wynn's (5th Drs.).

The three regts. of Foot were Tiffin's (27th Foot), Gustavus Hamilton's, and Lord Geo. Hamilton's (or Col. Lloyd's).

There is in the W.O. records (Misc. Bks.) a list, 1693, of the Officers of the late Sir A. Cunningham's Dragoons, who were commissioned by His Majesty in Ireland in June 1689, and to take rank from 1 January preceding.

The other Warrant establishes "out of Our Londonderry Forces" two regts. of Foot, "to commence 1 Jany., 1689."

These were St. John's and Mitchelburne's.

The Horse were established in 12 troops of 4 Offrs., 3 Corpls., 2 Trumpets, and 50 Troopers.

The Dragoons in 8 troops (each regt.) of 4 Offrs. (*i.e.*, Capt., Lieut., Cornet, and Qr. Master), 3 Serjts., 3 Corpls., 2 Drums, and 60 Dragoons.

The Foot in 13 Companies per regt. of 3 Offrs., 3 Serjts., 3 Corpls., 2 Drums, and 60 Privates.

APPENDIX No. LXXV.

ROYAL WARRANT, WHITEHALL, 10 MAR., 1686-7.—SECY. AT WAR.

(Harl. MSS. 7,436.)

Being a grant to "William Blathwayt Esq., Our Secretary at War of an additional salary of twenty shillings per diem in consideration of Our ordering the fee upon pay Warrants to be henceforth discontinued, and for his better support in his said office of Secretary at War."

Warrants for payment of this salary to be made "at the usual terms."

APPENDIX No. LXXVI.

ROYAL WARRANT, WHITEHALL, 12 MAR., 1686-7.—COMM.-GENL.
OF MUSTERS.

(Harl. MSS. 7,436.)

"J. R.

"Whereas we have thought fit to order Our Commissary-General of the Musters and his Deputies to muster Our Forces twelve times in the year at the least, instead of six musters only formerly practised, whereby their duty being increased, and all the gratifications and rewards received by them from the officers being taken off"; proceeds to increase their pay, the Chief Dy. Commy's. by 10s. a day additional, and the other Dy. Commissaries by 5s. To be issued "at the usual terms," &c.

APPENDIX No. LXXVII.

ROYAL WARRANTS, 19 AUG., 1670, &c.—VACANT MEN.

(W.O. Records.)

"Charles R.

"Whereas we have been graciously pleased to grant unto you our right trusty and right well-beloved cousin and counsellor William Earl of Craven, Collonell (*sic*) of a regt. of Our Foot Guards, one private soldier's pay out of each Company of the twelve compies. of the said regt. under your command; You are therefore to give order to the respective Captains or other Officers in chief with the said compies., by the next muster to disband one soldier out of each compy. in the said regt.; and that at the said next muster the said Captains or other officers respectively shall enter the names hereon endorsed in their muster rolls (being the names to be mustered in the said twelve compies. respectively) in the places of the soldiers so to be disbanded, to the end that the pay for the names so entered may be allowed to you the said Earl of Craven: Of which Our Commissaries-General of the Musters are hereby required to take notice, and to pass and continue the said twelve names in the muster-rolls of the said twelve compies. in the ensuing musters; that is to say, one of them in each company until further order, We having given order to Our Paymaster-General of Our Forces to stop that soldier's pay in his hands from each of the said compies. to the end that the same may be from time to time paid to you.

Given, &c., "Whitehall, 19 Aug., 1670.

"By His Majesty's Command,

"ARLINGTON.

"To Our trusty and right well-beloved cousin and

"counsellor William Earl of Craven."

On the back of this Warrant are endorsed the fictitious names to be adopted in the muster-rolls for the vacant men: thus, *e.g.*,

"In Major John Miller's Compy.—Paul Mercer."

&c., &c.

The Warrt. of 13 May, 1670 (W.O. records) is a similar grant to Col. Russell of the First Foot-Guards.

R. Warrt., 2 April, 1672 (W.O. records) is a similar grant to Prince Rupert of the pay of one fictitious man per troop of his regt. of dragoons.

R. Warrt., 5 May, 1674 (W.O. records), assigns three soldiers' pay per troop of the Life Guards for support of "Second Cornets" then added to the establishment.

R. Warrt., 13 June, 1674 (W.O. records), assigns the pay of one soldier per company at Jersey for support of a chirurgéon, "fictitious names to be inserted in the muster-rolls" and passed.

APPENDIX No. LXXVIII.

ROYAL WARRANT, 1 SEPTR., 1684.—ADJUTANTS.

(W.O. Records.)

"Forasmuch as We have thought fit to appoint our Trusty and well-beloved David Lloyd, Esq., to be Adjutant in Our Royal Regt. of Horse Gds.; and there being no pay allotted by Our Establishment of our Forces and Garrisons for that Employment, Our Will and Pleasure is, that one Soldier's pay of each of the Eight Troops of that Regiment be allowed from the date hereof, in lieu of pay to the said Adjutant; and that you allow thereof in such manner as aforesaid, without his producing to you any Soldiers, or the names of any Soldiers to be mustered for that purpose, so that not above one Soldier's pay in each of the said Troops be reserved on this occasion, for which this shall be a sufficient warrant.

"Given at our Court at Whitehall, the first day of Sept., 1684.

"By His Maties. Command,

"SUNDERLAND.

"To Our Trusty and well Beloved Henry Howard, Esq.,

"our Commissary Genl. of Our Musters, or his Deputy."

APPENDIX No. LXXIX.

ROYAL WARRANT, WHITEHALL, 17 JULY, 1689.—HALF-PAY.

(Harl. MSS. 7,439.)

Authorising "half-pay" (as per list annexed) to reduced officers from old Irish army, &c., "according to the respective qualities in which they had served," to be paid weekly upon Certificate from the Commissary General of Musters that they "received no other pay in our service."

RATES.

<i>Horse.</i>		<i>Foot.</i>		<i>Dragoons.</i>	
	Per diem.		Per diem.		Per diem.
	<i>s. d.</i>		<i>s. d.</i>		<i>s. d.</i>
Captains ...	7 0	Lieut. Colonels and		Captain ...	5 6
Lieutenants ...	5 0	Captains ...	7 6	Lieut. (Horse	
Cornets ...	4 6	Major ...	6 6	Granadiers) ...	3 0
Lieut. and Adju-		Captains ...	4 0	Cornet ...	2 6
tant ...	7 0	Lieut. and Adju-		Qr. Master ...	2 0
Qr. Master ...	3 0	tant ...	4 0	Serjeant ...	1 0
Surgeons ...	3 0	Lieutenants ...	2 0	Physician to the	
Qr. Master of the		Ensigns ...	1 6	State ...	11 9
Guards... ..	4 6	Adj. and Qr.		Surgeon General... ..	3 0
		Master ...	4 0		more.
		Chaplain ...	3 4		
		Surgeon ...	2 0		
		Do. Mate ...	1 3		

APPENDIX No. LXXX.

ROYAL WARRANTS, 23 MAR., 1670-1, &c.—QUARTERS.

(W.O. Records.)

"Charles R.

"We being given to understand that the Colonel's company of the Coldstream regiment of our Foot Guards, under the command of our right trusty and right well-beloved cousin and counsellor, William Earl of Craven, had formerly set out to them

for their quarters in the precincts following, to wit, from the Castle Tavern on Snow Hill to Holborn Conduit, and so on to Holborn Bridge, and all Holborn below bar, except Ely Rents, part of Field Lane from Holborn to the sign of the George; part of Fetter Lane from Holborn to the sign of the Three Horse Shoes and Castle Yard; part of the east side of Gray's Inn Lane from Holborn to Baldwin's Gardens, and Baldwin's Gardens and St. Dunstan's in the West, as much as is standing since the conflagration, we have thought fit to continue these quarters of the said company. You are therefore to quarter the said company in inns, victualling-houses, taverns, and alehouses, with all equality and indifferency within the limits and bounds aforesaid, until further orders. Wherein we require all our officers and constables whom it may concern to be assisting unto you; and you are to be careful that your soldiers carry themselves civilly, and duly pay for what they shall receive at their quarters. Given at our Court at Whitehall the 23rd day of March, 1670/1.

"By His Majesty's Command,

"ARLINGTON.

"To our trusty and well-beloved Captain Saunders,

"Captain-Lieutenant of the company above mentioned."

Note.—Order, Whitehall, 6 April, 1672, is to the Earl of Oxford to quarter a troop of the Blues at Sowold in Suffolk, and in places adjacent, "in victualling-houses, taverns, and ale-houses"; if these are not enough, then "in other houses"; and enjoining the soldiers "to behave themselves civilly and duly pay their quarters." W.O. Records.

Royal Warrt., 5 July, 1672, is for removal of troops from Chelmsford during the assizes, and shews that it was usual to quarter them in "inns, victualling-houses, and ale-houses." W.O. records.

There are numberless other instances in the W.O. Records (Misc. Order books), both for troops on the march and for troops in their ordinary quarters: e.g., 8 Mar., 1670; 9 Apr., 1670; 11 Apr., 1670; &c., &c.

APPENDIX No. LXXXI.

REGULATION, 3 NOV., 1671.—SOLDIERS' MARRIAGES.

(W.O. Records.)

Being to the effect that no Serjeant or Corporal of the two regts. of Foot-Guards should keep any victualling-house or ale-house; "and we do likewise inhibit and forbid all and every the soldiers of the said Regiments from marrying without the consent of their captains, upon pain of being cashiered and losing their pay," &c.

APPENDIX No. LXXXII.

WARRANT, DUBLIN, 7 FEBV., 1697-8.—QUARTERS.

(Dublin State Papers.)

"Whereas nine Companies of the regiments of Foot under the Command of Brigadier Tiffin are hereby hourly expected to arrive at this post; these are to will and require you forthwith to appoint convenient quarters for the Officers and soldiers of the said nine Companies within the city and suburbs of Dublin and the liberties thereto adjoining in such proportion as in like cases hath been accustomed till they have been refreshed, mustered, and in a fit condition to march to the quarters assigned for them in the country, the Commanding Officers being to keep them in good order and see that their provisions be duly paid for at the usual rates. And for so doing this shall be your Warrant.

"Given, &c., 7 February, 1697/8.

"H. MAY.

"To the Sheriffs of the city of Dublin, and to the

"seneschalls of the several liberties of Thomas Court

"Donore St. Stephens and every of them."

And other similar Warrants.

APPENDIX No. LXXXIII.

WARRANT COMMISSIONS, ARTILLERY (ORDNANCE), 1691-4.

(Add. MSS. 5,795.)

"By the Right Honble. the Lieutenant-General and Principal Officers of Their Majesties' Ordnance.

"To Colonel John Wynant Goor.

"Whereas His Majesty by his Warrant dated the 27th day of February, 1691-2, hath been pleased to declare his Royal pleasure that a train of Brass Ordnance, &c., be provided and had in readiness with all fitting equipage thereunto belonging, to be forthwith transported into Flanders for H.M.'s service there; and whereas a list of the Officers and Ministers of the said train has been presented to His Majesty and approved of and established: And we being satisfied of the ability and sufficiency as of the loyalty and fidelity of you the said John Wynant Goor, We do therefore hereby nominate, constitute, and appoint you to be Colonel of the said train of Artillery now ordered for Flanders for H.M.'s service there as aforesaid: You are therefore hereby required carefully and diligently to discharge your duty herein, and to perform all such things thereunto belonging. And you are to follow and observe such orders and directions as you shall from time to time receive from the General of H.M.'s forces there, and the Commander in Chief of the same, or any other your superior officers according to the rules and disciplines of War, and to observe such orders and directions as shall be given or sent you by the Master-General of the Ordnance for the time being, or the Lieutenant-General and Principal Officers of the same. And for your care and pains to be taken herein, you are to receive from the Paymaster of the said train for yourself and clerk the sum of Two Pounds per diem. Given at the office of Their Majesties' Ordnance this 1st day of April, 1692, in the fourth year of Their Majesties' reign."

Similar Warrant-Commissions on the same date to Jacob Richards, Esq., to be Lieut.-Colonel at 19s. per diem, and J. Simon Schlunt, Esq., to be Major at 16s.

Precisely similar Warrant-Commissions on 1 May, 1692 (for a train for sea) to Sir Martin Beckman to be Colonel of the train, George Brown, Esq., Lt. Col., and J. Hopecka, Esq., to be Major.

Similar Warrant-Commission (but signed by the Master-General) on blank date 1694, for Flanders, to John Wynant Goor, to be Colonel of the train, and with the following addition:

"You are therefore to take the said train of Artillery into your care and charge as Colonel thereof, and duly to exercise as well the Officers as the Bombardeers and Gunners of the said train in the use of the mortars and guns to which they shall respectively belong, and to keep them and also the Artificers and other attendants belonging to the said train in good order and discipline: and they are hereby required to obey you as their Colonel, and you to observe and follow," &c., &c.

Also to Jacob Richards, Esqr., as Lt. Colonel at 25s.; and to J. Sigmond, Esq., as Major at 16s.

On 8 May, 1694, to Sir Martin Beckman as Colonel of a train for sea service: and on 12 Octr., 1694, to Christian Lilly, Esq., to be "1st Engineer and Commander-in-chief of the train" for Jamaica, at 10s. per diem: the new clause concerning the exercising and discipline of the train is omitted from both these.

There is also a Warrant-Commission blank date 1695 to Jacob Richards to be "commanding officer" of Bomb-ships.

APPENDIX No. LXXXIV.

CHAPLAIN'S COMMISSION, 1 OCTR., 1662.

(W.O. Comm. Bks.)

"Charles, &c., to Dr. Herbert Astley, greeting. We do by these presents constitute and appoint you to be Chaplain of that Regt. of Horse raised or to be raised for Our Service, whereof Our right trusty and right well-beloved cousin James Earl

of Northampton is Colonel. You are therefore diligently to teach and instruct the officers and soldiers of the said regt., who are to observe you as their Chaplain; and you are likewise to observe and follow such orders and directions as you shall from time to time receive from your said Colonel or other your superior Officers of that regt. Given, &c., 1 October in the 14th year of Our Reign.

"By His Majesty's Command

"WILLIAM MORRICE."

APPENDIX No. LXXXV.

COMMISSION OF SECRETARY AT WAR, 1 JANRY., 1657.

(Add. MSS. 15,856.)

"Charles, &c. (*sic*) to Our Trusty and Well-Beloved servant Sir Edward Walker Knt. Greeting. Know you that we reposing special trust and confidence in your fidelity, diligence and experience Do hereby ordain constitute and appoint you to be our Secretary at War and likewise authorise you from time to time to draw up, form, prepare, and present unto us for our Royal signature all such Commissions, Warrants, Letters, Orders and other Institutions fit and proper for the Government of our Army and Forces according to such Commands as you shall receive from ourself for the same or from any of our principal Secretaries of State signifying Our Pleasure. We do likewise will and authorise you to be present at Our Councils of War, to take the results thereof, and to cause all such directions as you shall receive thereupon to be duly executed and from time to time to give us an account of the Performance and to keep Registers thereof. And further to do, perform, and execute all such directions and commands as shall be given you in charge and which do properly belong unto you to dispatch as our Secretary at War. And for your better encouragement and support in the due execution of the said charge and employment we do hereby give grant and assign unto you the allowance of 20s. sterling per diem as hath formerly been assigned to the Secretary at War for the time being, together with all such other profits Fees and advantages as have formerly belonged to the execution of the said place or shall hereafter be assigned for the same.

"Given at Our Court at Bruges the 1st day of January, 1657, 8vo. Regni."

Royal Warrant, Bruges, 10 Janry., 1657, assigns to the Secretary at War Fees or Commissions, but in Dutch money.

See also App. CXIII.

APPENDIX No. LXXXVI.

AN ENGINEER-GENERAL'S WARRANT-COMMISSION, 28 AUG., 1662.

(Harl. MSS. 6,844.)

"Henry Earl of Peterborough, &c., &c., &c.

"To Martin Beckman Ingeneere-General. By virtue of the power and authority, &c., I do hereby constitute and appoint you Martin Beckman Engineer-General of His Majesty's city of Tanger.

"You are therefore immediately to repair to the aforesaid city and there carefully to execute and perform the duty of your place as Engineer-General: And you are likewise from time to time to follow and obey such further orders and directions as you shall receive from His Majesty, myself, or other your superior officers, and for your so doing this shall be your Warrant.

"Given under my hand and seal at arms at Portsmouth this 28th day of August, 1662, In the fourteenth year of His Majesty's reign."

APPENDIX No. LXXXVII.

ESTABLISHMENT, 1660-63.

(Brit. Mus., Add. MSS. 28,082.)

"An Abstract of His Majesty's Guards, which were raised the 26th of January, 1660, and continued to the 1st of January, 1663.

	Officers, &c.	Private Soldiers.	Per Annum.		
			£	s.	d.
"His Majesty's Troop	18	200	17,848	2	8
"His Highness Royal's Troop	15	150	13,116	2	8
"The General's Troop	15	150	13,116	2	8
"A Regiment of Horse of 8 troops, one of 80 men and 7 of 60 men besides officers	77	500	31,258	10	0
"Colonel Russell's Regiment of Foot consisting of 1,200 men besides officers divided into 12 Companies	129	1,200	24,136	4	8
"General's Regiment of Foot consisting of 10 Companies being 1,000 men besides officers...	106	1,000	20,192	18	0
"General Officers	14	...	3,447	19	8
1662, Novr. 16th.					
"Lord Wentworth's Regiment came from Dunkirk consisting of 1,200 men besides Officers, in 12 Companies amounting to £24,063 8s. 8d. per annum, and the 3rd of October, 1663, were sent into garrison and the charge computed in the account of the said garrisons except the field and staff officers, which comes to	(7	...	509	12	0)
"Abstract of the Garrisons are as followeth"— Then follows the detail of independent companies in garrison, the total being	697	4,181	75,065	14	9½
(Grand Total)	1,071	7,381	198,181	15	1½

APPENDIX No. LXXXVIII.

ROYAL WARRANT, 6 FEBY., 1695-6.—LEVY-MONEY.

(W.O. records.)

"William R.

"Our will and pleasure is, That out of such monies as are or shall come to your hands for contingent uses, you pay unto Our right trusty and well-beloved cousin and counsellor Henry Earl of Romney, Lieutenant-General of Our Forces, the sum of Four hundred and ninety-four Pounds, which We are pleased to allow for levy-money for 105 men of Our First Regt. of Foot-Guards killed at Namur, at the rate of Three Pounds a man, and for One hundred and seventy-nine men wounded at the same time at twenty shillings a man: And that you also pay unto Our right trusty and well-beloved John Lord Cutts, the sum of Two hundred and seventy one Pounds for 53 men of Our Coldstream Regt. of Foot-Guards killed, and 112 wounded, at the same time, at the like rates.

"Given, &c., 6 Feby., 1695-6.

"By His Majesty's Command,

"WM. BLATHWAYT.

"To the Earl of Ranelagh."

APPENDIX No. LXXXIX.

ROYAL WARRANT, 19 MAY, 1677.—ARMAMENT.

(W.O. records.)

“ Charles R.

“ Whereas we have thought fit that two soldiers of each Compy. now in the Tower of the two regts. of Foot-Guards shall be trained and exercised by Our trusty and well-beloved Capt. Charles Lloyd, for the duty of Granadeers : Our will and pleasure is that out of the stores within the office of Our Ordnance you cause to be delivered unto the said Capt. Charles Lloyd

“ 20 Granadeer-pouches

“ 20 Fusees

“ 20 Hatchets and girdles

for the use of the twenty soldiers out of the ten Compies. in the Coldstream Regiment. And for so doing, &c., &c.

“ Given, &c., Whitehall, 19 May, 1677.

“ By His Majesty's Command,

“ J. WILLIAMSON.”

APPENDIX No. XC.

PROCLAMATION, 26 JULY, 1697.—“ CONCERNING THE PAY AND CLOTHING OF THE ARMY.”

(Dublin State papers.)

Every Foot soldier out of Dublin “ shall constantly receive 2s. every week without stoppages or deduction on any pretence whatever ” ; and in Dublin 3s.

Captains to account with each soldier every four months “ for the fourpence per week stopped out of his subsistence ” ; in Dublin sixpence per week : and out of this sixpence or fourpence per week the Captain shall furnish the said soldiers with shoes, linen, and other necessaries as shall be wanting between each general clothing ” —residue if any to be paid to the soldiers.

Dragoons “ ninepence halfpenny per diem for the subsistence of himself and horse.”

Every Trooper twelve pence per diem for the subsistence for himself and horse ; and in Dublin one shilling and sixpence.

No deduction on these rates for Horse and Dragoons' subsistence.

Deductions not to be made from soldiers “ on account of any extraordinary expense until the same shall be examined and allowed by the Court of General Officers.”

“ Charge of clothing for every regiment of Horse, Foot and Dragoons together with the poundage, Hospital polls, and Agents fees for the full pay of the men, Commissioned Officers and soldiers together with the charge of small accoutrements, and off-reckonings to the officers' servants shall be duly cleared and answered as the off-reckonings of each regiment.

“ One suit of clothes shall be taken every year out of the off-reckonings in the infantry, the first year one coat, 1 pr. breeches, one cap or hat, two shirts, two Cravats, two pairs of stockings and two pairs of shoes, the second year one Surtout, one pair breeches, one Shirt, one Cravat, one pair stockings and one pair shoes. And give the whole regiment every three years what they call the small armament Vizt. one Sword, one Bayonet, one Belt, one Cartridge Box, with the furniture and slings.

“ The Dragoons shall have every year one pair breeches, one hat ; every two years one Coat of better cloth than usually, and one Cap ; every three years one Cloak, one Housing, one Saddlery and harness, with Swords, Bayonets, belts, Cartouch-box and slings.

“ The Troopers shall be completely clothed every two years ; and care shall be taken that neither arms, Boots, Saddles nor any other accoutrements belonging either to the Trooper or Horse shall be wanting, and shall be taken out of the off-reckonings without any deduction whatsoever of the subsistence. And before the

clothing is resolved upon a standard of every sort shall be made and left in the officer's hands then chief Commanding, that he may take care that all things be performed according to these orders, and in case the money taken out of the off-reckonings doth exceed the charges to the regiment the overplus shall remain in the Colonel's hands for the regiment's use."

Officers to agree upon a pattern approved by the Colonel for their coats and to buy them where they like.

Soldiers not to be enlisted by Captains without being first examined by the Colonel—"nor shall any soldier be disbanded but by consent or order of the Colonel or Officer Chief commanding" (the regiment).

APPENDIX No. XCI.

DUBLIN, 13 AUGUST, 1697.—PAY AND REMOUNTS OF HORSE.

(Dublin State papers.)

The Captain of each troop of Horse to stop four shillings per month from each trooper for the six grass months, vizt. 1 May to 31 October, and during the other six months no stoppage.—"That the money so stopped shall be laid out to buy horses in the room of such as die or become unserviceable."

Captains to account for this stoppage on 1 May annually and surplus to be divided among the Troopers, except those remounted within the year out of the fund.

Troopers remounted out of the fund to pay eight shillings instead of four shillings in ensuing year.

"By this method the horses being in common to the whole troop, such trooper as shall be discharged upon his own desire, or shall be broke by a sentence of a Court Marshal, or by the order of the Chief Governor or Governors or the General shall have no pretence of challenge to his horse, neither is to have any money for him, but the horse is to remain in the troop for H.M.'s service and to mount the trooper that shall be listed in his room. For which reason no Captain shall stop or make any deductions for the horse from the new enlisted trooper, neither shall any Captain discharge any man, without first acquainting his Colonel, and giving the reasons thereof."

"And if it should happen that any of the troops should be disbanded the several horses of such troops are hereby declared to belong to the troopers that ride them, and not to the Captain, and each trooper shall carry off the horse on which he served."

Said stoppages to be made notwithstanding anything to the contrary in Proclamation of 26 July, 1697 (given above).

APPENDIX No. XCII.

DUBLIN, 2 SEPTEMBER, 1697.

Similar Order to that in App. XCI for Dragoons stoppages three shillings and sixpence and seven shillings per month in lieu of four shillings and eight shillings as above.

Orders a refund to Non-Commissioned Officers and Men from Captains because "there has been more stopped from some than either the value of their horses or the Contingent charges and expenses amounts to" refund according to length of service.

"And whereas it appears that there has been a stop from each dragoon" in Conyngham's (8th Dragoons) of "one pound four shillings in order to provide them pistols, which arms His Majesty having not thought should be given them. Each Dragoon hath received a good broad sword value twelve shillings, and the Colonel designing to employ the remaining twelve shillings—so stopt towards the better arming that regiment with fuzees"—"1st May next by which time that money is to be expended for the use aforesaid."

"No dragoon who shall hereafter be discharged at his own request, or be broke by sentence of Court Marshal or order of Government or General shall have any challenge or pretence to his arms; but if any troop shall be disbanded each Dragoon shall carry off his sword and receive the twelve shillings stopt towards buying his fuzee."

APPENDIX No. XCIII.

CAPTAIN'S COMMISSION, 18 OCTOBER, 1668.

(Harl. MSS. 7,018.)

Charles Duke of Richmond and Lenox Earle of Litchfeild March & Darnly Lord D'Aubigny Barron of Leighton Newberry Brumswold Settrington Torbolton Methuen & Cruxton Ld. High Admirall & Chamberlayne of Scotland Knt. of ye Most Noble order of ye Garter Gentleman of his mats. Bedchamber & Lord Lieutenant of ye Countyes of Kent and Dorsett To Greeting. By vertue of ye Power & Authority unto me giuen by his mats. Comisson of Lieutenancy for ye County of Kent under ye Great Seale of England I doe constitute & appoynte you to be Captayne of a Company of ffoote soldiers in ye Regiment of ye Right honble. ye Earle of Winchelsea raised or to be raised in ye County of Kent: Willing & Comaunding all inferior Officers & soldiers of ye sd. Company to obey you as their Captayne according to this your Comisson: And you your selfe also are to obserue & follow such orders and direcons. as you shall from tyme to tyme receiue from me or in my absence from any two or more of my Deputy Lieutenants or your superior officer According to ye Discipline of Warr: And in all things else you are to obserue and gouerne your selfe as unto ye Duty & place of a Captayne of a Company of ffoote soldiers of right belongeth Given under my hand & Seale this 18th day of October in ye 20th Yeare of his Mats. Reigne King Charles the Second Anno Dom. 1668.

(Signed) RICHMOND & LENOX.

APPENDIX No. XCIV.

AGREEMENT, 25 MAR., 1703.—PURCHASE.

(Strafford MSS. 22,231.)

“Cockpit Mrch. ye 25, 1703.

“It is then agreed between Captn. La Roque and Captn. Peke that upon the payment of seven hundred and fifty pound Captn. La Roque shall deliver his troop full of men and horses and compleat in all cloathings and accoutrements three clokes excepted out of the whole number of fifty two only the two drum horses are Blind and all horses that are dead any time before the date of this agreement are to be made good by the said Captn. La Roque or Captn. Peke to be allowed twelve pound for each horse and for wt. debt shall be due from the troop to Captn. La Roque for the turning of coats or any other thing furnished to the men this winter that will not be paid out of the money paid from them is to be left to the oppinion of the Lvnt. Coll., Major, and Captns. but for all money advanced for camp necessarys Captn. Peke is contented to pay.

“P. LA ROQUE.

“RD. PEKE.”

APPENDIX No. XCV.

ROYAL WARRANTS, 11 MAR., 1687/8; 19 FEBRY., 1694/5; 9 JUNE, 1697.
APPOINTMENT OF GENERAL COURT MARTIAL OR COUNCIL.

(London Gazette, 12 March, 1687/8, 21 Febry., 1694/5, and Dublin State Papers.)

“Whitehall, 11 March, 1687/8; His Majesty has been pleased for the better preventing disorders and redressing the same, to appoint a Council or General Court-Martial, consisting of the General Officers and other Officers of the Army, who are ordered to meet at the Horse Guards every Friday morning for the hearing and

examining all complaints that shall be brought before them upon any difference between any persons in His Majesty's pay, and for the punishing all misdemeanours of officers and soldiers; as also to hear and examine all petitions or complaints that shall be brought before them by any other person, not being in His Majesty's pay, against any Officer or soldier, and to report the true state of the matter to His Majesty, who will thereupon give such further orders as to justice shall appertain."

Royal Warrt., 27 Feby., 1687-8, W.O. records, is also for assembling "a Council of the Chief Officers of Our Army, or a General Court-Martial, to meet constantly every week or oftener."

"The King is pleased to order the Chief Officers of the Army to meet twice a week at the Great Chamber at the Horse Guards at Whitehall to receive and examine all informations and complaints that shall be brought before them, against any Officers or Soldiers of His Majesty's Land Forces: which meeting is to be held every Wednesday and Saturday at ten o'clock, when all persons whatsoever may make application to them and offer their Complaints of any Wrong or Injury, in order to their being redressed.

"At the Court at Whitehall, 19 Feby., 1694, By the Lords of His Majesty's Most Hon. Privy Council."

Dublin, 9 June, 1697.—Commission to the following Officers to "receive hear and examine all informations and complaints that shall be brought before them of any officers or soldiers of the army," &c., to report with their opinion; to sit twice a week, three to be a quorum, of which Sir J. Hanmer or Brigadier Wolseley always to be one:—to make inquiries into matters of payments, &c.;—and when necessary to refer matters to a Court Martial, the Court Martial not to proceed to judgment until approved by Lords Justices, a Field Officer to be always President of such Courts Martial. The Committee also to frame Rules and Regulations for government of any to be approved by Lords Justices.

Sir J. Hanmer, Brigadier-General of forces in Ireland.

W. Wolseley, Esqre., Major-General of Ordnance and Brigadier-General of the Horse.

Sir C. Fielding, Governor of Limerick.

Sir J. Topham, Advocate-General of the Army.

R. Gorges, Esqre., Adjutant-General of the Army.

Wm. Robinson, Esqre., Deputy-Recorder and Paymaster-General.

Denny Musshampe, Esqre., Commissary-General of the Musters.

W. Molyneux, Esqre., Surveyor-General of His Majesty's Works and Fortifications.

APPENDIX No. XCVI.

ROYAL WARRANT, 1 JANRY., 1685.—DEDUCTIONS FROM PAY.

(Harl. MSS. 7,436.)

"James Rex.

"Whereas there hath been usually deducted out of the pay of Our Forces (as well in the time of Our dearest brother of Blessed Memory as since) twelve pence per pound in consideration of the weekly payment by way of advance for their subsistence, And whereas Our said dearest brother by Warrant, bearing date the 17th day of March, 1683, did direct that one-third part of the said deduction should be applied for the Exchequers fees and to the Paymaster of the forces for the time being, and that the other two-thirds should remain in the Paymaster's hands upon account to be disposed of either towards the erecting, building, and maintaining the Royal Hospital near Chelsea for superannuated and disabled soldiers and towards the payment of the Establishment of Our Forces as our Dearest Brother should from time to time direct," &c., &c.

See App.
XLVIII.

The Warrant proceeds to re-establish this deduction and its application.

"Given at Whitehall, 1 Janry., 1685.

"By His Majesty's Command,

"ROCHESTER.

"SUNDERLAND."

Renewed, with preamble, by Royal Warrants, Hampton Court, 1 May, 1689, and Whitehall, 25 August, 1689 (Harl. MSS. 7,436); see also Harl. 7,018.

APPENDIX No. XCVII.

ACCOUNTS, COLDSTREAM GUARDS, 1695.

(Harl. MSS. 1,308.)

An Abstract of the Amount of the Off-reckonings for the Coldstream Regiment of Foot Guards for the year 1695. (Extract.)

The Second or Coldstream Regiment.	The full amount of the off-reckonings.	The deduction of twelve pence in the pound.	The deduction of one day's pay for the Hospitall (Chelsea).	To the officers for the off-reckonings of their servants.	The deduction of two pence in the pound for agency.	Neat off-reckonings to be paid to the clothiers yearly.
	£6,101 11 8	£973 0 7	£53 6 4	£294 6 11½	—	£4,780 17 9½

	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.	
For the full off-reckonings of 42 serjeants at 3s. 6d., 42 corporals and 28 drummers at 2s., and 1,120 men at 1s. 10d. each per week, for 52 weeks and one day, amounts to ...	...	...	...	6,101	11	8	
Whereof poundage for their whole pay being £19,460 11s. 8d. is ...	973	0	7	...	...	...
One day's pay for the Hospitall (Chelsea) ...	53	6	4	1,026	6	11	
Remains to be issued to the Agent ...	...	...	...	5,075	4	9	
To be by him applied, viz.:—To the off-reckonings of 74 servants, at 1s. 10d. each per week, for 52 weeks and one day, amounts to ...	...	...	...	353	14	0½	
Deduct poundage of the full pay of the servants, £1,125 8s. 4d. is ...	56	5	5				
One day's pay for the Hospital (Chelsea) ...	3	1	8	59	7	1	
Remains to the officers for their servants ...	..	...	...	294	6	11½	
And for the contractors for clothing ...	...	...	...	4,780	17	9½	
				5,075	4	9	

Thus for the Second Regiment of Foot Guards, (called the Coldstream Regiment) consisting of 14 companies of 80 men in each, besides officers	£	s.	d.
	4,780	17	9½

Note.—The Establishment allows pay for an agent to this and the First Regiment of Foot Guards: so no agency is there charged, as is in all the other regiments on the English establishment.

APPENDIX No. XCVIII.

ROYAL WARRANTS (1 MARCH) AND 14 MARCH, 1690.—FIELD HOSPITAL ESTABLISHMENTS.

(Harl. MSS. 7,439.)

Royal Warrant, no date (1 March, 1689/90).

William Rex.

Our will and pleasure is that this Establishment for the Marching Hospital to attend Our Army in Ireland to commence from 1 March, 1689/90, in the second year of our Reign, from which time the former Establishment for the Hospital (*sic*) in that kingdom is to cease and determine :—

		At per diem each.		
		£	s.	d.
A Governor or Director	... ..	0	10	11½
Two Physicians whereof one to be Physician-General to the Army	... ..	1	0	0
The Chaplain-General to all the Army	... ..	1	0	0
Another Master Chaplain	... ..	0	10	0
Eight Chaplains' Mates	... ..	0	3	0
Two Chaplains whereof one to be Chaplain to the General	... ..	0	6	8
To the Apothecary General to the Army	... ..	0	10	0
Another Master Apothecary	... ..	0	8	0
Three Apothecaries' Mates	... ..	0	3	0
Three Purveyors	... ..	0	6	0
Two Clerks to keep the Accounts of the Hospital...	... ..	0	5	0
Clerk for the beds and furniture	... ..	0	4	0
Conductor for the Wagons	... ..	0	5	0
Three Cooks	... ..	0	3	0
Two Persons to look after the bread and beer	... ..	0	3	0
Twenty Nurses as Tenders to look after the sick persons	... ..	0	2	6
Total Charge per diem	... ..	£12	7	3½

Royal Warrant, no date, for the "fixed Hospital" in Ireland as above commence 1 March, 1689/90.

Royal Warrant, Whitehall, 14 Mar., 1689/90.

Adding one Chaplain to Hospitals in Ireland and establishing "twelve Wagons with four horses to attend Our Marching Hospital." Twelve Wagoners at one shilling and sixpence, twelve Boys at eightpence, and one Smith at two shillings and sixpence. Allowance per horse for maintenance one shilling and threepence.

APPENDIX No. XCIX.

ROYAL WARRANT, LOO, 14 JANRY., 1699.—PRECEDENCE OF COMMANDING OFFICERS OF ARTILLERY, VIZT., THE MASTER-GENERAL AND MAJOR-GENERAL OF ORDNANCE.

(Dublin State Papers.)

"William R.

"For the ascertaining the rank and precedency of Our present Master-General of Our Ordnance within Our Kingdom of Ireland and of Our Major-General of Our Ordnance there for the time being Our Will and Pleasure is that in all Councils of War and other Military occasions the said Master-General of Our Ordnance and the said Major-General of Our Ordnance within that Our Kingdom for the time being have rank and precedency as Brigadier of Our forces from the date of their respective Commissions. Given at our Court at Loo this 14th day of January 1699. In the eleventh year of Our reign.

"By His Majesty's Command
WM. BLATHWAYT."

APPENDIX No. C.

ROYAL WARRANT, WHITEHALL, 14 FEBRY., 1697/8.—DISBANDMENT OF REGIMENTS.

(Lond. Gaz., 14 Febry., 1698.)

In this Order respecting the disbanding of "annual regiments of Foot."
Officers are enjoined to take care :—

1. That an account be made "of what is owing for the Quarters of each regiment" —to "be satisfied so far as the subsistence has been issued to the regiment and the remainder certified to the Paymaster-General of the Forces for payment thereof."
2. "Commission Officers" to be "continued in half-pay."
3. Non-Commissioned Officers and soldiers to be paid what is due to them "before the disbanding."
4. "That the Sea-Pay and Short "Allowance Money" be likewise satisfied.
5. "That the Non-Commissioned Officers and Soldiers be permitted to carry away with them their cloaths belt and snapsack (*sic*), and the Serjeants likewise their sword; and that each private soldier, corporal, and drummer be allowed 3s. for his sword, which is to be delivered with the other arms into the Office of the Ordnance."
6. "That there be paid to each Non-commissioned Officer and soldier, fourteen days full subsistence from the day of their discharge, to carry them home, over and above what shall be due to them, and Passes given them to the places of their former residence, and that they be strictly enjoined not to travel with any arms nor more than three in a Company together."

APPENDIX No. CI.

DECLARATION OF RIGHTS, 1689.

(Ho. of Commons Pro., 13 Febry., 1688/9) (Cobbett).

Extract.

"Whereas the late King James II did endeavour to subvert and extirpate the Protestant religion and the laws and liberties of this Kingdom, By raising and keeping a Standing Army within this kingdom in time of peace, without consent of Parliament; and quartering soldiers contrary to law &c., &c. Now therefore the Lords and Commons, &c., &c., do declare that the raising or keeping a Standing Army within this Kingdom in time of peace, unless it be with the consent of Parliament, is against law."

Affirmed by the Bill of Rights, Pro. of Ho. of Commons, 16 Decr., 1689.

APPENDIX No. CII.

ROYAL WARRANT, WHITEHALL, 30 MAY, 1690.—MUSTERS AND CLOTHING REGULATIONS.

(Lond. Gaz., 9 June, 1690.)

(Précis.)

Promulgating rules respecting ;

(A) The Musters

1. That Certificate for sick soldiers be signed by Major or Adjutant, Surgeon and two eldest Captains (not in Company of soldier) in presence of the Commissary of Musters.
2. Certificate for absent soldiers by senior officer and two eldest Captains and that no other furlow be allowed,

3. Muster Rolls to be closed upon the place of the Muster and that the Parchment Rolls that used to be delivered to the Officer or Agent, be sent by next post to Commy. Genl. of Musters and thence to Paymaster General of the Forces.

4. Copies of Muster Rolls to be sent to General Officers that they may examine them and Certificates.

(B) The Clothing

1. That Forces be clothed but once in two years, but to have some necessities provided the second year according to such estimates as His Majesty shall appoint.

2. "That a standard of clothing shall be given which no officer may excel."

3. Colonels to appoint, when time of clothing draws near, a Band of two or three to see patterns of cloth, lining, &c., and to beat down the price as low as they can and report to the Colonel: The Colonel, approving, to make Contract with the tradesmen and to sign it together with all the Captains.

4. That the off-reckonings be stopped in hands of Paymaster General, and not issued but to the persons to which same is due, according to aforesaid Contracts, until such time as the Contract be satisfied.

(Signed) CHARLES MONTAGUE.

Whitehall, 30 May, 1690.

APPENDIX No. CIII.

REGULATIONS, 25 JULY, 1683.—RULES FOR THE OFFICE OF THE ORDNANCE.

(Harl. MSS. 6,334, and Add. MSS. 19,519.)

Digest.

Rules, Orders, and Instructions for the future government of the office of the Ordnance.—

A digest of the whole of this is given in the text, Chap. XXX; and this number of Appendix is given only for convenience of reference.

APPENDIX No. CIV.

LETTERS, SECRETARY OF STATE, APRIL AND SEPTR., 1688.—BILLETING.

(W.O. records.)

Letter Secretary of State to Lieut. Governor of Portsmouth ordering him that two soldiers per every bed in the public houses were to be quartered there and were not "any longer to pay their quartering." That all others quartered there were to "pay eightpence per week for the necessities usually furnished to them."

dated April, 1688.

Letter in September, 1688, Lord President of Council to Mayor of Hull, shewing similar orders to have been sent out to Hull, all over 300 men (evidently the number for which there was room in the "public-houses") to be quartered in "private houses" at eightpence per week.

APPENDIX No. CV.

MAJOR'S COMMISSION, 19 MARCH, 1663/4.

(W.O. Com. Bks.)

"C. R.

"Charles, &c., to our trusty and Well Beloved Captain Edward Grey Greeting. We do by these presents constitute and appoint you to be Major of Our Regiment of Guards under the command of Colonel Russell in the room and place of Major Washington late deceased. You are carefully to discharge the duties of a Major by exercising the said Regiment in arms both officers and soldiers, and to keep them in good order and discipline. And we hereby command them to obey you as their Officer. And you are from time to time to observe such orders and commands as you shall receive from your Colonel or other your superior Officers according to the discipline of war, in pursuance of the trust now reposed in you.

"Given, &c., the 19th day of March, 1663/4, in the 16th year of our reign.

"By His Majesty's Command,

"HENRY BURNET."

APPENDIX No. CVI.

ADJUTANT'S COMMISSION, 23 JUNE, 1665.

(W.O. Com. Bks.)

"C. R.

"Charles, &c., to our trusty and Well Beloved Gervase Rouse Gent. Greeting. We do by these presents constitute and appoint you to be Adjutant to Our Holland Regiment of foot, raised or to be raised for our service under the command of Robt. Sidney Esqre. You are carefully to discharge the duty of an Adjutant by exercising the said Regiment in arms, both officers and soldiers, and to keep them in good order and discipline; and we do hereby command them to obey you as their Adjutant, and you are from time to time to observe such orders and commands as you shall receive from Our Lord General of our Forces, your Colonel, or other your superior officer, according to the rules and discipline of War, in pursuance of the trust reposed in you.

"Given, &c., the 23 day of June, 1665.

"By His Majesty's Command,

"ARLINGTON."

APPENDIX No. CVII.

R. WARRT., 11 MAR., 1677-8.—BILLETING.

(W.O. records.)

"Charles R.

"In regard of the accession of more forces than hath been accustomed to our Isle of Wight for the safety of it in the present conjuncture, and that as they shall be placed and quartered near the Waterside for the convenience of that service, there are not Inns and Victualling houses enough in those places to receive them, so that there is necessity for quartering of them in private houses as well as in those other houses. Our Will and Pleasure therefore is that you consider of and appoint quarters where you shall judge it most expedient for our service in the said Isle for such Regiments or Troops of Horse and Regiments or Troops of Dragoons and Regiments or Companies of Foot as are or shall be sent thither. And that in the present conjuncture you give orders for quartering them accordingly as well in private houses as in inns and victualling houses. Wherein all our Officers and Constables whom it may concern are hereby required to be assisting. And you are to take care that the soldiers behave

themselves civilly and duly pay their quarters. Given at Our court at Whitehall the 11th day of March, 1677-8.

“By H.M.’s Command,

“J. WILLIAMSON.

“To our trusty and well-beloved Sir Robt. Holmes Knt.
Govr. of Our Isle of Wight.”

Similar Warrt. to Govr. of Portsmouth for that place 28 Apl., 1678.

APPENDIX No. CVIII.

ROYAL WARRANT, 7 SEPT., 1676.—COMMANDER-IN-CHIEF’S FUNCTIONS.

(W.O. records.)

“Charles R.

“Most dear and most entirely beloved son, We greet you well. As we have formerly given orders to the troops of our Horse Guards, and to our established regiments of Horse and Foot, to observe such orders as they should from time to time receive from you, so We have now thought fit to commit, and do hereby commit, unto you, the cognisance and care of appointing removals of quarters, the reliefs of any of our established troops or companies, and the sending of all convoys needful for our service. In pursuance whereof, it is our will and pleasure that you give such orders for those respective purposes as you shall judge most expedient for our service; and We hereby authorise you (in these your orders) to require the officers to quarter the respective troops, companies, and parties, upon their march, and at their quarters, in inns, victualling houses, taverns, brandy houses, and ale houses, and to require all our justices of peace, and other officers and constables whom it may concern, to be assisting therein: And considering that We continue to issue from ourself some kinds of warrants and military orders, which did belong to the office of our late General, and which he was wont to dispatch and sign, We, being desirous to distinguish such warrants and orders from other affairs of our crown passing our signet and sign manual, have thought fit, and it is our will and pleasure, that all such kinds of warrants and orders as formerly issued from George, Duke of Albemarle, our late General, deceased, in regard of that office, and which We continue to issue from ourself, shall pass our sign manual only, and shall be countersigned by the Secretary to our Forces as by our command. And so We bid you most heartily farewell. Given at our Court at Whitehall, the 7th day of Sept., 1676.

“By H.M.’s Command,

“J. WILLIAMSON.

“To our most dear and most entirely beloved son,
“James, Duke of Monmouth.”

APPENDIX No. CIX.

ROYAL WARRANT, 10 JUNE, 1694.—PRECEDENCE OF REGIMENTS.

(W.O. records.)

“William R.

“A report having been made to us by a Council of War of the General Officers of Our army touching the rank of several Regiments of Foot now in the Low Countries, and for the settling for the future the Precedency of such Regiments as may hereafter be raised or taken into Our Service, we have thought fit hereby to declare Our Royal Will and Pleasure.

“1. That an English Regiment shall take place of all other regiments, being otherwise in the same circumstances.

“2. That an Irish Regiment shall have rank from the day it comes upon the English Establishment, and not lose it afterwards by their return into Ireland or being put upon the Establishment of that Kingdom.

“3. That a Scots Regt. coming upon the English Estab. shall take rank with other regts. from that time.

"4. That any Regt. of what nation soever being raised in England, shall have rank from the time of its raising.

"5. That the three English Regts. that have lately served in Holland take their rank immediately after the Queen's Regt. of Foot, in respect to the capitulation that was made for them by the Earl of Ossory in the year 1668, with the allowance and direction of our dearest Uncle King Charles II, which is likewise to have effect as to the rank with the Scots Regts. among themselves: upon which considerations we do hereby declare our Will and Pleasure is that the rank and precedence of the several Regiments serving us in the Low Countries be as follows, viz. :—

- | | |
|---------------------------------|----------------------------|
| 1. The Royal Regt. | 17. Col. Mackay's. |
| 2. Col. Wm. Selwyn's. | 18. „ Graham's. |
| 3. Major Genl. Churchill's. | 19. „ O'Farrell's. |
| 4. Col. Trelawney's. | 20. „ Ingoldsby's. |
| 5. „ Edwd. Lloyd's. | 21. Visct. Castleton's. |
| 6. R. Regt. of Fusileers. | 22. La Melonière's. |
| 7. Sir Bevil Granville's. | 23. Comte Marten's. |
| 8. Col. Richd. Brewer's. | 24. Col. Belcastel's. |
| 9. „ Tidcomb's. | 25. „ Maitland's. |
| 10. Sir Jas. Lesley's. | 26. „ Ferguson's. |
| 11. Col. J. Stanley's. | 27. „ Tiffin's. |
| 12. Col. Francis Collingwood's. | 28. Earl of Argyle's. |
| 13. Sir Geo. St. George's. | 29. Col. Buchan's. |
| 14. Col. Fred. Hamilton's. | 30. Earl of Strathnaver's. |
| 15. Brigr. Erle's. | 31. Col. Geo. Hamilton's. |
| 16. Col. Lauder's. | |

Which rules and rank of the several Regts. above mentioned we do hereby direct to be hereafter observed, and all persons whom it may concern are to govern themselves accordingly.

"Given at our camp at Rossbeck the 10th day of June, 1694, In the sixth year of our reign.

"By H.M.'s Command,
"WM. BLATHWAYT."

N.B.—See also Appendices XLII, XLIII, XLIV.

APPENDIX No. CX.

ROYAL WARRANT, PARCK, 1 JULY, 1693.—AGAINST PURCHASE.

(W.O. records, and Harl. MSS. 1,250.)

"William R.

"Our will and pleasure is, that you do not allow upon the musters any person who shall be hereafter commissioned by us, our General, or the Commander-in-Chief of our Forces, until he shall, besides the oath of fidelity to be taken by every officer and soldier in our army, have first taken and subscribed an oath in the words following, vizt. :

"I, A.B., do swear, that I have not made any present or gratuity for the obtaining the employment of . . . ; neither will I, nor shall any person for me, with my knowledge at any time hereafter, directly or indirectly make any present or reward for the same to any person whatsoever. And I do further swear, that if at any time hereafter it shall come to my knowledge that any gift, present, or reward, has been made by any friend, either before or after my obtaining this employment, that I will immediately discover the same to His Majesty or the Commander-in-Chief.

"And for so doing this shall be your warrant. Given at our camp at Perk, this 1st July, 1693; in the fifth year of our reign.

"By H.M.'s command,
"WILLIAM BLATHWAYT."

"To our right trusty and right well-beloved cousin
Henry, Earl of Suffolk, Commissary-General of the
Musters, and to his deputy or deputies."

In Harl. MSS. the following note is endorsed: "The oath to be taken by all officers commissioned in the army, 1 July, 1693.—This oath was to prevent their obtaining their employments by bribery."

APPENDIX No. CXI.

ROYAL WARRTS., 14 AND 22 APRIL, 1690.—MARINES.

(Ordnance Papers.)

For arms for Pembroke and Torrington's two "new" regts. of Foot, being 15 companies each of 120 Ptes., 6 Serjts., 6 Corpsls., and 4 Drums :

Snaphance musquets (Dutch)	...	...	...	1,896
Bayonets with belts and frogs	...	...	...	1,896
Cartridge boxes with girdles	...	...	...	1,896
Halberts	...	...	...	96
Drums	...	...	...	48

For the three Compies. of Granadeers :

Dutch Snaphance musquets, strap	} 474 of each.
Bayonets with belts and frogs	...	...	...
Cartridge boxes	...	...	...
Granade pouches	...	...	...
Hammer Hatchets	} 24
Halberts	...	...	...
Drums	...	...	...

APPENDIX No. CXII.

ROYAL WARRANT, 19 APRIL, 1681.

" Charles R.

" Right Trusty and Right Entirely Beloved Cousin and Counsellor, We greet you well. Whereas we have directed the Building of an Hospital for the maintenance and convenience of such aged and maimed soldiers of Our Army in Ireland, as are or shall be, during their continuance in the said Army, become unserviceable; and the said Hospital is already begun to be erected upon part of our Lands now enclosed in our Park, near the old ruinous building, commonly called the Castle of Kilmainham. Our will and pleasure is, That the said Land, whereupon the said Hospital is now building, together with such a quantity of land thereunto adjoining (not exceeding in the whole, sixty-four Acres, Plantation Measure) as you shall think fit to be laid thereunto, be set apart, and for ever hereafter continued for the use of the said Hospital. And we do hereby authorise you, to cause effectual Letters Patent to be passed under the Great Seal of our said Kingdom of Ireland, to such Trustees as you shall nominate, and their heirs, to the use of the said Hospital, without any rent to be reserved thereon, to Us, Our Heirs or Successors; to the intent and purpose, that when the said Hospital shall be finished and incorporated, the said Lands may be conveyed by the said Trustees to the said Corporation and their Successors for ever. And for so doing, these our Letters shall be your sufficient Warrant, and so we bid you most hearty farewell."

Given at our Court at Whitehall, the 19th Day of April, 1681, in the Three and Thirtieth Year of our Reign.

By H.M.'s Command,
J. JENKINS.

To our Right Trusty, &c.,
James, Duke of Ormonde,
Lord Lieutenant General of Ireland, &c., &c.

APPENDIX No. CXIII.

PATENT, 18 AUG., 1683.—SECY. AT WAR.

(Add. MSS. 19,519.)

“ A copy of Mr. Blathwayt's Commission to be Secretary at War.

“ Charles R.

“ Charles the Second by the grace of God, King of England, Scotland, France, and Ireland, Defender of the Faith, &c., To Our trusty and well-beloved Wm. Blathwait, Esq., Greeting—Whereas We did by our Commission bearing date the 5th day of June, 1666, constitute and appoint Our trusty and well-beloved Matthew Lock, Esq., Secretary at War to all Our Forces, both Horse and Foot, raised or to be raised in Our Kingdom of England, Dominion of Wales, and Town of Berwick-upon-Tweed, and the said Matthew Lock having with Our consent and approbation resigned the said place to you, and We being well satisfied with your loyalty, integrity and ability, We do hereby constitute and appoint you Secretary at War to all our Forces, both Horse and Foot, raised or to be raised in Our Kingdom of England, Dominion of Wales or town of Berwick-upon-Tweed, which said place you shall by virtue of this Our Commission receive into your charge. You are therefore diligently to intend the execution thereof and faithfully and duly to execute and perform all things incident and belong thereunto. And you are to observe and follow such orders and directions as you shall from time to time receive from Us or the General of Our said Forces for the time being, according to the discipline of War. Given at Our Court at Windsor the 18th day of Aug., 1683, in the five and thirtieth year of Our reign.

“ By His Majesty's Command,

“ SUNDERLAND.

“ Memdm.

“ This Commission was renewed in the succeeding reigns.”

APPENDIX No. CXIV.

R. WARRANT, CARRICK, 26 JULY, 1690.—PRECEDENCE OF OFFICERS.

(Egerton MSS. 2,618.)

“ William R.

“ That we may put an end to the disputes that arise in Our Army about the precedence of the Officers of the same; Our Will and Pleasure is, All Officers of what nation soever, whether Generals or inferior Officers of the same rank, be they Horse, Foot, or Dragoons, shall respectively take their post and command according to the seniority of their Commissions, without any regard had or to be had to the Antiquity of the Regiments they are of. And Our further pleasure is that when two or more Officers as aforesaid of the same rank shall meet upon command, whose Commissions bear date the same day, that the Officer who had a former Commission of an elder date shall have the post and command; provided that nothing herein mentioned shall extend to the alteration of the precedence already settled, between the Horse, Foot, and Dragoons of Our Army.

“ Given at Our camp at Carrick the 26th day of July, 1690, in the second year of Our reign.

“ By His Majesty's command,

“ GEO. CLARKE.”

APPENDIX No. CXV.

ROYAL WARRANT, HOLLAND HOUSE, 18 DEC., 1689.—SCOTCH FORCES.

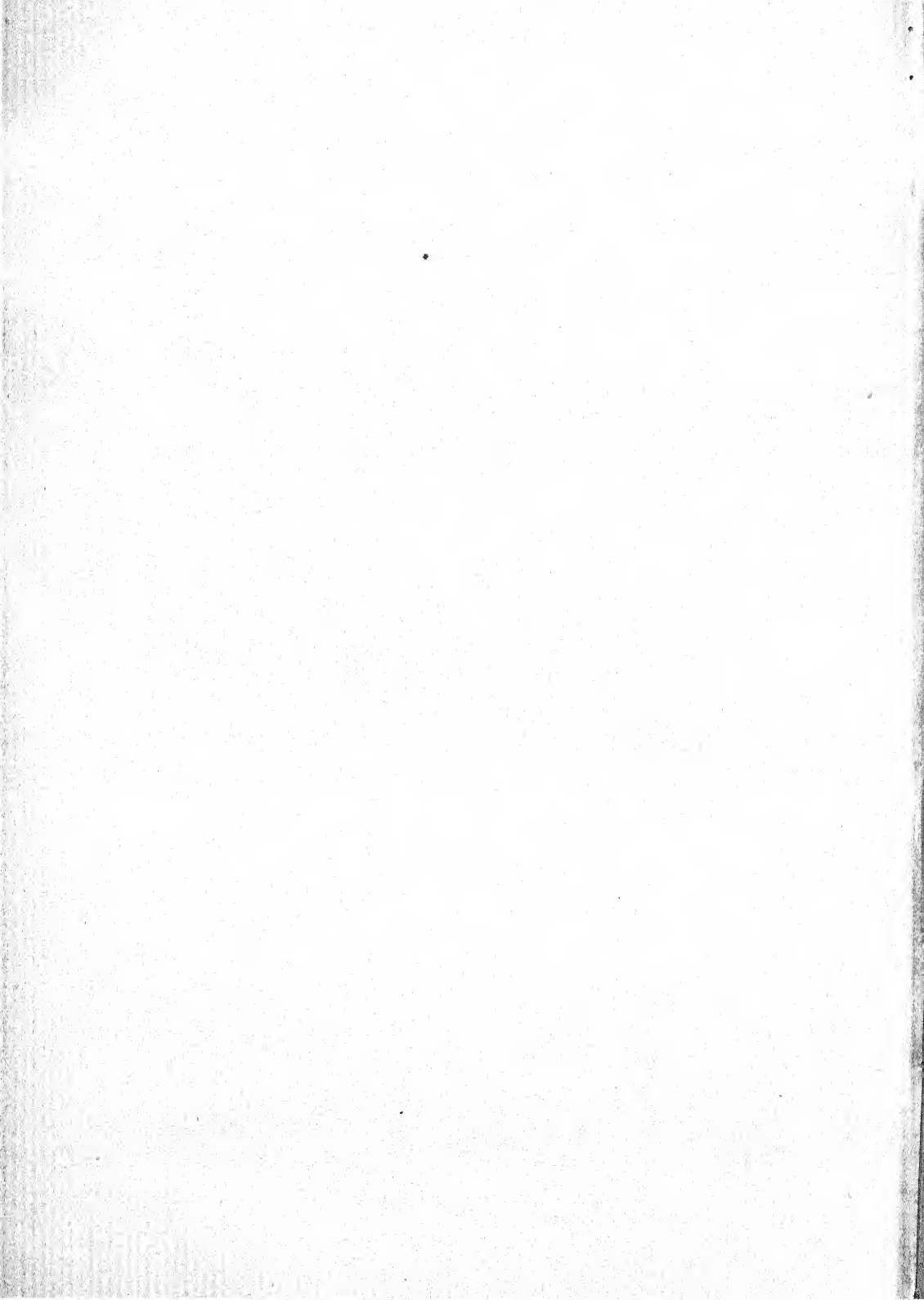
(Mackay's Memoirs.)

Authorises the remodelling of the Forces in Scotland.

Foot Regts. to be of 13 Companies (one being Granadeers) of 60 sentinels in each ; and each troop of Horse and Dragoons to be 50.

To be disbanded, all independent Companies, and Mar's Blantyre's and Bargeny's Regts.

To be retained 7 Regts., vizt., E. of Angus's (26th Foot), E. of Glencairn's, Visct. Kenmore's, Lord Strathnaver's, the Laird of Grant's, and one new one, Cunningham's : also three troops of Dragoons, Cardross's, Jackson's and Home's ; besides three troops of Horse.



APPENDIX B.

REFERENCE GUIDE TO WORKS, &c., QUOTED AS AUTHORITIES.

- ACTIONS IN THE LOW COUNTRIES.** By Sir Roger Williams.
ADD. MSS., *i.e.*, a collection of Additional Manuscripts preserved in the British Museum.
- ALBEMARLE, George (Monck), Duke of.** Observations upon military and political affairs. Published by authority. Lond., 1671.
(This work is posthumous, the Duke having died in 1670.)
- ANTIQUARIAN REPERTORY, The.**
- ARTICLES and Rules for the better government of His Majesty's Forces by land during this present war.** By His Majesty's Command. Lond., 1673. With an Index entitled "The Contents of the Articles of War."
- ARTICLES OF WAR.**
Rules and Articles for the better government of His Majesty's Land-forces in pay. Lond., 1686. By especial command. Brit. Museum.
Rules and Articles for the better government of Their Majesties' Land-forces in the Low Countries and Parts beyond the seas. By Their Majesties' Command. Lond., 1692. *See* App. LIII.
- ASHMOLE, Elias (Windsor Herald-at-Arms).** The institution, laws, &c., of the Most Noble Order of the Garter. Lond., 1693.
- AUTOBIOG. JAMES II.** *See* James II, Life of.
- BARIFFE, W., Captain.** Military discipline, on the young Artillery-man. Lond., 1639.
- BARILLON'S DISPATCHES** (French Ambassador to England). *See* Dalrymple.
- BARRY, Gerât, Capt.** Discourse of Military Discipline. Brussels, 1634.
- BERWICK, Jacques de Fitzjames, duc de.** Ses Mémoires, écrits par lui-même, &c. Petitot Collection. Paris, 1778.
- BINNING, Capt. Thomas.** A light to the art of gunnery. Lond., 1689.
- BLACKSTONE.** Commentaries on the laws of England (5th Edit.). Dublin, 1773.
- BLACKWELL, John,** Adjutant and Clerk to the Hon. Artillery Company. A Compendium of Military Discipline, &c. Lond., 1726.
- BODDINGTON, N.** The perfection of Military Discipline (3rd Edition). Lond., 1701.
- BONIVERT.** Journey to Ireland. Brit. Mus., Sloane MSS. 1,033.
(Bonivert was evidently in the Army and was with the cavalry of the right wing at the Boyne.)
- BOXEL, Johan Captain.** Vertoogh van de Kryghs Oeffeninge, &c. 1673.
(Written in 1668: Boxel was Capt.-Lt. of a Compy. of the Dutch Guards.)
- BRIQUET, Sieur de.** Code Militaire ou Compilation des Ordonnances des Rois de France concernant les gens de guerre. First printed in 1728 (De Puysegur). Paris, 1747.
- BROOKS, Nathan.** "A general and complete List Military of every Commission
"Officer of Horse and Foot now commanding His Majesty's Land Forces of
"England," &c., "as established at the time of the Review upon Putney-
"Heath the 1 October 1684." Lond., 1684.
- BRUCE, Alexr. (Advocate).** The Institutions of Military Law, ancient and modern. Edin., 1717.

- BURNET, Bishop. History of his own times. Lond., 1724.
- BUTLER, Samuel. Hudibras. Lond., 1716.
- BURSTON, Geo. Hist. of Royal Hospital of Kilmainham. Dub., 1805.
- CAERMARTHEN, Marquis of. A journal of the Brest expedition. Lond., 1694.
(Caermarthen was Rear-Admiral.)
- CALLOT. Misères et Malheur de la guerre. 1633.
- CANNON. See Regimental Records.
- CARLETON, Captain George. Memoirs, edited by Daniel Defoe. Edinburgh, 1809.
- CATINAT, Maréchal, Memoirs du. Paris, 1819.
- CAUTIONS AND ADVICES to Officers of the Army. By an old Officer. Lond., 1670.
- CHAMBERLAYNE, Edward, F.R.S. Anglice Notitia, or, The present state of England. (Published periodically, mostly annually.) Lond., 1669 to 1700.
- CHESTERFIELD, Letters of Philip, second Earl of. Lond., 1829.
(Chesterfield was Colonel of a Regiment of Foot in 1667, and of the 3rd Foot in 1682-4.)
- CHURCHYARD'S CIVIL WARS in the Netherlands.
- CLARENDON, Correspondence of Henry Hyde, Earl of, and his brother, Lawrence Hyde, Earl of Rochester, 1687 to 1690. Edited from the original MSS. by Samuel W. Singer, F.S.A. Lond., 1828.
- CLARENDON, Earl of. History of the Rebellion, &c., 1641 to 1660. Oxford, 1702.
- CLARKE MSS. are several volumes of original letters written to George Clarke, Secretary at War in Ireland in 1690 and 1691, and preserved in the library of Trinity College, Dublin.
- CLODE, Charles M. The military forces of the Crown, &c. Lond., 1869.
- COBBETT. Collections of State Trials. Lond., 1810.
- COBBETT. Parliamentary History. Lond., 1809.
- COKE MSS., preserved at Melbourne House, Derbyshire. Calendered by Hist. MSS. Commission, 1888.
- COLONELS, the succession of, from their rise to 1742. Lond., 1742.
- COMMONS, HOUSE OF, Journals of, 1547 to 1714. By Thos. Varden and J. Erskine May. Ordered to be printed by the House of Commons, 14 Aug., 1850. Hansard, 1852.
- COMMONS, HOUSE OF. See Cobbett.
- COSMO III, Grand Duke of Tuscany. Travels through England (1669). Translated from a MS. in the Laurentian library at Florence. Lond., 1821.
- COTTON MSS.
- COXE, Archdeacon Wm. Memoirs of John, Duke of Marlborough, collected from the family records and other authentic sources. Lond., 1818.
- CRIGHTON. Life and diary of Lieut.-Colonel Blackader. Edinburgh, 1824.
- DANIEL, Gabriel. Histoire de la Milice Française. Amsterdam, 1724.
- DARTMOUTH MSS. These MSS. are preserved in the Public Record Office. The E. of Dartmouth was Govr. of Portsmouth temp. Charles II, and was Master-General of the Ordnance for many years.
- D'Auvergne, Edw., Chaplain to the Third Regiment of Guards. History of the campaigns in Flanders. Lond., 1691 to 1697.
D'Auvergne served in these campaigns.
- DAVIES, Edward. England's Trainings. Lond., 1619.
- DE BEAURAIN, le chevalier de. Histoire militaire du duc de Luxembourg. Paris.
- DE BONNEVAL, Comte. Mémoires. Lond., 1737.
- DE FEUQUÈRES, le Marquis de (Lieut.-Genl.). Mémoires. (Written 1700 to 1710). Lond., 1736.
- DE GHEYN, Jacques. Maniement des armes, d'harquebuses, mousquets, et piques. Hague.
- DE LA COLONIE, Maréchal de camp des armées et de l'Electeur de Bavière. Mémoires. Bruxelles, 1737.
- DE LUXEMBOURG'S DISPATCHES. See de Beaurain.
- DE PUYSEGUR, Jacques François, Marquis, Maréchal de France. Art de la Guerre. Mis au jour par son fils. Paris, 1749.
De Puysegur began to serve in 1677 (his father having been in the army also) and was a Captain in 1679.
- DE QUINCY, le Marquis, Brigadier, &c. Histoire Militaire du règne de Louis le Grand, &c. Paris, 1726.
- DE VILLARS, duc. Mémoires. Petitot collection, 2nd series, Tome LXVIII to LXXI.
- DE VILLE, Antoine, Chevalier. La fortification, ou l'ingénieur parfait. Amsterdam, 1672.

- DICTIONARY, GENTLEMAN'S MILITARY. Lond., 1702.
- DINELY, Thomas, Extracts from the journal of; giving some account of his visit to Ireland in the reign of Charles II. Proc. Kilkenny Archeological Society, Vol. IV, 1862.
- DOMESTIC STATE PAPERS. This is a series of papers preserved under this heading at the Public Record Office.
- DONKIN, Major. Military collections and remarks. New York, 1777.
- DRUMMOND MSS., preserved at Blair Drummond and Ardoch, Perthshire; have been calendered by the Hist. MSS. Commission.
- DUBLIN STATE PAPERS are papers preserved in the Public Records Office in Dublin.
- DUMONT, Baron of Carelsroon, and ROUSSET, M. Military History of the Prince Eugene of Savoy, and of the Duke of Marlborough. Translated. Illustrated by Claude du Bosc. Lond., 1735.
- EDINBURGH STATE PAPERS, preserved in the Record Office, Edinburgh.
- EGERTON MSS. A collection of manuscripts in the British Museum.
- ELLIS CORRESPONDENCE. Letters illustrative of English History (preserved and published by Henry Ellis, Keeper of the MSS. in the British Museum. Lond., 1827.
- ELTON, Richard, Lieut.-Colonel. The complete body of the Art Military. Lond., 1668.
(There was a 2nd Edition published in 1659, that of 1668 is, therefore, at least the 3rd Edition.)
- ENGLISH. *See* Military Discipline.
- ENSIGNS. *See* Trained Bands.
- ESTABLISHMENT LISTS.
Brit. Museum.
Harl. MSS.
- EVELYN, John, Diary and Correspondence of. From the original MSS. at Wotton (Bray). Lond., 1818.
- EXACT ACCOUNT OF THE SIEGE OF NAMUR, 1695. *See* Namur.
- EXERCISE OF THE FOOT, with the evolutions. By Their Majesties' Command. Lond., 1690.
- FARQUHAR. The Recruiting Officer (a play). Written and acted in 1705.
Farquhar in 1696 held a Lieutenant's Commission in Lord Orrery's regt., and served for some years; died 1707.
- FAUCITT. Regulations for the Prussian Infantry. Translated from the German original. Lond., 1744. Originally published in 1726.
- FAULKNER, F. Historical account of the Royal Hospital, &c., at Chelsea. Lond., 1805.
- FINGALL MSS., preserved at Killeen Castle, and calendered by the Hist. MSS. Commission.
- FLEMING, VON. Der Vollkommene Deutsche Soldat. Leipzig, 1726.
(The illustrations in this work evidently date back to about 1700-1710.)
- FORTIFICATION AND MILITARY DISCIPLINE. By Capt. J. S. Lond., 1688.
- FULL AND TRUE ACCOUNT of the Landing of the late King James at Kinsale. Lond., 1690.
- GIRARD, P. J. F. *Traité des Armes*. La Haye, 1740.
This appears to have been written about the very beginning of the 18th century.
(Girard was an "ancien officier de Marine.")
- GRANADIERS' RANT, a proper new Ballad. (Brit. Mus., Rox II, 582.) Lond., 1681.
- GREAT NEWS from the camp at Chester. Thorpe tracts. Lond., 1689.
- GROSE, Francis, F.A.S. Military Antiquities respecting a History of the English Army from the Conquest. Lond., 1786.
- GUMBLE, Thos. D. D. ("One of his chaplains.") Life of General Monck, Duke of Albemarle. Lond., 1671.
- GUY, Henry, Schedule of receipts and payments by, for the Secret Service of His late Majesty King Charles II, and of the late King James II, &c., 1679 to 1688. From the MS. in possession of Selby Lowndes, Esqr., Whaddon Hall, Bucks. Camden Society, 1851.
- GWYN, Eleanor, Memoirs of. Lond., 1752.

GWYNNE, Captain John, *Military Memoirs of*. Edinburgh, 1822.

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